







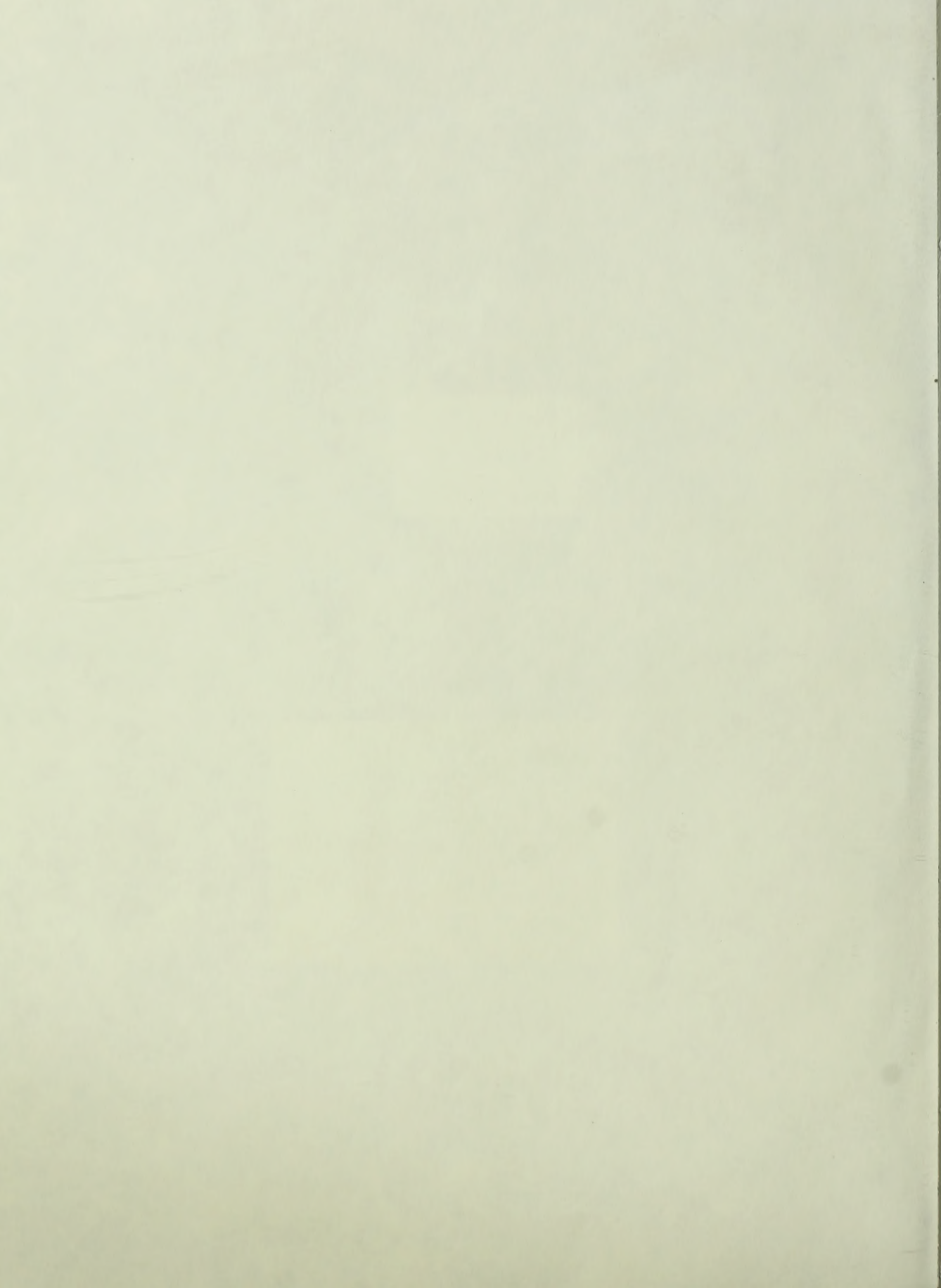


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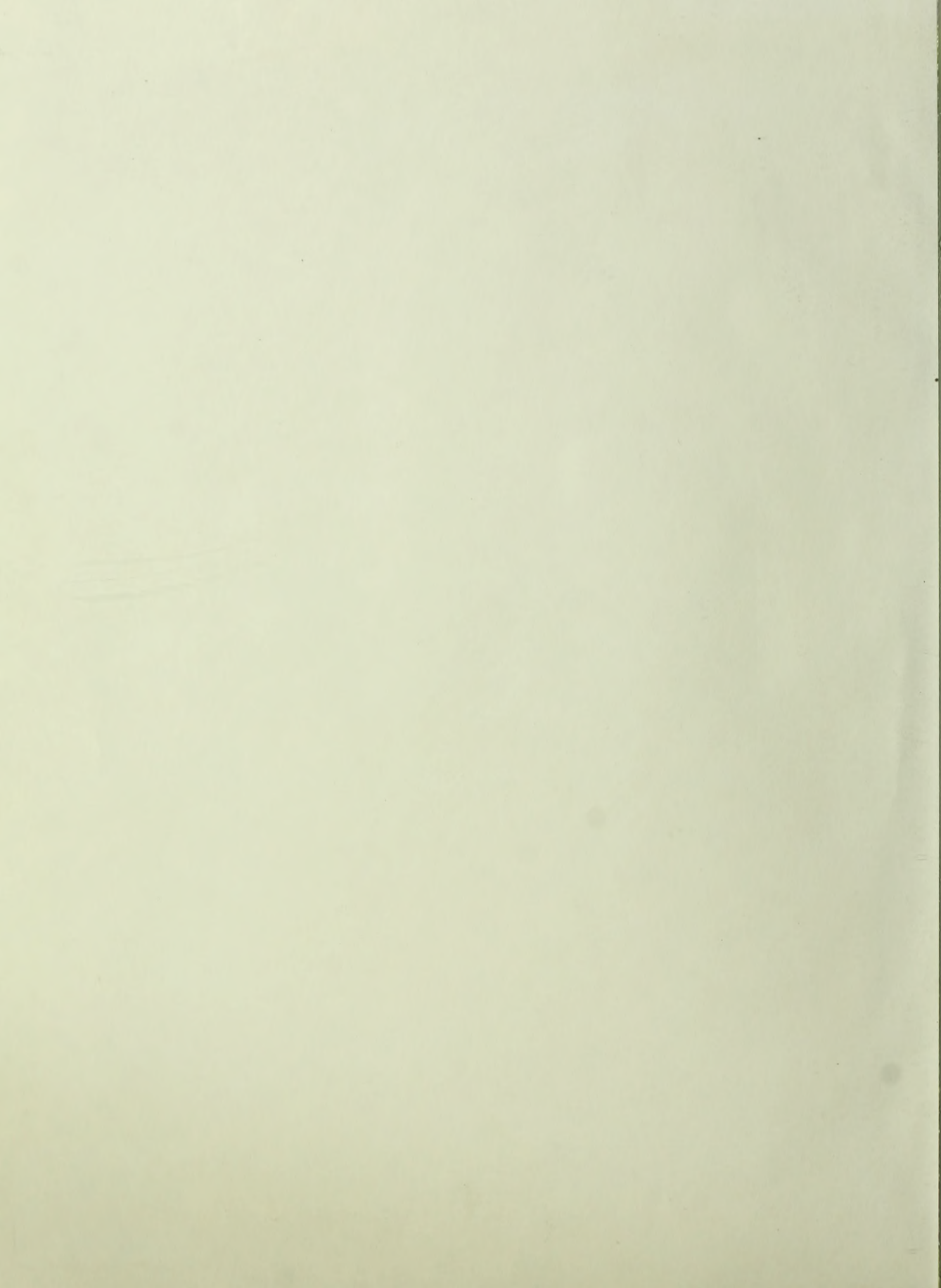




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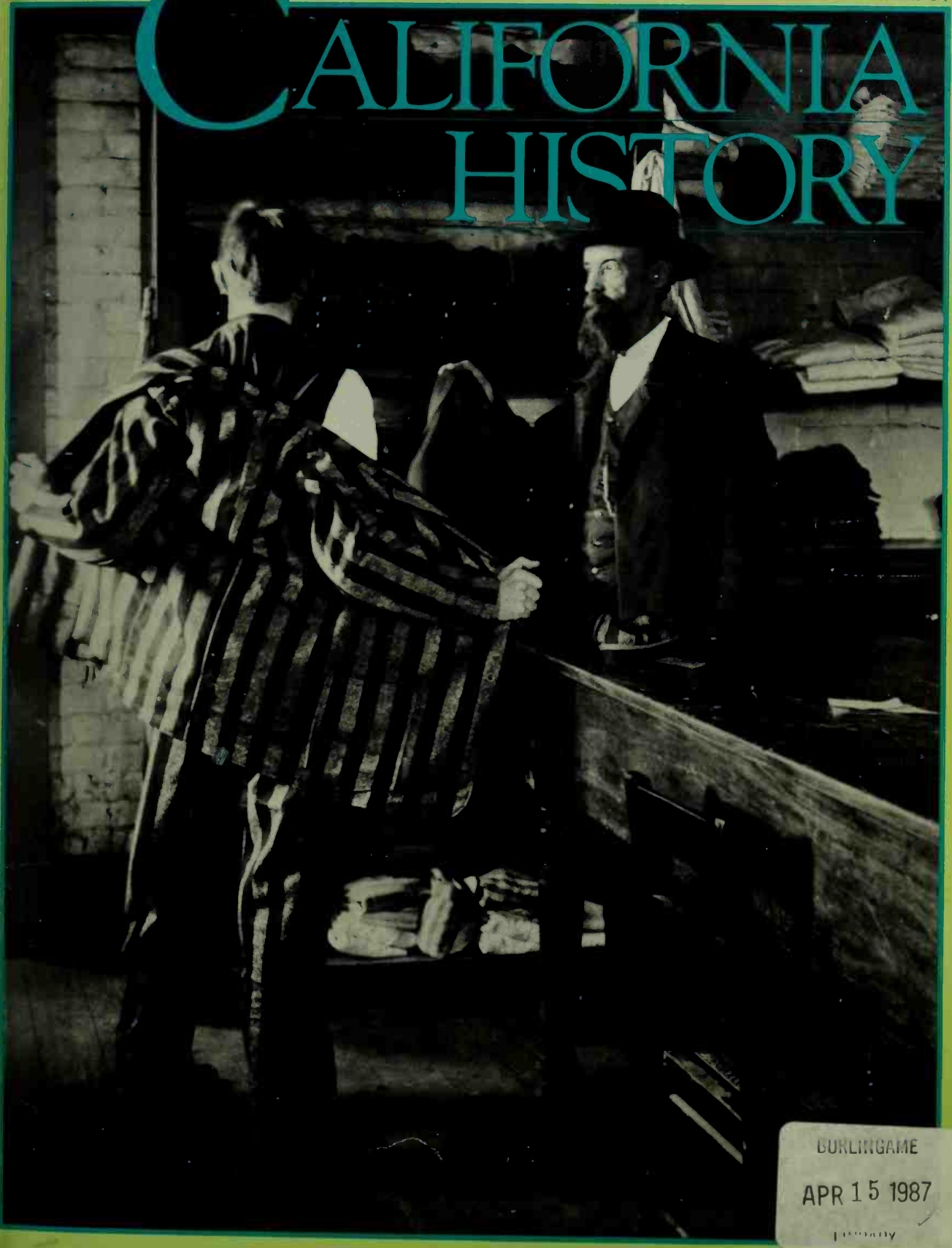


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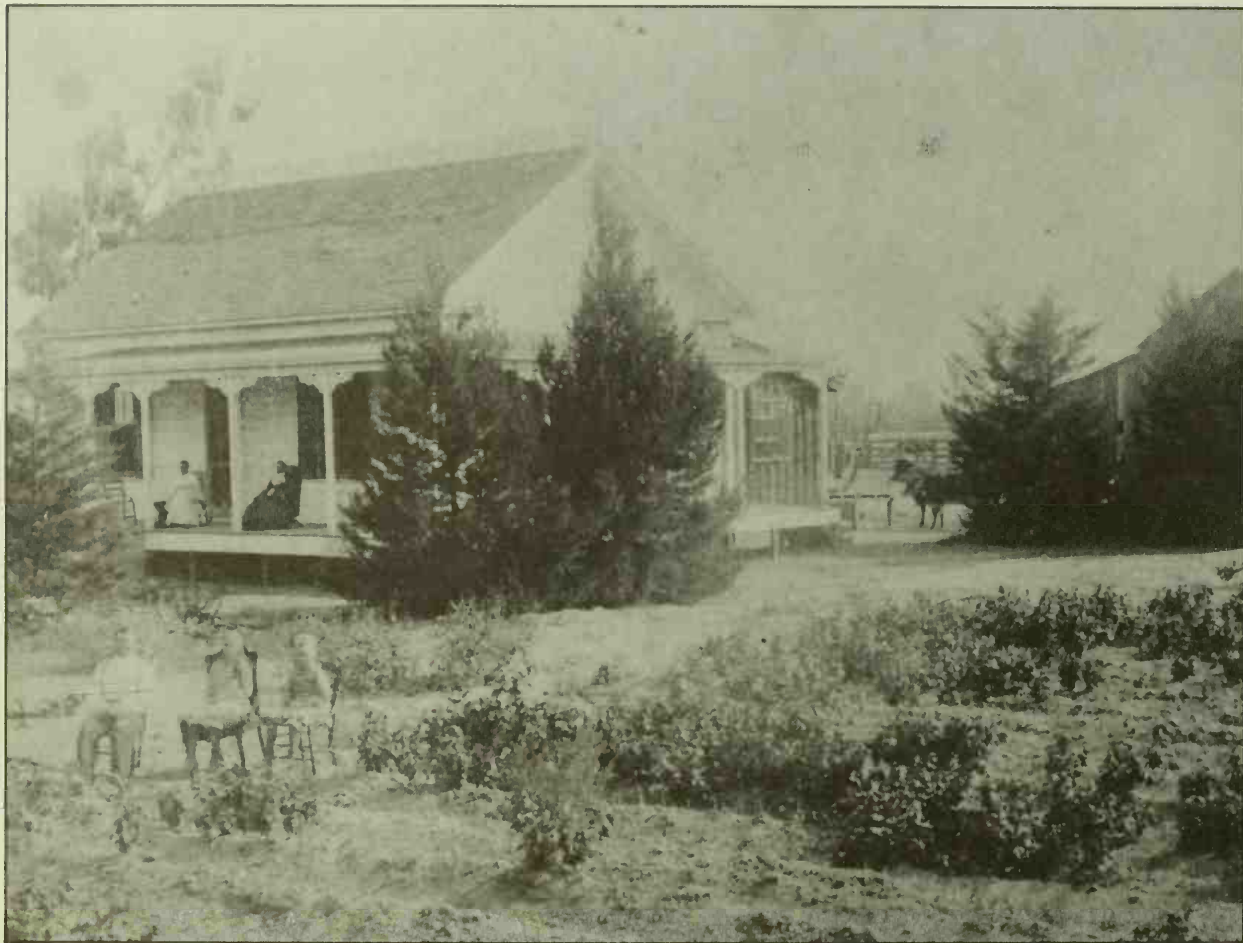
# CALIFORNIA HISTORY



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## California Snapshots



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(Above) Eric Larson, whose home on Walnut Avenue in Fresno was photographed in a series of albumen prints, was not important enough to be included in the biographical sections of Fresno County histories written in 1916 and 1934, but his modest prosperity is evident. Walnut Avenue was one of seven two-mile-long avenues running north and south in the Central Colony, the first of the farm colonies around Fresno.

Inspired by schemes in Pasadena and in Riverside and Orange counties in which a development company purchased a large tract of land and sold small farm plots to the individual families, the Fresno colonies made irrigated land available to small farmers. Twenty-acre plots in the Central Colony were sold for \$50 an acre, with \$100 down and payments of \$12.50 a month for five years, at the end of which a final \$150 was due. Each plot included two acres of raisin grapes. The compiler of the 1916 county history, who noted that a farm smaller than 320 acres was considered very small indeed when wheat was the major crop in the San Joaquin Valley, commented that with irrigation an eighty-acre spread was "too much" and that "Intelligent twenty-acre men are laying up what eastern farmers would consider a fortune and are enjoying during the accumulation process more of the comforts and pleasures of life."

Yet the first years of the farm colonies were characterized by "costly and aggravating experiments" with crops that were not suited to the land and climate. The many Scandinavian "home-building settlers" among the early colonists persevered, however, supplementing their farm income with other work when necessary to make ends meet. By 1916 an unexpected by-product of irrigation had become apparent, as the water table rose and alkalization made "large areas of the first colonized lands about Fresno that were once things of joy and beauty and show places to take the visitor to" into "nightmares around which wide detours are made." Many of the children of the Scandinavian farmers whose biographies were included in the county history became stenographers, retail clerks, and mechanics in the growing Fresno town economy rather than carrying on their parents' farms.

(COVER) An inmate receives civilian clothes as he prepares to leave San Quentin.

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2



12



24

2

California's Aboriginal Waterscape  
Harmony and Manipulation  
*by Norris Hundley*

12

Symbol for an Era  
Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford  
*by Lawrence Paul Crouchett*

24

Isla de Los Angeles  
Unique State Park in San Francisco Bay  
*by Elliot A.P. Evans and David W. Heron*

40

The Apprenticeship of Kathleen Norris  
*by Deanna Paoli Gumina*

49

The Origins of San Quentin, 1851-1880  
*by Clare V. McKanna, Jr.*

55

Printing, Publishing, and Ancillary  
Trades: A Checklist of Manuscript and  
Archival Holdings in the Edward C.  
Kemble Collections on Western Printing  
& Publishing, CHS Library, San Francisco

69

Notes

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# CALIFORNIA'S ORIGINAL WATERSCAPE HARMONY & MANIPULATION



*by Norris Hundley*

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nce it was a far different place. Aboriginal California, with about three hundred thousand residents by current reckoning,<sup>1</sup> was the most densely populated

area in North America at the time of European contact, but the native peoples left scarcely an imprint on the waterscape or landscape. Sharp indeed is the contrast with modern California, largely an artificial creation supporting more than twenty-seven million residents (making it the most populous state in the nation) and relying for its existence on massive hydraulic works that move enormous quantities of water from areas of relative abundance, both within and outside the state, to areas of scarcity. The difference between now and then is not simply one of population size and technology—though numbers and machines speak volumes in their own right—but also a reflection of attitudes and values. For the Indians of California, nature warranted deep respect, yet it was a respect that permitted manipulation of the environment, including the most precious of nature's resources—water.

Living properly in aboriginal California meant, first of all, understanding and existing in harmony with the environment rather than subjugating or dominating it. Nature was neither the enemy nor simply the means to an end or a commodity

*(Left) By locating their village on the bank of the Merced River, these Yosemite Miwok provided themselves with a source of fish, water for leaching acorns, and all the water they needed for daily use. The custom of defining territory in terms of watersheds also encouraged settlement on major streams.*

to be exploited for wealth or power.

Rather, nature had an intrinsic value of its own. To most tribes, plants and animals shared with mankind creation and spirit in a world where all living things were interconnected and each form of life had a special function. As anthropologists Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser have observed, "the animal's role was to supply food for men; the plant's role was to nourish both men and animals; and the human role was to gather plants and hunt animals as necessary for food."<sup>2</sup> The key words were "as necessary," for indiscriminate slaughter or wasteful gathering were abhorrent for practical and spiritual reasons. Some scholars have claimed contrary findings for other areas or times, but this norm prevailed in California at the time of contact.<sup>3</sup> So, too, did the belief of many Indian groups that plants, animals, and even stones, springs, and trees possessed thought and feeling. Some tribes believed that humans could transform themselves or be changed by another individual into an inanimate form or into coyotes, fish, ducks, foxes, owls, lizards, and other creatures. Death for other tribal groups meant new life as a form of wildlife. Such ideas helped instill and reenforce a strong respect for nature, and this seemed to have supernatural corroboration in the regularity of the seasons, the annual salmon runs and geese migrations, and other endless wonders.<sup>4</sup>

But none of this is to say—as some mistakenly believe—that native Californians lived in complete harmony with nature or refrained from any significant manipulation of the environment. Like modern residents of the state, they sought to "im-

prove" their natural world, but unlike today's developers they were sensitive to the balances that held together delicate ecosystems. They recognized that adverse interference with those relationships threatened their existence and the natural world on which they depended and of which they were an integral part.

The tenacity with which California natives held to their values and life styles set them apart from most other Indian peoples of the Southwest and Mesoamerica. Their typical patterns on the land did not resemble the check dams, miles of irrigation ditches, and great apartments built by the Hohokam along the Gila and Salt rivers after 300 B.C. or by the Anasazi at such places as Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon some five hundred years before the Spaniards arrived. Nor did they live in anything like the less extensive but no less impressive or elaborate agricultural villages established several generations later and still inhabited by the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico. And they stand in stark counterpoint to the Aztecs with their *chiampas* (floating gardens) that helped make possible in the Central Valley of Mexico an urban civilization rivaling any in Europe.<sup>5</sup> They had no need for such elements of material culture and hence placed no value on developing them.



Most California Indians went to the water sources and settled near them rather than diverting water or storing it. Villages and population density reflected the availability of food and water, which in turn influenced life

**NATIVE CALIFORNIANS SOUGHT  
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styles and social patterns. To understand these relationships, it is important to recognize that the waterscape of aboriginal California differed markedly from that of today. In an age before massive dams and aqueducts, California's rivers flowed uninterrupted into valleys, marshes, bays, and the ocean. The great Central Valley stretches some 450 miles, is 40 to 70 miles wide, and lies between the Sierra Nevada on the east and the coastal ranges on the west. Two hundred years ago it included numerous rivers, lakes, and marshlands that alternately expanded and contracted in rhythm with the seasons and supported an abundance of fish, game, and waterfowl as well as beaver and otter. Cattails, tules, willows, and sometimes alder dominated freshwater marshes inhabited by ducks, swans, marsh wrens, rails, and geese that darkened the sky with their enormous numbers when they took flight. Larger than any other comparable valley west of the Rockies, the Central Valley contained in the south the now nonexistent Tulare Lake, nearly four times the area of Lake Tahoe and home to an abundance of fish and vast quantities of turtles that ended up in rich soups and stews. Not far below were Buena

Vista and Kern lakes which now are also gone but in earlier times would often combine into a single large body of water following an especially heavy snowmelt in the Sierra Nevada. On the valley's west side and above the marshes, the lands were arid, receiving only slight and intermittent runoff from the Coast Range. To the east and over the Sierra, the floor of the Owens Valley contained swampy areas, Owens Lake held water, and, further north, Mono Lake was full and the islands for which it later gained fame were completely surrounded by water and safe habitats for millions of migratory birds, including the California gull for which the area is the primary breeding ground.<sup>6</sup>

In the San Joaquin, Sacramento, and coastal valleys, deciduous forests, virtually nonexistent today, grew profusely beside rivers and streams and in bottomlands. The dense and sometimes impenetrable riparian forests of willow, sycamore, oak, elder, poplar, alder, and wild grape provided both shelter and food for a rich wildlife. Along the coast as well as in the inland valleys and foothills oak savannas were more extensive and chaparral stands less evident than today, while seas of grass—tall, lush, perennial bunchgrass now all but gone—dominated valley floors and prairies. Deer, antelope, California's own unique tule elk, rabbits, and other game animals browsed the hills and valleys in the

tens of thousands. "The inland," noted a member of Francis Drake's expedition in 1579, "we found to be . . . a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere, which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard."<sup>7</sup> San Francisco Bay was then an even greater body of water ringed by large salt marshes, while the delta teemed with fish, game, and a birdlife that numbered in the millions. The vast southern California coastal plain overlay a water table so near the surface that artesian springs—and even fountains—were commonplace in many areas. Similar artesian belts existed throughout California and reflected the vast storehouse of groundwater that helped nurture the abundant flora and fauna on the surface. There was no Salton Sea in southeastern California, only a shallow sink sometimes containing water following a flash rain and more rarely when the Colorado River detoured temporarily from the Gulf of California to the sink.<sup>8</sup>

California of the past and present is similar in one especially significant way: the amount of precipitation that falls on the area. The annual rain and snow fall produces approximately 200 million acre-feet of water (an acre-foot is about 326,000 gallons or the amount of water that will cover an acre to one foot in depth). Most of this precipitation—about sixty-

Norris Hundley is a professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles.



*Paiutes, who lived in a high desert environment with generous groundwater resources, developed largescale irrigation-fed agriculture but refrained from making permanent changes in the landscape.*

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five percent—evaporates directly into the atmosphere with nearly all the remaining 71 million acre-feet making its way into streams and, in aboriginal times, ultimately the ocean, save for the small amounts entering underground basins or aquifers. The source of all this water is the Pacific Ocean from which vast clouds of moisture develop in the Gulf of Alaska and are driven ashore by the prevailing easterly wind currents. When the heavily laden clouds strike first the Coast Range and later the Sierra Nevada, they are driven higher into colder elevations where their capacity to retain moisture decreases and the result is rain and snow fall. Such a precipitation pattern helps to explain why California is a land of many climates. As the clouds condense following their collision with the mountains, the higher elevations receive more precipitation than the valleys, and the lands east of the Sierra receive the least moisture of all. Moreover, because the storms ordinarily originate in the North Pacific, the northern part of the state is more heavily watered than the south. In terms of averages, precipitation varies from 50 inches annually along California's north

coast to approximately 10 inches on the southern coastal plain to 2 inches or less in the inland desert valleys. And nearly all this precipitation arrives not in the summer growing season but between November and May.<sup>9</sup>

But it is a mistake to think in terms of averages and regular cycles of precipitation for California. The evidence, both recent and in tree rings that date from prehistoric times, reveals great variation from year to year. For example, the average annual precipitation in the Los Angeles area as determined over a century is nearly 15 inches, but that average rests on such annual rainfall extremes as 11 inches one year followed in consecutive years by 28 inches, 7 inches, 15 inches, 8 inches, and 17 inches. Though the average varies throughout California, this pattern of extremes has remained the norm. The long-term record reveals alternating cycles of drought and heavy precipitation, but the cycles are of no predictable length and they vary from place to place with the result that simultaneously some areas can be experiencing drought while others are literally under water.<sup>10</sup> Thus, irregular cycles

and extremes characterize the typical precipitation pattern throughout California.

**D**espite such variation in a resource of fundamental importance, Indians fashioned life styles that harmonized unusually well with their world. They had their lean—even starving—times, but they were successful enough to make California the most densely populated area north of Mexico. In doing so, they created a variety of culture areas that echoed the potential of the different environments available to them. Anthropologists have identified six such areas—coastal, riverine, lakeshore, valley and plains, foothills, and desert—none entirely distinct from the others but each reflecting regional variations in climate, terrain, water, animals, and plants. These differences masked even greater linguistic diversity that reflected the Indian practice of living in small isolated groups, thereby increasing further the carrying capacity of the land. The native peoples belonged to six

**INSTEAD OF USING RIVERS AS  
BOUNDARIES, CALIFORNIA NATIVES  
REGARDED WHOLE WATERSHEDS AS  
NATURAL TERRITORIES.**

distinct language families, spoke more than a hundred dialects and lived in perhaps 250 villages ranging in size from a few families to a population of a thousand or more. Despite such diversity, they developed social organizations and rituals to satisfy similar needs—adequate food, restoration of good health, driving away of evil spirits, and the like. Among tribes throughout California, but especially in the dry areas, the rainmaker's ceremony occupied a place of importance. The degree of that importance varied over the years, but with climatic extremes as the norm, this worthy's services eventually came into heavy demand everywhere.<sup>11</sup>

Water played a significant role in village location. Unlike peoples who frequently established rivers as boundaries, California natives looked upon the watersheds of streams as natural territories. Such an outlook reflected economic as well as political considerations, for it ordinarily gave a tribe control of both banks of a river or stream or creek, and it provided easy access to game and fowl which sought out such water courses. It also meant greater variety of available resources since watersheds typically embrace several life zones or areas where the number and kinds of plants and animals vary seasonally and according to altitude, precipitation, and climate. Control of a stream meant, as well, access to fish, especially the

highly prized king salmon that could be found in abundance in 650 miles of uninterrupted California waterways and that served as a major part of the diet for many Indians. The fresh water of a stream or lake was also crucial in the preparation of acorns, the principal vegetable food of most California natives. Unless the ground acorn meal could be leached with boiling water, its tannic acid content made it inedible. Even the less common method of removing the tannin required water to produce the mud in which the unshelled acorns were buried for as long as a year to make them palatable. Thus even those Indians who lived along the coast and relied heavily on shellfish and ocean catches located their villages near sources of fresh water in order to sustain their acorn diet and to meet their personal needs.<sup>12</sup>

For the peoples inhabiting California's deserts, water naturally played an even more critical role in survival. They settled near springs or an infrequent stream, often moving because of the seasonal nature of the water supply. In their hunting-gathering activities, they relied heavily upon game and mesquite berries but especially on piñon nuts, rather than the acorn, since the otherwise ubiquitous oak was not present in the deserts. Population density was low—the lowest in California—because the extreme heat, low rainfall, and typical desert-plant cover produced fewer natural foods than elsewhere.

Among those who survived only by hunting and collecting, village life was virtually unknown, with small bands or even a single family being the primary unit. Water or food shortage frequently caused even these groups to splinter. Such fragmentation and isolation could profoundly affect cultural life, leading to the development of new and distinctively different ceremonials.<sup>13</sup>

That California's many environments, including especially the location and quantity of water, influenced the settlement patterns, material culture, and life styles of the native peoples should not be construed as geographic or environmental determinism. The Indians were not unthinking or passive dwellers on the land. They were environmentally intelligent enough to survive, and usually comfortably. They were also conscious manipulators of their various environments. Virtually everywhere California natives actively practiced what could be called natural-resource management, and it was done with a recognition that, above all, they were part of nature and had to manage wisely their own lives. This entailed devising social and cultural restraints calculated to ensure survival. Birth control during times of shortage was an example. So, too, were rituals that prevented overhunting or overfishing that might threaten subsistence in the future. The Yurok and Karok tribes proscribed anything that en-



Photographer T.H. O'Sullivan, who learned his trade as Matthew Brady's assistant, took this photograph of "types of Mohave Indians" as part of the U.S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian. Mohaves and Yumas used Colorado River flood waters to irrigate their crop lands.

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dangered the capacity of the Klamath River to attract the annual salmon runs. The Sierra Miwok and others harvested acorns carefully so as to avoid damaging the oak trees that provided their main staple. Observed an old Wintu woman in recollection: "When we . . . kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots, we make little holes. . . . We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood."<sup>14</sup>

But resource management also entailed manipulating the physical environment. An especially dramatic example of environmental alteration was the use of fire by Indians. They practiced controlled burning of grasslands, chaparral, and coniferous trees to encourage fresh growth attractive to grazing game, to flush animals, and to provide greater access to wildlife in densely forested areas. The Miwok, Wintu, Yurok, Hupa, and perhaps other groups grew tobacco by scattering seeds on well-watered, burned-over slopes or in the ashes of old logs to which they had set fire. Utilizing another approach, some desert peoples appear to have regularly trimmed mesquite in order to increase pod yield.<sup>15</sup> But the most significant form of

Indian manipulation of the environment was agriculture.

**F**or years conventional wisdom among scholars held that the California natives did not practice agriculture—the tilling, planting, and cultivating of the soil. Some contended that native hunting and gathering practices, especially the acorn economy, were so successful that agriculture was unnecessary, while others emphasized the climatic obstacle posed by California's hot summers for the "usual Indian triad of corn, beans, and squash" and still others called attention to the lack of annual grasses that could be domesticated.<sup>16</sup> These arguments seem attractive for much of California, particularly when considered along with the Indians' use of fire and other resource-management techniques, but they fail to explain the growing body of evidence that agriculture—and irrigation agriculture, in particular—was being practiced long before the arrival of Europeans. At first such evidence was grudgingly labeled "incipient

agriculture," "semi-cultivation," or even "irrigation without agriculture," the latter an expression coined by Julian Steward, among the most respected anthropologists of the last generation.<sup>17</sup> Recent research, however, seems convincingly to demonstrate that some California Indians practiced agriculture in the strict sense and on a wide scale in aboriginal times. The latest findings are strongest for two areas, the Owens Valley in eastern California and along the lower Colorado River in what is now the southeastern portion of the state.

The Owens Valley is a long, narrow trough lying between the Sierra Nevada on the west and the White-Inyo Range on the east and extending some seventy-five miles, with a width of six to ten miles. Precipitation averages less than six inches, but the area is well watered during much of the year by runoff from Sierra streams. There the Paiute, probably sometime around 1000 A.D., constructed an elaborate irrigation system with the largest development in the northern portion of the valley in the vicinity of the present community of Bishop. They built a dam on Bishop Creek and

**IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE  
WAS PRACTICED IN THE OWENS  
VALLEY AND ALONG THE LOWER  
COLORADO RIVER.**

diverted water several miles through large earthenwork canals to two immense plots, one measuring about two miles square and the other approximately four by one to one-and-a-half miles. The plots were irrigated in alternate years in a practice similar to fallowing that promoted increased yield and lessened the chances for undesirable vegetation. The primary crops grown were native plants—yellow nut-grass for protein and rich tubers and wild-hyacinth for its nutritious bulb-like corms. Harvesting was accomplished by turning the soil with a special wooden tool or digging stick that exposed the desired plant parts while at the same time facilitating the replanting of the soil with smaller corms and tubers.<sup>18</sup>

The crops were local and not the melons, maize, pumpkins, and squash associated with Spanish cultivation, and this in itself is evidence that agriculture developed independently in the Owens Valley and did not diffuse there in historic times from the missions or other colonial settlements. Nor for the same reason does it seem likely that the Paiutes borrowed the practice from the agricultural tribes and pueblos in what is presently New Mexico and Arizona where the principal crops were similar to those at the Spanish settlements. To have borrowed the means (irrigation) and not the *raison d'être* (the crops produced) constitutes an action at variance with anthropological knowledge. Also supporting the

case for independent development of agriculture among the Paiutes is the fact that their words associated with the growing of crops—for example, *tuvaïjü'u* (head irrigator), *tüva'adut* (to irrigate), and *pavado* (irrigator's pole)—are Paiute and not derived from other Indian languages or Spanish.<sup>19</sup>

An intriguing question is why they did so. A popular theory for explaining the origins of agriculture worldwide holds that population growth is the trigger. When the natural increase in the population of an area creates a food demand incapable of being met through hunting and gathering alone, the resulting pressure prompts the development of agricultural techniques.<sup>20</sup> Archaeological evidence in the Owens Valley seems to support this theory, though the population pressure appears to have come from immigration and not natural increase. About 1000 A.D. the climate in the area became drier and prompted migration from less accommodating lands of southeastern California into the Owens Valley where even decreased runoff from the Sierra supported relatively abundant game and vegetation. As those resources became increasingly taxed, the Indians' settlement patterns, which had heretofore reflected only hunting-gathering characteristics, began to reveal features typical of agricultural societies. The most striking feature was a decline in nomadism and the appear-

ance of permanent villages. Eventually the Owens Valley became home to some thirty such villages inhabited by at least two thousand people, making the region one of the most densely populated areas in the Great Basin.<sup>21</sup>

The adoption of agriculture would have required no great cultural leap for the Paiutes. Always in close touch with their environment, the food-conscious natives of the Owens Valley could not have helped but notice that the naturally occurring nutritious plants grew in more abundance in the marshlands and areas along creeks subject to occasional overflow. It would have been but a short step to watering promising lands artificially. The natives themselves doubtlessly contributed to this development by their traditional fishing practice in which whole villages or groups of villages cooperated to divert streams in order to gather fish from the exposed beds. The dry-creek method of fishing later became an integral part of the Indians' agricultural complex, for they regularly gathered fish in this way when they dammed streams and diverted the water into their irrigation canals. The introduction of irrigation agriculture did not result in the Owens Valley Paiutes becoming only farmers and occasional consumers of fish. Seldom has an "agricultural" society anywhere completely abandoned hunting and gathering, and the Paiutes continued



*Yuma Indians from Imperial County protested an agreement transferring their land along the Colorado River from California to Arizona, March 12, 1963.*

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to rely on game and especially on the piñon nut for sustenance. Agriculture's special role was to supplement the available natural foods that became increasingly inadequate, especially during the long and sometimes severe Owens Valley winters.<sup>21</sup>

**T**he other California area of major agricultural development was along the lower Colorado River. There the Quechan (Yuma), Mohave, Halchidhoma, and

Kamia cultivated the bottomlands between Black Canyon, near the southern tip of what is now Nevada, and the present Mexican border, while the Kamia also worked the rich soils of what is today the southern Imperial Valley. Like the Owens Valley Paiutes, these peoples practiced agriculture long before the arrival of the Spanish, some perhaps as early as 800 A.D. in the area where the Gila River empties into the Colorado. Agriculture there, however, does not appear to have been an independent invention, but rather diffused from tribes further east where cultivation of the soil

went back many generations. Crops included not only some local native vegetation and a type of maize characteristic of that found in ancient Hohokam sites, but also watermelons, muskmelons, and black-eyed beans which had been introduced to the New World by the Spaniards and diffused northward faster than the advance of white settlements.<sup>23</sup>

The river tribes had numerous plots, rather than a vast field or two like the Paiutes, and relied upon the periodic floods of the Colorado River instead of building dams and canals. The overflows deposited a rich layer of silt on their plots which they planted by punching a hole with a stick and dropping in seeds. Because the river did not always overflow and since weeds lessened the harvest, they, like the Paiutes, did not abandon their hunting and gathering practices. Ordinarily, however, they could rely on agriculture for a substantial portion of their food—fifty percent for the Mohave and thirty to fifty percent for the other tribes. Their success was such that at the time of European arrival they numbered perhaps 3,500, or sixty-three percent of California's desert population. As in the Owens Valley,

the pressure of such numbers seems to have been the reason for the adoption of agriculture in the area, for scholars agree that reliance on natural foods alone could not have sustained anywhere near the numbers present at contact.<sup>24</sup>

In a fascinating study of despotism and the rise of civilization, Karl Wittfogel has argued that large-scale irrigation was possible only in a tightly ordered and hierarchical society whose members surrendered control of their labor—and much of their political and personal freedom—to a centralized authority. Wittfogel's theory does not seem to find support in the experiences of California's aboriginal irrigationists. The Owens Valley Paiutes practiced irrigation on an extensive scale that required vast amounts of labor, the men primarily responsible for constructing the dams and canals and the women for gathering the harvest. But their efforts were communal and freely given in recognition of the need for a stable food supply and in anticipation that all participants would share in the harvest. Such communal efforts were not limited to irrigation but were characteristic of hunts for game, when an entire

**WATER SAYS: "YOU CAN DIG A  
DITCH AND PUT ME IN IT, BUT I GO  
ONLY SO FAR AND I AM OUT OF  
SIGHT. . . . WHEN I AM OUT OF  
SIGHT I AM ON MY WAY HOME."**

village or group of villages joined to drive antelope or rabbits. A village or district headman supervised such efforts, but he was chosen by the people, not self-appointed and certainly not a despot. In the case of agriculture, the head irrigator was elected in the spring by a popular assembly which also approved the date for irrigation to begin.<sup>25</sup>

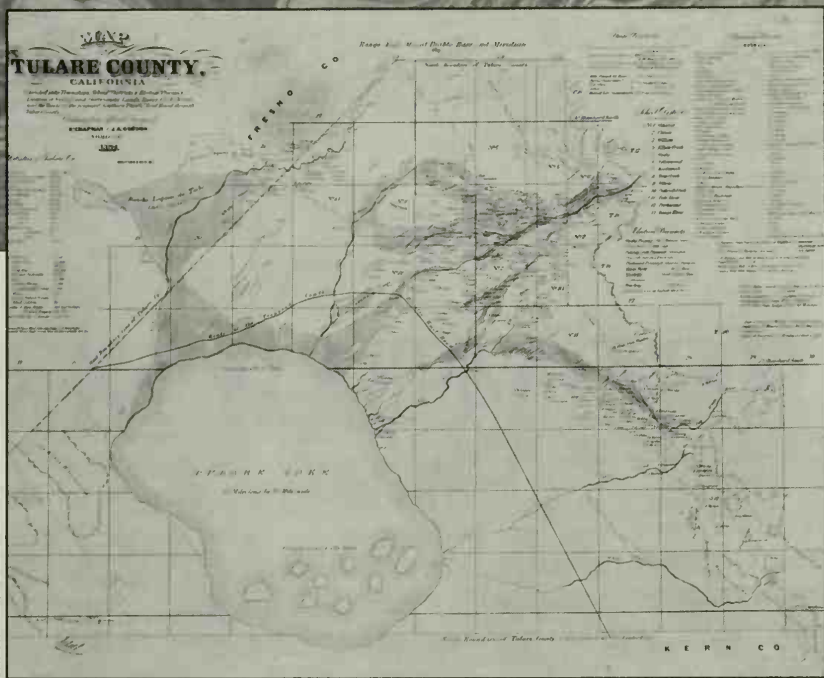
Along the lower Colorado River, irrigation agriculture proved successful without check dams, canals, or ditches. This is not to say that agriculture had no effect on the Indian societies there, however. The distinctive features are striking and suggest that the river people, while certainly not subject to anything resembling despotism, could exercise control over a wider area and command a larger following than the Paiutes with their large-scale hydraulic systems. In such respects, they also differed from their nearby nonagricultural kinsmen. The explanation seems traceable to both cultural and environmental influences. Among those lower Colorado peoples who shunned the movement toward agriculture and continued to rely strictly on a hunting and gathering economy, the basic political unit remained the patrilineal band consisting of 100 to 150 people. It operated autonomously, was governed by a leader who was ordinarily hereditary, and claimed a specific territory that it jealously guarded against other bands with which it frequently

engaged in lengthy feuds. Their agricultural relatives, on the other hand, developed a deep sense of tribal—rather than band—loyalty among those speaking the same language and living within the general vicinity of one another. Leaders acquired power through individual success, rather than invoking heredity as in the band, and exercised their authority—the resolution of disputes, calling of ceremonies, redistributing gifts, selecting a course of action in critical situations—over a relatively broad region rather than over the more restricted territories of bands.<sup>26</sup>

Intertwined with the cultural differences were sharp contrasts in settlement patterns. The agricultural peoples ordinarily resided in individual family units spread over a considerable area. This scattering reflected the dispersed nature of the suitable farmland that seldom existed in tracts large enough to support more than a family or two. The reason was the river. The action of the water normally produced considerable erosion and unevenness of contour, resulting in suitable plots of only an acre or two, enough for a family but clearly insufficient for a band. Also contributing to the spread-out living patterns were the frequent heavy floods that destroyed farm plots or changed the course of the river and deprived lands of water. Both eventualities necessitated habitual change of homesites.

The mobility and dispersal made it impossible for agricultural peoples to maintain the residential unity characteristic of the hunting-gathering bands and made it difficult, if not impossible, to continue political and cultural patterns that rested on such unity. Unable to identify with a particular band or headman, agricultural peoples began identifying instead with those engaged in a similar horticultural economy who spoke the same language, lived in the same general area, and shared many of the same fears and aspirations. They selected headmen on the basis of individual achievement—their ability to persuade others of the wisdom of their choices, their generosity in distributing goods, and especially their talents for inspiring confidence through their dreams. This "dream power" became a preeminent cultural characteristic of the agricultural peoples and the means by which leaders legitimized their claims to authority. Among the nonagricultural bands dreams received no such emphasis, since heredity continued to serve as the sign of the legitimate leader. Warfare also gained great prominence among the agriculturalists. Whereas hunting and gathering bands engaged in protracted feuds with one another, they devoted most of their energies to subsistence. The farming peoples, on the other hand, fought more frequently, more bitterly, and on a large scale, some even attacking





When this map of Tulare County was drawn in 1867, Tulare Lake was twenty-two miles wide and thirty-three miles long.

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tribes hundreds of miles distant. Their food resources made such ventures possible and the size of their territories assured manpower for conflicts that dwarfed those of individual bands. Warfare also helped reinforce loyalties and maintain the tribal unity of a people scattered over a large territory.<sup>27</sup>

**A**s important as water was to the subsistence patterns and political and social customs of the agricultural peoples of the lower Colorado River and Owens

Valley, the natives did little to disturb the land. The Paiutes' large canals and networks of subsidiary ditches are today hardly discernible, even to the trained eye, a circumstance that helps explain the generations of uncertainty about the existence of agriculture in aboriginal California. To scar the land unnecessarily conflicted with their desire for symbiosis with nature and to avoid anything that might lead to disaster. Such considerations may explain the Paiute practice of annually destroying their dams once those structures had served their purpose.<sup>28</sup> The reliance

of the Colorado River agriculturalists on the natural ebbs and flows of the river for watering their fields resulted in even fewer marks on the landscape. The contrast with agribusiness of a later era could not be greater.

Still another feature in counterpoint with the future was the absence among Indians of a private property right in the use of water that could be bartered or sold. Such a concept was completely alien, for water, like land, belonged to no individual but rather was interconnected with all of nature and essential for both human and animal survival. A corollary was a shrewd understanding of water's ultimate illusiveness. An old Wintu woman put it this way to an interviewer: "Water says this, 'Wherever you put me I'll be in my home. I am awfully smart. Lead me out of my springs, lead me from my rivers, but I came from the ocean and I shall go back into the ocean. You can dig a ditch and put me in it, but I go only so far and I am out of sight. I am awfully smart. When I am out of sight I am on my way home.'"<sup>29</sup>

Such wisdom notwithstanding, bands and tribes jealously defended their territories, and in doing so,

they were also guarding the springs, streams, and rivers that watered those lands and attracted the game, fowl, and fish that contributed to survival. Viewed this way water belonged—if only fleetingly—to a particular community and, especially in the more arid regions, must have been the source of conflict. But just as later generations of Californians with a different ethic would permanently alter the landscape with their massive hydraulic structures, so too would their battles over water become monumental, dwarfing any possible differences among Indians as the latter-day behemoths pitted vast regions and even nations against one another.

Still, as the evidence adduced here suggests, native Californians manipulated their environments, sometimes dramatically so, though in ways calculated not to despoil the landscape and waterscape. Put another way, their commitment to living in harmony with nature did not mean gleanings only what nature presented. Their value system reflected a sensitive accommodation to both harmony and manipulation, a legacy only dimly perceived, if not lost, in the California of today. ■

See notes beginning on page 69.

# ASSEMBLYMAN W.



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# BYRON RUMFORD

## SYMBOL FOR AN ERA

by Lawrence Paul Crouchett

**W**hen in 1948 William Byron Rumford became the first black person to be elected to public office in Northern California, open discrimination on the basis of race was still a way of life, despite increasing signs of change. By the time he left office in 1966, few public officials, employers, or property owners dared to admit using race as a criterion for denying access to anything from a seat on a bus to a house in an exclusive neighborhood. Although racial discrimination persisted, a changed social climate required that it be cloaked in some other justification. Rumford stands as an appropriate symbol for this age of radical transformation in public institutions, both because he played a crucial role in writing legislation to outlaw the most egregious forms of discrimination and because his career reflects the interaction of decades-long political efforts by

black community leaders with the demographic and economic transformations brought about by World War II.

The milestone "firsts" registered between 1940 and 1950 give some measure of the barriers minority people faced:

\*Dr. Fitzroy E. Younge, an obstetrician, was the first black doctor to be given full hospital privileges at a Bay Area hospital (Berkeley General, now Herrick Hospital). Black doctors had been required to turn their patients over to white doctors for treatment when they entered private hospitals, where minority patients were customarily assigned to a segregated ward or forced to pay for the extra bed in a double room.<sup>1</sup>

\*Berkeley hired its first minority teacher, Ruth Acty, a black woman, in 1943. Alameda hired Carolese Hargrave as its first minority teacher in 1950. Oakland had employed only three black teachers before 1940. East Bay colleges and universities had no black faculty members into the 1950s, and the University of California had thirty-five black students in a student body of sixteen thousand in 1950.<sup>2</sup> California legislation authorizing school segregation

by race was not removed from the books until 1947. By that time, however, the primary instrument of school segregation was the creation of segregated neighborhoods by restrictions on access to housing.

\*Marguerite Johnson (Maya Angelou) became the first black streetcar conductor in San Francisco in 1944,<sup>3</sup> and the Key Route Transit System in the East Bay hired its first black bus driver in 1951.<sup>4</sup> The Yellow Cab Company in San Francisco hired its first minority drivers in 1956.<sup>5</sup>

Ironically, the widespread use of restrictive covenants and screening by real estate agents to exclude blacks and other minorities from many Bay Area neighborhoods created the political base from which Rumford was elected. As real estate interests banded together to "protect housing values" by fashioning and enforcing restrictive covenants in the face of black immigration to the Bay Area during World War II, black newcomers concentrated in what had been the heterogeneous areas of North and West Oakland, making these districts the center of their cultural, political, and social activities.<sup>6</sup> Here they established their

*Berkeley's fair housing ordinance lost by 2,000 votes of 42,000 cast in April, 1963, but the coalition of black and white activists working for it reflected the expanding drive for civil rights which made Rumford's legislative achievements possible.*

fraternal and denominational organizations, their churches, and their businesses—barbershops, newspapers, printing shops, real estate offices, mortuaries, cafes, cleaning establishments, drugstores, and nightclubs. These areas fell in the Seventeenth Assembly District, and by 1948 black political leaders realized they had the votes to make election of a black candidate feasible if white liberals could be induced to join forces with them.

There had been black candidates in the East Bay before, but they had faced white incumbents and lost in campaigns requiring coalitions of white and black voters. In 1920, Progressive John W. Fowler had lost the race in the Thirty-Ninth Assembly District. In 1938, Republican attorney Jay Maurice lost in the Seventeenth Assembly District primary. In 1940, Thomas L. Berkeley, John C. Henderson, and Jay Maurice, all attorneys, had lost in the primary, and Claude Allen failed in a write-in effort to unseat incumbent Edward J. Carey in the November general election.<sup>7</sup> Carey's decision not to seek reelection in 1948 opened the field, and black leaders began looking for a candidate early in the year.

**W**illiam Byron Rumford was born on February 2, 1908, in Courtland, Arizona, a small copper-mining camp in southwestern Arizona Territory. He spent his early

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childhood, along with his mother Margaret Lee, older brother Chauncey, and maternal grandmother Louise Alice Galbreath Johnson, traveling in the territory. Family tradition has it that the grandmother was seeking a place where the children could attend unsegregated schools, a dream that was shattered when Arizona was admitted to statehood in 1912 and allowed to segregate its pupils by race. Despite his grandmother's protest, young Byron attended segregated schools and in 1926 graduated from the "Colored Department" of Phoenix High School, where he excelled in his courses, drama, sports, and music. He then moved to San Francisco to work his way through the University of California School of Pharmacy, earning his pharmacy degree in 1931. Turned down for employment at several white-owned drugstores in San Francisco, Rumford took a part-time position as a pharmacist at Alameda County's Highland Hospital in Oakland, where he was permitted to fill prescriptions only for outpatient clinics. While he was employed at Highland, Rumford moved to Berkeley, where he went to work for black pharmacist William Montgome-

ry, who had opened his own drugstore on Sacramento Street in 1927. Montgomery died in 1943, and Rumford purchased the business.<sup>8</sup>

But Rumford was to be more than a druggist. In the 1930s he was one of a group of black friends who founded the Appomattox Club to exert an influence in Berkeley city politics. The club eventually joined with the United Negro Labor Committee and the Alameda County Democratic Club to support Democratic candidates in municipal, state, and federal elections.<sup>9</sup> By 1942, Democrat Rumford had come to the attention of Republican Governor Earl Warren through a black law school classmate of Warren's who helped the governor identify black candidates for public appointments. Warren named Rumford to the Berkeley Emergency Housing Commission to help mediate between landlords and minority defense workers in need of housing. In 1943 Rumford appeared before the Berkeley City Council to represent the Berkeley Interracial Committee in asking for nondiscrimination in the selection of tenants for Cordones Village, a war emergency housing complex. In 1944 Warren appointed Rumford to





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Berkeley community activist, nurse, and social worker Frances Albrier (right in Red Cross uniform) pioneered in the struggle for civil rights and in demonstrating that blacks were in fact prepared to play an equal role in the community. Social changes are indicated in this June, 1951 photograph of Berkeley's Longfellow Elementary School PTA after a first aid class taught by Albrier.

the Berkeley and regional rent control boards and then to the State Housing Commission. It was in these capacities that Rumford first gained popular notice and attracted the attention of social reformers and Democratic Party regulars. Many of these people began to talk of sending him to Sacramento.

Meanwhile, Rumford's drugstore had become a popular gathering center for a coterie of black patrons and—to a lesser degree—their white friends who came there to purchase black weekly newspapers and monthly magazines and to talk. Rumford's eloquence in discussions of social and political topics in this context added to the reputation he was establishing in Democratic Party circles.

As the election of 1948 approached without an incumbent running for the Seventeenth Assembly District seat, black Democrats and Republicans agreed to support a single black candidate regardless of party affiliation, remembers political activist Frances Albrier.<sup>10</sup> A public meeting of district residents was held in March, 1948, at the Beebe Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Temple in Oakland to select a single black

candidate to enter the Democratic primary in June. A group of Democratic Party regulars and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) union leaders had asked permission to place Rumford's name in nomination, but he went to the meeting to support another candidate. After a series of maneuvers in which that candidate withdrew, Rumford's sister-in-law nominated him from the floor, and—to his own surprise—he was chosen. Having agreed on a black candidate, the meeting issued a call for labor organizations and other groups to make every effort to get out the vote for Rumford, who filed for the Republican primary as well under the cross-filing system then in effect.

Rumford won the Democratic nomination, and Edgar S. Hurley, a white conservative with American Federation of Labor (AFL) backing, won the Republican contest. Since neither had received a majority of the total vote, they faced off for the November general election. The campaign became one of the most dramatic in Alameda County history as it developed into both a racial confrontation and a struggle between liberal and conservative agendas. As

old-timers remember it, Hurley pandered to race prejudice and union baiting. They say that his tone was openly anti-black.<sup>11</sup> Rumford attacked Hurley's record during a term in the Assembly in the 1920s, charging his opponent with indifference to blacks and labor and pointing out that Hurley had voted against bills to improve conditions for labor, the elderly, and children and that he had sponsored a poll-tax bill to disenfranchise non-whites.

When the votes were counted, Rumford had won by a memorable margin of 20,387. Blacks and whites of both parties had supported him with full knowledge that he would fight against racial injustices and for social reform.<sup>12</sup>

Two black men had been elected to the Assembly before Rumford, but he was the first from Northern California. Frederick M. Roberts, a Republican from an all-black district in Los Angeles, served from 1919 to 1935. Augustus F. Hawkins, a Democrat, succeeded Roberts in 1935 and was still in the Assembly when Rumford was elected. Hawkins is currently a member of the U.S. Congress. Although Hawkins had sponsored a host of civil rights measures, the legislature had rejected all of them. Although they were no longer willing to pass new restrictions on the civil and social rights of blacks and other minorities, the members of the legislature were not yet prepared to risk the controversy that would result from a serious challenge to the status quo. The first move toward legislative activism had come in 1947, when both houses passed the first modern anti-discrimination law in California, a bill sponsored by Assemblyman Glenn M. Anderson (D-Inglewood) to abolish

racially segregated public schooling in the state.<sup>13</sup>

Upon his arrival in Sacramento the night before his installation as a member of the Assembly, Rumford was refused a room—which he had reserved without identifying his race—at the William Land Hotel across the street from the State Capitol. To prove that the incident was not a mistake, he left the hotel and placed a call from a public phone booth inquiring about a room. The clerk, assuming the caller was white, assured him that a room was available. Rumford then returned to the hotel and demanded the room he had originally reserved, threatening to bring the matter up on the Assembly floor if he were refused and presenting documents to confirm his status as a legislator. The manager backed down, and Rumford was shown to a room.<sup>14</sup>

**O**n January 3, 1949, Rumford entered the Assembly chamber to take the oath of office for the first time. The galleries were packed with his friends and supporters, both black and white. They represented an emerging bipartisan coalition supported by Governor Earl Warren and committed to enhancing civil rights for minorities. They saw Rumford as a standard bearer. As he recalled, “When the governor ended his speech to the joint session of the legislature, he drew me aside and asked me to come to his office. When we met, he expressed the wish that I push through some civil rights bills, and promised that if they were passed he would surely sign them into law. He specifically urged me to press for legislation to abolish racial discrimination in the state



National Guard.”<sup>15</sup>

Aided by Augustus Hawkins, who kept a drawer full of civil rights bills, Rumford brought two civil rights measures to the floor in his first month in the Assembly. Following the governor’s suggestion, he proposed a rider to a bill sponsored by Richard H. McCollister (D-Sonoma/Marin) petitioning the federal government to return National Guard units to state jurisdiction. The rider called for a ban on racial discrimination in the National Guard once it was returned to the state. McCollister saw the rider as an obstacle to passage of his bill and opposed it, but the hearing committee passed it with only a few Democratic defections. The Democrat-controlled Assembly then passed the bill and rider by a vote of 47 to 17. The Senate amended the bill and the rider so much that Rumford decided they would actually strengthen racial discrimination and opposed them. Looking back, he described the critical factor in his decision as the lack of an enforcement clause in the Senate version of the anti-discrimination legislation. This insistence on enforcement provisions would characterize all of Rumford’s legislation.

In the end, the Senate Committee on Military and Veterans Affairs voted both the bill and the rider down.

On January 18, Rumford returned to the fight with his own bill (AB 807) to prohibit California National Guard units from segregating or discriminating against members on the basis of race, color, or creed. At that time, all black members of the Guard were assigned to one of two segregated units, one in Los Angeles and one in San Francisco. In other communities black guardsmen trained with their white colleagues, but they were carried as detached servicemen from the two black units. Rumford’s bill also banned National Guard units from using race or religion as criteria for discriminating in enlistments, promotions, and commissions. This meant the Guard could not reduce the rank held by black members when they were reassigned or assigned to integrated units. When the bill came before the Assembly Committee on Military and Veterans Affairs, Attorney General Fred N. Howser opposed it on the grounds that it might cause the federal government to withhold funding for the state units. Howser





*A double picket line addressed the issue of fair housing at the 1964 annual convention of the California Real Estate Association in San Diego.*

these discriminatory practices."<sup>17</sup>

As Rumford established himself in Sacramento, Democratic Party regulars at home began to consider him as a candidate for his district's congressional seat, which would be empty in 1950. Rumford quashed this proposal, however, by announcing that he preferred to remain in the Assembly where he thought he could accomplish more on issues of unemployment, education, and discrimination in employment and housing. In his second general election Rumford ran for his Assembly seat unopposed, and in his second term he successfully shepherded several civil rights bills through the legislature into law.

Employment was a regular theme in Rumford's bills. He co-authored a law to prohibit public school districts from using photographs and letters of reference as part of the process of hiring teachers, because these instruments had been used to identify the race of applicants and exclude blacks and other minorities without considering their qualifications.<sup>18</sup> He fought against a bill sponsored by Assemblyman Thomas A. Maloney (R-San Francisco) to establish a Commission on Political Equality with no funding or enforcement powers. Arguing that Maloney's bill was weak and meaningless—as he had argued against McCollister's National Guard bill—Rumford proposed an alternative which called for a permanent Fair Employment Commission to be appointed by the governor and provided with a paid executive secretary and support staff and which would be able to impose financial penalties (\$500) and jail sentences (six months) on employers and labor organizations that discriminated on the basis of race,

wanted the National Guard returned to California jurisdiction before changes like those advocated by Rumford were made. Rumford pointed out that New Jersey and Connecticut had integrated their National Guard units without losing federal money. In a pattern of white liberal support which became typical for Rumford's successful legislative efforts, Richard J. Dolwig (D-San Mateo) helped persuade the committee to recommend "Do pass" and submit the bill to the full Assembly.

The Assembly passed the bill and sent it to the Senate, where the Committee on Military and Veterans Affairs deliberately delayed hearings by holding them at night when it was difficult to get a quorum. Rumford had to seek out members of the committee himself to urge them to attend the hearings. A brief hearing was finally held on June 27, after much caucusing among Democratic members, and enough "yes" votes were secured to pass the bill on to the full Senate, which voted for it by a small margin on June 30. Governor Warren signed it into law on July 18, 1949.<sup>16</sup>

The second bill Rumford brought into the Assembly, also in January,

1949, reflected the practice he continued throughout his career of going home to his drugstore on weekends to talk politics and problems with his constituents. Many of the bills he brought to the Assembly floor were conceived in drugstore conversations about specific problems faced by individuals as a result of racially discriminatory customs that were nearly invisible except to their victims. Rumford's second bill tackled insurance companies which refused to issue policies covering automobiles owned by blacks and other minority people and sought to make the practice illegal. Insurance company representatives suggested that certain people were bad risks and that each group should carry its own losses, but Rumford argued that since the state required every car owner to carry a public liability policy, it was unconstitutional to refuse insurance solely because of the applicant's race, color, or creed. Moreover, Rumford charged, insurance companies that did grant coverage to black car owners raised the premium by as much as fifteen percent. The bill (AB-32) passed both houses, and the governor signed it with the comment, "It's about time we end

color, or creed. This measure was denounced by both employer and labor groups as "a step toward nationalization of jobs" which "constitut[ed] an intrusion by the government on the private right of property of employers."<sup>19</sup> Rumford and his supporters suggested that the failure of labor unions to support this bill was due to fear among white officials and members that blacks would compete for well-paid jobs monopolized by white men. In the end, Rumford's bill was defeated in committee by a vote of 15 to 3, but his opposition had also helped defeat Maloney's measure by a 9-to-3 margin. The field was still open for an effective fair employment commission, and Rumford promised to return to the issue.<sup>20</sup>

In the meanwhile, there were limited campaigns to wage for specific results. With backing and lobbying assistance from Governor Warren, Rumford and Edward M. Gaffney (D-San Francisco) pushed through AB 546 to open union membership and apprenticeship programs to all qualified employees regardless of race, color, or creed. When the governor signed this bill into law on June 22, 1951, the practice of restricting apprenticeship positions to relatives and proteges of influential union members or employers, especially prevalent in plumbing and carpentry, was outlawed. Outraged by Armstrong Business College in Berkeley, which accepted Chinese and Japanese applicants but prohibited the enrollment of black students, Rumford and Hawkins proposed a bill to forbid discrimination in enrollment in both public and private vocational, business, and professional schools. The bill passed the House but died in the Senate, and Arm-



strong did not admit its first black student until a similar bill passed in 1955, a time lapse that allowed its president to soften his 1951 promise to "get out of the business" if Rumford's bill passed.<sup>21</sup>

Rumford's constant awareness of the need to enlist the authority of the state on behalf of the victims of discrimination showed itself in a pair of bills to end free-speech protection of hate literature. The bills—which prohibited the promulgation of propaganda designed to discredit any religious belief and forbade the dissemination of material advocating hatred of any person or group on the basis of race, color, or religion—were Rumford's response to a resurgence of white supremacist activities. This was particularly notable in the Imperial Valley, where the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups were active.<sup>22</sup>

**I**n his fourth term, which began in 1955, Rumford returned to the fair employment fight. Joined by Hawkins and eighteen other members of the Assembly, Rumford introduced AB 971 to establish a "little" Fair Employment Practices

Commission. The bill called for a five-member commission authorized to hold hearings on employment discrimination, and to issue orders to correct the effects of discriminatory practices or to prevent their recurrence. Enforcement would be through District Courts of Appeal, and violations would be treated as misdemeanors. "Of course it fell short of my wishes," remembered Rumford years later, "but it did fit into my overall hope of resolving job discrimination. Since Assemblyman Hawkins had introduced much stronger bills in 1945 and 1947, and had failed to get them passed, I felt this was the only type of legislation I could get passed by this legislature."<sup>23</sup> The bill was passed and became law. Other fourth-term accomplishments were the passage of Rumford bills to provide free polio vaccine to millions of Californians and to prohibit the use of marital status or age as reasons for rejecting applicants for public school teaching positions.<sup>24</sup>

In January, 1959, as Rumford began his sixth term, he and Hawkins found the conditions right for a civil rights campaign that meant "getting to the center of bigotry





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*The NAACP did not restrict itself to political organizing but also sponsored popular social and cultural events such as the ball at which Rumford crowned Miss NAACP, 1956. The man on the left is Judge Joseph Kennedy; on the right is NAACP West Coast Regional Director Tarea Hall Pittman.*

which prevents real equality of opportunity not only for racial minorities but for other victims of prejudice as well."<sup>25</sup> Once more, he acted on what he called "the democratic assumption that it is the duty of the state to provide and ensure equal protection of the laws to all its citizens."<sup>26</sup> With the Democrats in control of both houses of the legislature and Pat Brown in the governor's mansion, Rumford and Hawkins on January 7 invited members of the legislature to affix their signatures to AB 91 to create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. As proposed, the commission would be able to bring before a hearing panel by subpoena if necessary any person or persons, employers, or organizations who were accused of discriminating on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin against any person or persons seeking employment. It could also assess a penalty of six months in prison, a \$5,000 fine, or both. It would have a paid executive secretary and support staff, and its members would be appointed by the governor. Before presenting his bill in the legislature, Rumford had already enlisted support from the California

State Chamber of Commerce, the California Manufacturers' Association, the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, and from Governor Pat Brown. Brown had made fair employment legislation a centerpiece of his legislative program, using his inaugural address to urge lawmakers to "enact legislation to bar discrimination by an employer or labor union on grounds of race, creed, national origin, or age."<sup>27</sup>

The contest went on for three months, with opponents reminding legislators that voters had defeated a fair employment practices initiative by a margin of two to one in 1946. Almost a hundred amendments were added to the original bill before it passed two different committee hearings in the Assembly on February 19, yet there was little debate when the Assembly voted sixty-five to fourteen for the bill and sent it to the Senate. It took until April 8 for the Senate Labor and Finance Committee to bring the bill to the floor, where more amendments were added before the vote was taken. The bill passed the Senate thirty to five. The Assembly accepted the Senate amendments but added a few more, requiring the bill

to go to a conference committee which removed age as one of the outlawed bases for discrimination in a final resolution of the differences between the two versions of the bill. On April 10 the Assembly passed Rumford's measure by a clear majority. After fourteen years of legislative efforts, California now had an enforceable fair employment law; it went into effect on September 18, 1959.

The creation of the Fair Employment Practices Commission was the most memorable event of the 1959 legislative session, but two other civil rights bills also made their way into law. The Unruh Civil Rights Act forbade business establishments dealing with the public to deny services on the basis of race. It declared, "all persons within the jurisdiction of the State are free and equal, and entitled to the full and equal accommodation, advantages, facilities, and privileges or services in all business establishments of any kind whatsoever." Hawkins also brought a bill into law which prohibited racial discrimination in the sale of houses financed with mortgages insured or guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) or the Veterans Administration (VA). Although the penalty on sellers who violated the law were slight, it did create a Commission on Discrimination in Housing.

It took four more years to prepare what Rumford hoped would be the crowning legislative measure to end all discrimination and segregation: a fair housing bill. A fair housing measure introduced by Hawkins in the 1961 session of the legislature failed, and experience had taught the anti-discrimination coalition that legislation on housing was the most

*Despite his identification with civil rights issues, Rumford, like any other members of the Assembly, spent much of his career tending to less dramatic day-to-day affairs.*

*As a pharmacist, he brought a strong professional interest to his work on the Assembly Public Health Committee.*

controversial kind. Attempts to ensure equal access to housing by forbidding property owners to discriminate on racial grounds in selling houses—in effect limiting their right to choose to whom to sell—were guaranteed to stir up widespread and strongly held racist feelings. Thus supporters of the legislature had already marshalled backing and votes for fair housing before bringing a measure to the Assembly. On February 13, 1963, Governor Pat Brown called on a joint session of the legislature to “pass legislation to eliminate discrimination in the private housing market in California.”<sup>28</sup> On the same day, Rumford announced that he had on his desk a bill supported by the governor and a broad array of civil rights organizations. The bill, AB 1240, was essentially the same as AB 801, the fair housing bill Hawkins had unsuccessfully sponsored two years before. With Democrats in the majority in both houses and with the governor behind the bill, the time seemed ripe for its passage. Many legislators rushed to add their names as sponsors, and those who opposed it assumed evasive postures.

When the bill reached the floor of the Assembly on April 25, Rumford opened the argument for it by asking that California “rid itself of this insidious practice, that of housing discrimination affecting a great number of American citizens in this state.” In the hearings that followed, debate ranged endlessly over the right of the state to restrict the right of private property by legislating against discrimination practices in private housing. The California Real Estate Association (CREA) asserted that there was “no widespread discrimination in the state.” Charges flew



that the measure was unconstitutional, that it was a kind of class legislation which would create “a special privilege for a chosen group while destroying the private rights of others. After days of quibbling, long-winded speeches, and heckling by activist groups, the Assembly finally passed Rumford’s bill by a vote of 47 to 25, with Republicans casting all the negative votes.”<sup>29</sup>

On the Senate side, the much-amended AB 1240 was assigned to the Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy chaired by Luther E. Gibson (D-Solano). Gibson was rumored to be determined not to let the bill pass his committee, whose mostly rural members often voted as a unit against measures concerning housing and employment opportunities for nonwhites. The rumors proved to be correct, as Gibson employed delaying tactic after delaying tactic. After the first two-hour meeting in May, Gibson announced that the committee would vote on May 29—and immediately provoked a demonstration by members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) who vowed to stay in the Capitol rotunda mezzanine until AB 1240 was acted upon.<sup>30</sup> They sat

there for three weeks. On June 14, Gibson announced at a hearing, “My committee will never approve a bill prohibiting discrimination in private housing” and proposed an amendment that exempted single-unit dwellings not financed by FHA, VA, or CAL-VET loans. When Rumford pointed out that Hawkins’s 1959 bill already covered publicly financed housing, Gibson adjourned the hearing without announcing a new meeting time.

Days passed without a new hearing being announced. Rumford and Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh met to arrange a conference—and a compromise—with Gibson. Gibson then announced a compromise he claimed he had reached with Rumford, but Rumford denounced Gibson’s version of their agreement. As the dispute heated up, Gibson again went public with a statement that negotiations were at an impasse and an offer to meet with Rumford again, but Rumford retorted that he “would prefer to discuss the matter with the full committee.” Finally Gibson announced that his committee would hold no further hearings on the measure. A breakthrough came at a closed-door meeting convened by





*Byron Rumford with Governor Pat Brown in 1963 or 1964.*

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Democratic Party leaders at which members of Gibson's committee, Rumford, and Governor Brown agreed to remove certain provisions of the bill while preserving its substance and the enforcement power of the commission.

As it turned out, on June 21, the last day of the legislative session, after literally picking the bill apart and adopting twenty-three amendments, the Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy reported the bill out to the full Senate. The Senate adopted the bill and its amendments and referred it to the Senate Finance Committee to determine whether the measure could and should be financed. Standing in the back of the Senate Chamber, the Finance Committee acted quickly early in the evening and returned the bill to Gibson's committee with a "Do Pass" recommendation.

Watching the clock as the last hours of the session approached, Rumford thought he saw evidence that the Gibson committee would use the long calendar of bills awaiting attention as an excuse not to act on the housing bill. Unable to approach Gibson himself because of the anger between them, Rumford

sought help from Senators Joseph A. Rattigan (D-Sonoma) and Bruce V. Regan (D-Los Angeles). Both senators were members of the liberal Democratic majority and shared the governor's commitment to seeing the bill through. They persuaded Gibson to bring the bill to the Senate floor, but if the full Senate adopted any further amendments, the clock would run out before the whole bill could be returned to the Assembly and come before the Senate again for a final vote. While Rumford worried that Gibson or one of his allies might introduce some delaying amendment, Governor Brown moved into the political scuffle, lobbying key senators until resistance to the bill crumbled in the Senate—almost as if by prearrangement. Playing parliamentary rules adroitly, Senator Regan moved at 10:40 p.m. "that AB 1240 as amended be taken up as a 'special order of business' at 11:00 p.m." Regan had already garnered solid support from most Senate Democrats for this motion, which effectively cut off debate and prevented any further amendments.

Twenty minutes later, at exactly 11:00 p.m., Lieutenant Governor Glenn M. Anderson upheld from

the chair a point of order by Senator Rattigan and cut off Hugh Burns, the president pro tempore of the Senate and a determined foe of the bill, in mid-speech. Rattigan called for an immediate vote on AB 1240 as amended, following Regan's earlier motion. The bill passed by a vote of 22 to 16 and was rushed to the Assembly within minutes for a vote on the Senate's amendments.

Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh entertained a motion that AB 1240 be made a "special order of business" and it carried. Voting was set for 11:35 p.m. At the appointed hour, floor leader Jerome R. Waldie (D-Contra Costa) rose to a point of order to call for consideration of the bill with the Senate's thirty-five amendments. Voting began at 11:55. The Assembly Chamber, crowded with anxious spectators who did not know which way the decision would go, was hushed as the roll call began. Rumford said he had expected the Democratic vote, but others were less certain. Slowly the tally mounted to 63 for, 15 against. The gallery crowd burst into a loud cheer of approval, and members of the Assembly gave Rumford a standing ovation. Opponents were silent, perhaps already uniting in a massive and deadly opposition. Outside in the rotunda, sit-downers joined hands and sang "We Shall Overcome." AB 1240 was sent, correctly enrolled, to the governor's office on July 2; it was signed into law on July 18.<sup>31</sup>

In its final form, the Fair Housing Act of 1963 made it illegal for anyone selling, renting, or leasing any residence to attempt to restrict its use on account of race, creed, color, or national origin. Thereby it set a standard for equal access to housing for

all discriminated-against minorities. Although the passage of this law can be regarded as the completion of Rumford's civil rights program, it would be almost four years before the final word was in on the use of this right.

**T**he opposition did not disappear when the clerk of the Assembly tallied the vote on June 21. State Senator John G. Schmitz (R-Tustin), the California Real Estate Association, and a coalition of apartment building owners soon led the way to a campaign against what they called "forced-housing" legislation. Their claim that the new law was a dangerous infringement on the rights of private property owners was persuasive to people all over California, and the public debate which followed was heavily laced with derogatory images of blacks and other nonwhites. Rumford became the target of personal abuse and villification and even physical threats. In December, 1963, *CREA*, the official magazine of the California Real Estate Association, ran an editorial mocking the Fair Housing Act and promising to restore the right of choice to the property owners of California.

Before the ninety-day waiting period for the act to go into effect was over, its opponents were trying to circumvent or reverse it. They displayed a deep distrust of lawmakers by devising means to bring the matter to a popular vote. An initial campaign to subject the act to a popular referendum was vetoed by the California Real Estate Association, which preferred the initiative proposition route. If the public would vote for a constitutional



amendment prohibiting legislation against discrimination in housing, future legislatures would be bound by it, the association reasoned.

By February, 1964, those who opposed fair housing legislation had gathered enough signatures to qualify a state initiative to invalidate the Fair Housing Act. More than six hundred thousand citizens signed the petition to place Proposition 14—which would reverse the 1963 law and bar the state or any locality from adopting fair housing legislation—on the November ballot.<sup>32</sup> Viewing the effect of the proposition as incorporating racial discrimination into the state constitution, the NAACP and a coalition of other civil-rights organizations undertook an unsuccessful court effort to keep the proposition off the ballot. After an unfavorable ruling in *Lewis v. Jordan*, Governor Brown placed the proposition on the ballot for November 3, 1964.<sup>33</sup>

In the meanwhile, the California Committee on Fair Practices joined Rumford in filing an injunction petition with the State Court of Appeals in Sacramento which questioned the constitutionality of the proposition. Presiding Judge Irving H. Perluss

declared the plea inappropriate and rejected it.<sup>34</sup> Four-and-a-half million Californians voted for Proposition 14 and 2.4 million against it after a campaign marked by angry rhetoric, extensive door-to-door electioneering, and dramatic appeals to fundamental rights: private property against equal treatment.<sup>35</sup>

Soon after the results were in, the fair housing coalition filed an appeal with the State Supreme Court to set aside Proposition 14 on the grounds that it violated the equal protection of the laws clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. On May 10, 1966, the court decreed Proposition 14 unconstitutional and reinstated the Fair Housing Act.<sup>36</sup> Supporters of Proposition 14 appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court in a case known as *Reitman et al v. Lincoln W. Mulkey*, but the justices upheld the State Supreme Court's decision.

The Fair Housing Act, adopted by the legislature, repudiated by a two-to-one majority of the electorate, and upheld by two high courts, marked the culmination of a generation of civil rights efforts. It also ended Byron Rumford's political career and may have been the decisive factor in Pat Brown's defeat by



# IN HOUSING LEGAL experience it -U-S-I-N-G 8-7464

Ronald Reagan in the gubernatorial race of 1966.<sup>37</sup> In 1966 Rumford ignored the advice of some of his Assembly colleagues and local supporters and gave up his Assembly seat to seek the newly created Eighth (State) Senatorial District seat in Alameda County. With nine successful campaigns for the Assembly and an impressive legislative record behind him, Rumford's decision seemed logical. Yet he was estranged from most of the local white Democratic leadership because of his insistence on seeking the State Senate seat despite their fears that he could not win it. Young black militants looked askance at his growing conservatism in matters not tied to civil rights. The campaign against him castigated Rumford for his role in enacting the Fair Housing Act. He lost the election by 801 votes to Republican Lewis F. Sherman of Berkeley.<sup>38</sup>

Rumford returned to private life in Berkeley. His attempt to regain his old Assembly seat in 1968 failed when he lost by 5,754 votes in the April 4 primary to the new incumbent, black Democrat John J. Miller.<sup>39</sup> Contemporary analysts asserted that Rumford was not liberal enough for

the radicals in his district and that he was too liberal to forestall the growing conservatism of California under Governor Ronald Reagan. In the emotional climate created by the Vietnam War and the mass civil rights movement of the mid-1960s, Rumford no longer matched the radical demands placed on elected officials, especially minority ones.

In his last public position, Rumford served the Nixon and Ford administrations for five years as Assistant Director for Consumer Protection and State-Federal Relations of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). He was appointed by his former Assembly colleague, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger. Rumford left the FTC in 1976 to return to pharmacy, from which he retired in 1981. His last years were spent in humble illness in his Berkeley home. Byron Rumford died of Parkinson's disease on June 12, 1986.

In eulogizing Rumford, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley wrote, "Mr. Rumford was one of the torchbearers of the equal rights movement in California. He was a universal man who sought to reach the ideal American goal of a nonracial society

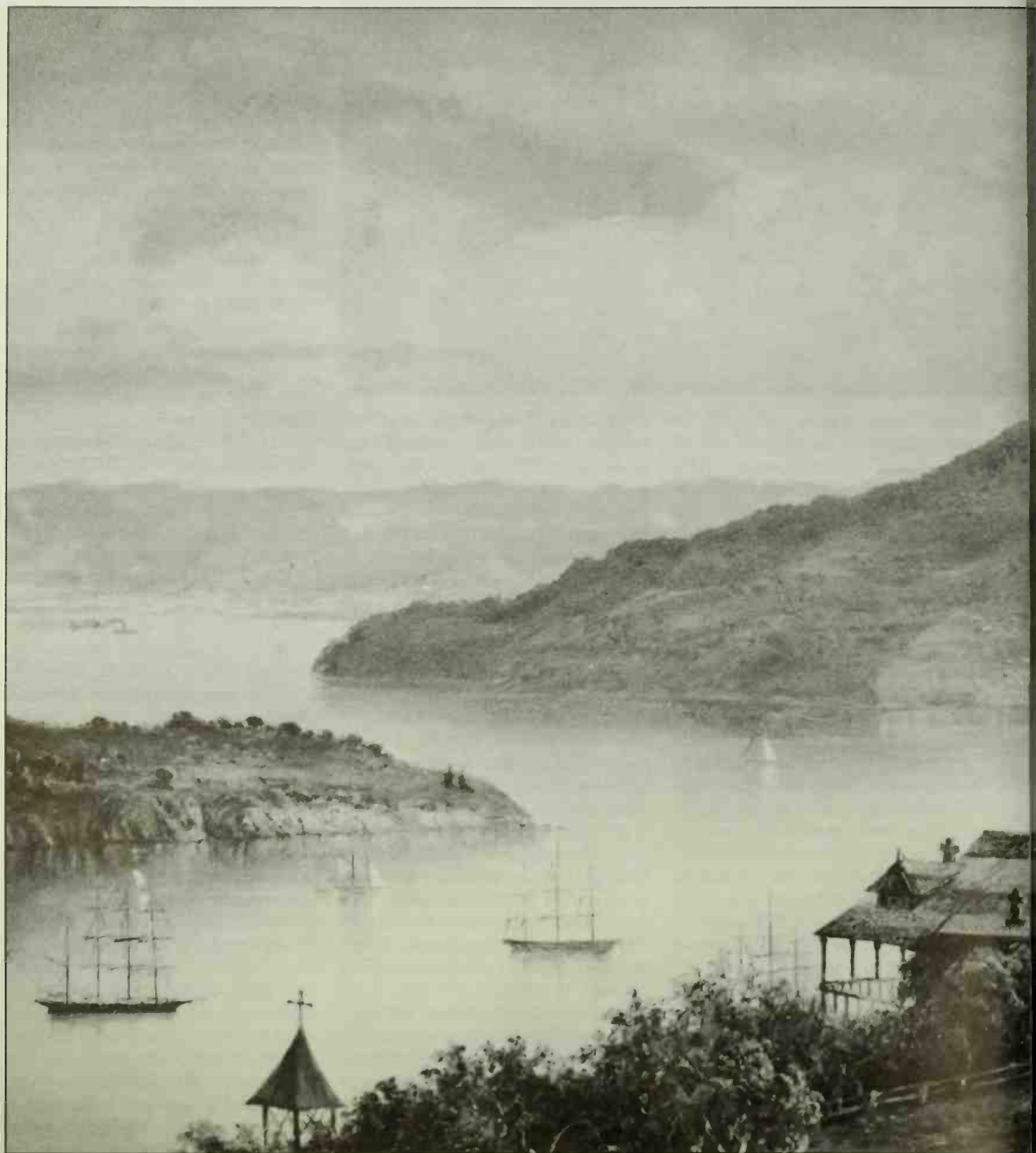
where all peoples could be respected and treated as individuals, and as equals." Supreme Court Justice Allen E. Broussard added that the effect of Rumford's work in civil rights and of his mentoring of leading citizens in all walks of life constituted a "monument more enduring than bronze, longer than that of many other historical figures."<sup>40</sup>

The principles Rumford stood for and the institutions he helped create are now placed in the service of other discriminated-against classes of people. According to statistics compiled by the State Fair Employment Practices office, discrimination complaints concerning employment are now much more likely to stem from gender bias than from race. In 1966, eighty-one percent of complaints were filed for racial reasons; in 1983, by contrast, thirty-nine percent of the complaints alleged gender discrimination and only twenty-seven percent charged race or color discrimination. In 1982, fifty-nine percent of complaints about housing discrimination involved race, down from ninety percent in 1959. The handicapped and single mothers with children are now using the principles Rumford espoused to gain access to housing and employment.<sup>41</sup>

Rumford made his mark in an age when formal political institutions still sanctioned discrimination. Yet, as he was the first to acknowledge, his effectiveness was due to the sustained efforts of black-and-white civil rights activists over decades. In the continuing struggle to translate laws into social and economic reality, however, individuals do not stand out as clearly, and appropriate and feasible goals are harder to define. ■

*See notes beginning on page 70.*

# UNIQUE STATE PARK





# N SAN FRANCISCO BAY

# ISLA DE LOS ANGELES

by Elliot A. P. Evans and David W. Heron

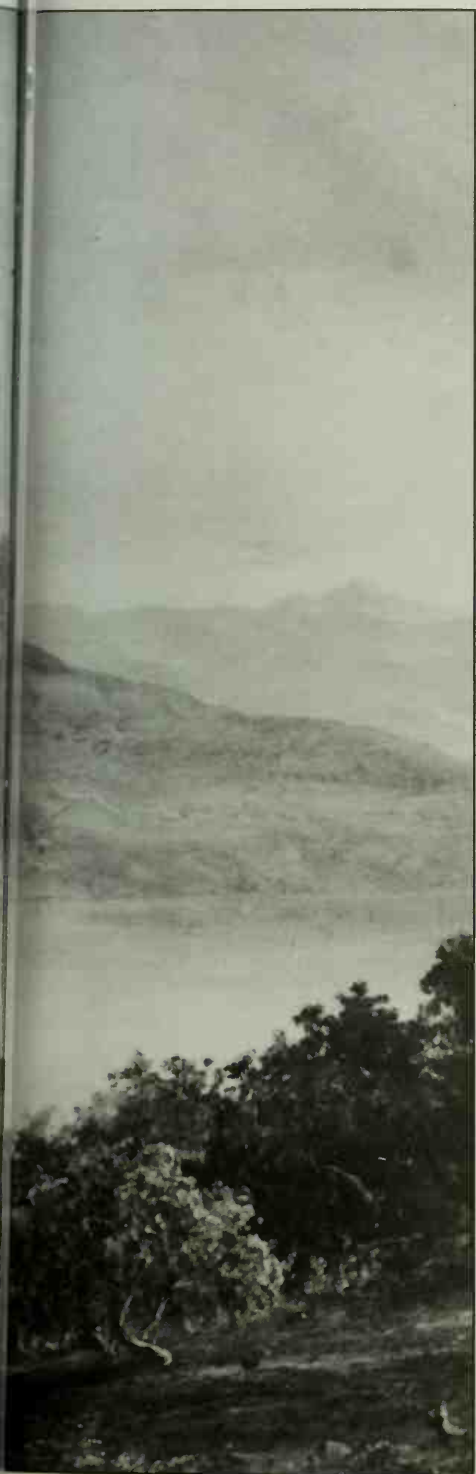
ANGEL ISLAND'S square mile of trees and grassy ridges make it the largest island in the central waters of San Francisco Bay. Its broad trails, sheltered coves, and sweeping marine views make it one of the area's most popular parks. Mount Livermore, which rises to 781 feet above the surface of the bay, 35 feet higher than the towers of the Golden Gate Bridge, makes it the tallest island in the bay.

The island has been a state park since 1962, but its written history antedates the Declaration of Independence. Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala brought the *San Carlos*, the first European ship to sail through the Golden Gate, into what is now Ayala Cove in August 1775. Ayala named the island *Isla de los Angeles*.<sup>1</sup> Richard Henry Dana called it Wood Island in *Two Years Before the Mast* and recalled a cold night spent there loading firewood in the winter of 1835.<sup>2</sup>

The ships of the Gold Rush took most of the island's trees for their stoves, and so, during the 1850s, it was largely grassland on which grazed what remained of Don Antonio Osio's cattle. Gray sandstone

from Quarry Point fortified Alcatraz Island and built a bank in San Francisco and barracks at the Presidio. The island became a military preserve in 1860, and except for small enclaves assigned to the Coast Guard, Immigration Service, and Public Health Service, it was a military base for almost a century. It is part of Marin County, except for the eastern extremities of Quarry Point and Point Blunt, which, with the Farallons, are in San Francisco.<sup>3</sup>

The geology of Angel Island, first described in detail by University of California geologist F. Leslie Ransome in 1894 is predominantly sedimentary. Layers of gray sandstone slope northwestward into the deep canyon of Raccoon Strait, a canyon that lies between the island and Tiburon on the mainland.<sup>4</sup> At Quarry Point, easternmost extremity of the island, a massive block of gray sandstone stood a hundred feet high in 1850. By 1922, however, when the last quarrying was done for the construction of the Richmond harbor, Quarry Point had been reduced to its present level, a few feet above the water.<sup>5</sup> Where the strata are exposed on the southeastern slopes, the sandstone layers are shallow and interspersed with radiolarian chert,



CHS ART AND ARTIFACT COLLECTION

Angel Island by Norton Bush, 1885.

The "Ayala map," an official copy of the chart of San Francisco Bay made by Jose Camizares and presented by him to Lieutenant Ayala with his survey report on September 7, 1775.

igneous intrusions of granite, fourchite, and serpentine, the last forming conspicuous gray-green outcrops along the island's southern ridges.

The rock formations are not as easily seen now as they were at the turn of the century. Native trees such as live oak, madrone, and California bay have returned since the Gold Rush woodcutting ended. More conspicuous has been the development of such exotics as eucalyptus, pine, cypress, and acacia. The eucalyptus and acacia, along with French broom, dominate several areas, crowding out native chaparral, poison oak, and sagebrush. On the sheltered northeast slope around Winslow cove there are Norfolk pines, deodars, Australian tea trees, and royal palms.

The predominant wildlife on Angel Island are the deer. In the absence of predators they have multiplied too fast for their food supply. State Park System managers have experimented with shooting them and removing them to the mainland to keep the numbers down.<sup>6</sup> Raccoons are numerous, as are lizards and the island's one unique species, the Angel Island mole. There are no rabbits, squirrels or skunks. Bird life



is diverse and abundant, including gulls, pelicans, jays, hawks, grebes, robins, and hummingbirds. Sea lions can often be seen on the rocks around Point Blunt.<sup>7</sup>

OF MOST OF the island's long human history there is no record except the vestiges of shell mounds and a few bones. When the first Spaniards came to Angel Island in 1775 they found a number of newly built but uninhabited Miwok structures near Ayala Cove. The earliest written mention of Angel Island goes back five years beyond that date.

When Sergeant José Francisco Ortega reached what are now the Berkeley hills in October 1769 he looked out over a body of water

much too large to be what Sebastian Cermeno had named the Bay of San Francisco (now Drake's Bay) in 1595. Ortega reported to his commander, Gaspar de Portolá, that he had seen two islands in this body of water. Father Juan Crespi shows three islands in his 1772 map of this expedition to the bay: one of them appears to be Angel Island.<sup>8</sup>

The next, and most important, early records are in the journals of Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala, captain of the *San Carlos*, the little snow-rigged ship that anchored on August 13, 1775, in the cove now named for him, and in the journals of the ship's chaplain, Father Vicente Santa María. The *San Carlos*, dispatched by Viceroy Antonio Maria

Elliott Evans is a former director of the Society of California Pioneers and holds a doctorate in Art History. David Heron is a retired university librarian. Taken together, they have devoted over half a century to research on Angel Island.





Camp Reynolds pier, looking northeast toward the Tiburon Peninsula ca. 1880. The tennis court in the foreground suggests that amenities other than a flexible ferry schedule were a priority.

(Below) Fred and Isabella Perle, shown here with their children at their house above Perle's Beach in 1919, represented one of the few families to live on Angel Island for more than one generation. Fred Perle was the water system engineer for Fort McDowell until his death in 1924. He inherited the house from his father, James Perle, who moved to Angel Island in 1886 and operated the Camp Reynolds dairy farm.



Bucareli from San Blas to carry supplies to Monterey and to explore the "new" Bay of Saint Francis, entered the Golden Gate early in the morning of August 5, 1775. The ship was preceded into the bay by navigator José de Cañizares and ten men in a longboat, sent ahead to explore the entrance to the harbor and find an anchorage for the *San Carlos*.<sup>9</sup> A strong flood tide prevented the longboat from rejoining the ship, and so Ayala sailed boldly in through the Golden Gate to what he called Carmelite Bay (now Richardson's Bay). After five days' unsatisfactory anchorage there he moved his ship to the sheltered cove on the northwest shore of the island which Ayala called *Isla de los Angeles* and which Father Vicente called *Isla de Santa María de los Angeles*.

While navigator Cañizares was exploring and charting the bay, Father Vicente was visiting Miwok villages on the mainland and exploring the island. There he found deer, an abandoned Miwok encampment, and a small structure containing an arrangement of arrows which he thought might be a shrine. The *San Carlos* remained at Angel Island for a little over three weeks. Shortly after her departure on September 7 she broke her rudder on a rock and spent ten more days in Horseshoe Bay (Fort Baker) being repaired. She finally departed for Monterey and San Blas on September 18.<sup>10</sup> The following year José Joaquin Moraga established the Presidio of San Francisco, and more ships came in on the flood tide through the Golden Gate.

Reports of the splendid harbor of San Francisco Bay brought a whole series of foreign visitors to fuel the anxiety of the Spanish viceroys in Mexico City. One of the first was Captain George Vancouver, who arrived from across the Pacific in 1792 and mentioned the islands in the bay in his narrative.<sup>11</sup> Another was Count Nikolai Rezanov, head of the Russian American Company, who arrived from Alaska in April, 1806, to trade furs for food. The Russian presence on the Pacific coast caused strong Spanish suspicion, but Rezanov so charmed Commandant José Argüello and his daughter Concepción that Rezanov returned to Alaska with a cargo of food and Concepción's promise of marriage. Rezanov died in Siberia the following year and Doña Concepción became a Dominican nun. Rezanov's physician and scientist Georg von Langsdorf made drawings of the bay noting the sheltered anchorage at Angel Island.<sup>12</sup> The Russians also found an abundance of sea otters around the island and within five years hunted them to extinction.

Other ships visited Angel Island in the first half of the nineteenth century. In March, 1814, the British sloop *Raccoon* was careened on the beach at Ayala Cove for repairs to a damaged hull. It was called Raccoon Cove for the next fifty years, and the strait between the island and Tiburon still bears the name.<sup>13</sup> Captain Frederick William Beechey arrived in 1826 aboard the *Blossom*. After exploring the bay twice, he produced a new chart in 1828. Inadver-



ELLIOTT EVANS COLLECTION



U.S. SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO





*Rapid expansion of military facilities brought make-shift expedients.*

*The 1910 tent camp at Fort McDowell housed men waiting for the completion of the Thousand Man Barracks (background). Three decades later, an ingenious "bunk bed" arrangement in the North Garrison doubled its capacity to hold men on their way to the war in the Pacific.*

tently he reversed the names Ayala had given to Alcatraz and Yerba Buena islands. Beechey's names have survived. His journal mentioned the strong currents of Raccoon Strait and reported seeing seven American whalers moored near Sausalito.<sup>14</sup> In 1827 French Captain Auguste Bernard du Hautcilly (also Duhaut-Cilly) sailed the *Heros* to the north end of the bay and mentioned hearing a story about a bear swimming toward Angel Island across Raccoon Strait.<sup>15</sup>

One of the best descriptions of this period was by Richard Henry Dana in *Two Years Before the Mast*. He described his 1835 experience as a twenty-year-old seaman gathering wood for the brig *Alert* this way:

*Having collected nearly all the hides that were to be procured, we began our preparations for taking in a supply of wood and water, for both of which San Francisco is the best place on the coast. A small island, situated about two leagues from the anchorage [Yerba Buena Cove] called by us "Wood Island" and by the Spaniards "Isla de los Angeles" was covered with trees to the water's edge; and to this, two of our crew who were Kennebec men, and could handle an axe like a plaything, were sent every morning to cut wood, with two boys to pile it for them. In about a week, they had cut enough to last us a year, and the third mate, with myself and three others, were sent over in a large, schooner rigged open launch, which we hired of the mission, to take in wood, and bring it to the ship.*

Dana also described a cold and sleepless night aboard this open boat in a chill winter rainstorm, running up and down the beach between loads of wood to keep their feet from freezing, being caught by fog and a strong ebb tide, and having to spend another night anchored at the island before getting back to the ship.<sup>16</sup>

Mexican Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado recalled in his journal that Antonio María Osio expressed interest in Angel Island as early as 1830, when he was a customs officer at Monterey. It was not until October 7, 1837, however, that Osio made a formal application for a land grant to the island "to build a house on it, and breed horses and mules." Because Angel Island might have a role in harbor defense, Alvarado referred the request to Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, commanding general of Mexican forces in California. Vallejo approved the request in principle but advised Alvarado to uphold the existing prohibition on grants of coastal land and give Osio something less than outright ownership. On February 19, 1838, Alvarado issued to Osio a permit to occupy the island to "make such use of it as he deem most suitable, to build a house, to raise stock, and do everything that may concern the advancement of commerce and agriculture, upon condition that whenever it is convenient, the Government may establish a fort thereon."<sup>17</sup> On July 20 the Ministry of the Interior announced that coastal grants could be made to Mexican citizens

to prevent "foreign adventures." Osio asked on February 19, 1839, that his leasehold be converted to a grant, and Alvarado made the grant on July 11.<sup>18</sup>

Osio, who had held a number of public offices in both northern and southern California, was then secretary of the legislative body for Mexican California. Hubert Howe Bancroft later described him as "a man of fair ability and education, and of excellent reputation for honesty. As a politician he was somewhat too cautious and timid, disposed to seek safe ground on both sides of a controversy, and in an emergency to have an urgent call to some far-away spot."<sup>19</sup> When the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846, Osio took his wife and five children to Hawaii to wait until things settled down.

Once he had received title to the island, Osio and his friend William Richardson, owner of the Sausalito Ranch, moved fifty head of cattle to Angel Island in 1840. They built several small buildings and a reservoir and planted a vegetable garden at Raccoon Cove. The cattle flourished—by 1846 Osio's majordomo reported a herd of five hundred head—but instead of adding to Osio's wealth, they fell victims to wartime thieves and butchers. In 1847 Richardson informed Osio that he could not control the slaughter but that he had found a tenant to watch over what was left of the herd.<sup>20</sup>

Osio was facing a more serious threat. By 1849 the U.S. Army En-

gineers had prepared a plan for the defense of San Francisco Bay, and on November 6 President Millard Fillmore signed an order reserving the four major islands (Angel, Yerba Buena, Alcatraz, and Mare) and much of the mainland shore for military purposes. Osio did not simply abandon his island, however. On February 2, 1852, he presented his claim to the California Land Commission, which confirmed his title to Angel Island in 1854. The government appealed this decision to the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, and on September 10, 1855, the court also ruled in Osio's favor.<sup>21</sup>

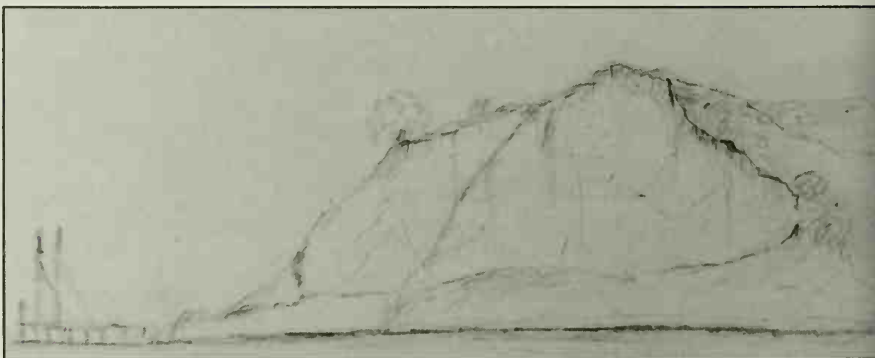
The government then moved up its big guns. U.S. Attorney General

Jeremiah Black and his successor Edwin McMasters Stanton appealed the district court's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, arguing that Governor Alvarado "had no authority, without the concurrence of the Departmental Assembly" to grant the island to Osio.<sup>22</sup> The Supreme Court invalidated Osio's title on March 12, 1860, but the decision did not affect Osio financially. Prudently anticipating the final outcome, Osio had sold his rights to the island for \$12,000 in 1853. The buyer was Cornelius K. Garrison, mayor of San Francisco and manager of the Nicaragua Steamship Company. Garrison and his partners saw the island as a better base for storage and refitting than the crowded San

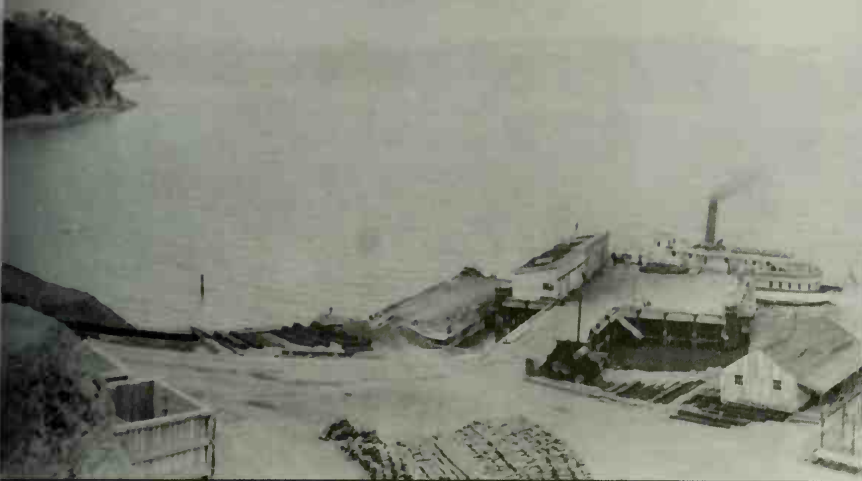
ELLIOTT EVANS COLLECTION



SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS







*Quarry Point has been permanently altered by human use. When C.E. Miller sketched it on March 16, 1879, its sandstone outcropping still retained its original shape. By 1910, much of it had gone into construction on Angel Island and at the Presidio. In 1940 only its outline was left at East Garrison.*

Francisco embarcadero.<sup>23</sup> Attorneys general Black and Stanton were commended for "a series of notable victories in combatting fraudulent land claims in California." Osio lived on his Point Reyes ranch for a few years, then retired to his native San José del Cabo in Baja California.<sup>24</sup>

IN 1851, with Osio's cattle nearly gone and the Army pressing its case for eminent domain, enterprising builders saw a new resource on Angel Island. At Point Smith, named for Persifer Smith, an early military governor of California, stood a knob of bluish-gray stone a hundred feet high. It was solid sandstone, reasonably easy to cut, and ideally situated for transportation by water. Point Smith was soon known as Quarry Point. Prison inmates were employed in the quarry during the 1850s, and according to the *Daily Alta California* seventeen of them escaped from their confinement there. The stone was used for a variety of purposes. We know, for example, that it was used in 1854 for military fortifications at Alcatraz. We also know that it was used in 1856 for the foundation and basement of the Gibb Building at the corner of Front and Vallejo streets in San Francisco.<sup>25</sup>

C. B. Grant, proprietor of a stone-yard in San Francisco, was awarded a contract in 1857 to provide two thousand tons of Angel Island stone (at \$1.74 per ton) for construction of the new Navy base at Mare Island. Grant kept his quarry concession for ten years, building a house near the



AIR CORPS PHOTO

*Camp Reynolds in the early 1890s, looking southeast toward the church and Point Knox. The cemetery is on the hill directly above the church. The earthworks on the lower right house five cannons.*

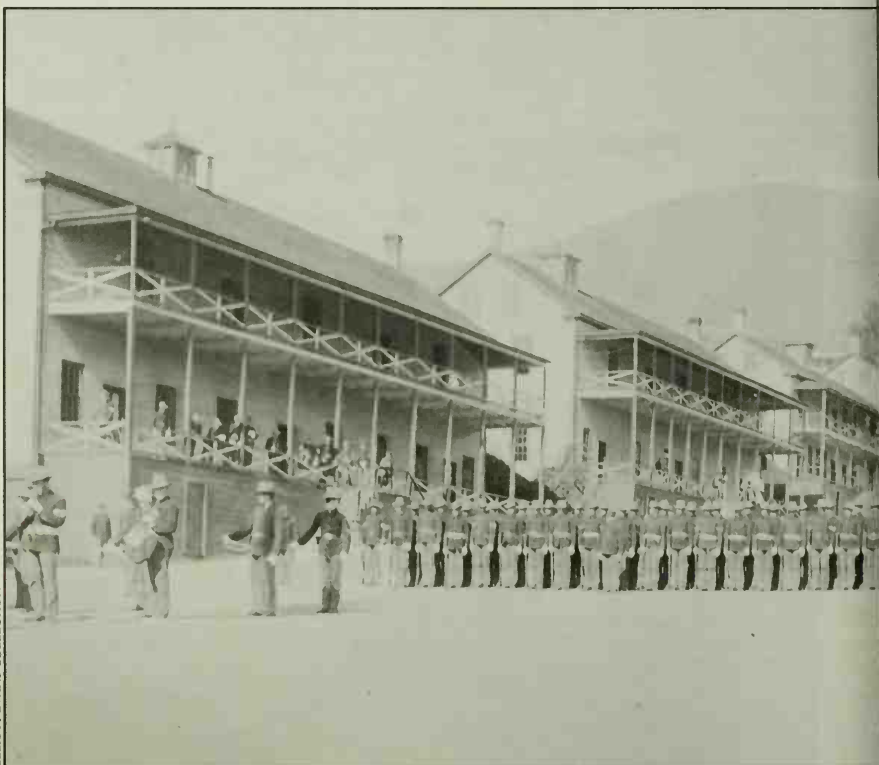
*(Below) A retreat parade of the First Infantry Regiment commanded by Colonel William R. Shafter, Camp Reynolds, about 1895.*

quarry for his manager, Thomas H. Jones. His schooner *Eagle* transported Angel Island stone for the California Bank building at Sansome and California streets, completed in 1867. Jones was killed in a blasting accident in May, 1865,<sup>26</sup> and two years later General Irvin McDowell ordered Grant to remove his property from the quarry, which he wished to bring under Army control. The Army took stone from the quarry to build roads at Fort Winfield Scott, foundations for new barracks at the Presidio, and buildings at Fort McDowell on Angel Island. The last recorded stone cut from the quarry went to the Richmond breakwater in 1922. By that time, the block of stone at Quarry Point projected only a few feet above water level.

CALIFORNIA'S first lighthouse was built on Alcatraz Island in 1854. Fortification was begun that same year, and by 1858 the island had seventy-three guns, of which fifty-two were permanently mounted; by 1860 it was garrisoned by 230 officers and men. In 1860—when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the government claim to the island—the Army's chief engineer, Colonel Gilbert Joseph Totten, recommended that two additional permanent batteries be mounted on Angel Island.<sup>27</sup> On August 11, 1863, General Henry Halleck, the Army's chief of staff and a wealthy San Francisco attorney, ordered the installation of twenty guns on Angel Island. Construction at what was to become Camp Reynolds began within a month.<sup>28</sup>



CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO



ELLIOTT EVANS COLLECTION





*Camp Reynolds, Point Knox, Alcatraz, and San Francisco in about 1900. The artillery emplacement is visible just above the pier; a lighthouse warns ships away from Point Knox.*

two barracks buildings, officers' quarters, a guard house, a stable, and a post trader's store, and nineteen guns were in place between Point Stuart and Point Knox, which boasted two ten-inch Rodmans. Engineers were building emplacements for seven more guns at Point Blunt, across the island to the southeast, and Captain Michael Hannon's sloop *Shooting Star*, carried passengers and supplies twice a day from Camp Reynolds to Meiggs Wharf in San Francisco.<sup>32</sup> A cemetery was begun above Camp Reynolds when Major Andrews's daughter Mattie died and was buried there in June. She was joined less than a month later by Private John McNeil, the first of more than ninety soldiers to be interred there.<sup>33</sup> Also in June, Andrews assigned the camp's first commanders, Tiernon and Fine, to survey the oat field liberated from Peter Davis, who had made a claim for the loss of his crop. Andrews planned to use Davis's field as the post garden and to sell cattle grazing rights for \$2.00 per head per year.<sup>34</sup>

In the late summer of 1864 Battery B was concerned about convenience. On August 3 the *Shooting Star's* daily 7:00 a.m. departure was rescheduled to 8:00 a.m., and on November 23 it was moved to 9:00 with a market boat leaving at 8:00. In February, the market boat's departure was set back to 8:30 and the *Shooting Star's* first departure for the city was set at "after Guard Mounting."<sup>35</sup>

In the midst of the adjustments to the ferry schedule, gold was discovered on Angel Island. Formation of

Soldiers from Battery B of the Third Artillery landed in September on the southwestern shore and set up camp in the gentle valley between Point Stuart and Point Knox.<sup>29</sup> Camp Reynolds—named for General John F. Reynolds, who had died at Gettysburg in July—was commanded first by Second Lieutenant John Tiernon and a month later by First Lieutenant Louis H. Fine. Battery B set up five thirty-two pounders along the beach and began building a wharf, which was completed in February.<sup>30</sup>

Camp Reynolds came up in the military hierarchy when it acquired a brevet-major as its third commander in January, 1864. Major George P. Andrews took charge of the serious

business of evicting squatters who occupied much of the island's level land and who had extended less than a hero's welcome to Battery B. Starting with the closest neighbor, Andrews gave Peter Davis, whose small farm lay within the Camp Reynolds area, a week's notice in mid-February. A week later he sent an armed patrol across the island to apprehend Otto Kurz, who had threatened men from Battery B with a pistol. On May 13 he ordered Achille Derosin, who had worked for Osio and lived at Raccoon Cove, to leave the island. When Derosin appealed, Andrews gave him until June to move, since he wanted to build the camp hospital on Derosin's land.<sup>31</sup> By mid-summer there were

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*Hospital Cove about 1940, shortly before the Quarantine Station was closed. After fire made the Immigration Station uninhabitable, the crew of the German cruise ship Columbus was temporarily quartered here. Some of the doctors' houses in the foreground are now used by park personnel.*

the Angel Island Mining District to develop the island's new "gold quartz mines, a vein producing \$20 to \$30 in gold to the ton" was noted in the *Marin Journal* on October 8, 1864. The vein ran "not only across the entire island, but over into the hills near Saucelito, where it crops out as boldly as where it was first struck," according to the newspaper account.<sup>36</sup> General McDowell demanded a report, and Andrews responded on October 15 that he had "looked for and found gold, in what is commonly called rose quartz, in a ledge leading from the west toward the east of the island. After examining the mining laws of California I located for myself, and as agent for friends, a claim, of which I now hold, individually, a portion. I then made the discovery public." He had been one of the organizers of the mining district, Andrews added, but if "military necessity" made it impossible to develop the claim as state law required, work on it would be deferred until the military emergency had passed.<sup>37</sup>

The *Marin Journal's* Angel Island correspondent reported on November 5 that "five tons of quartz from the newly discovered gold mines [have been shipped] to San Francisco," and that "the yield has been \$29 to the ton in gold." After consulting with U.S. Attorney Delos Lake, General McDowell directed Andrews on December 8 to "notify all persons concerned in any undertaking, present or prospective, for working any mines or 'prospecting' for any mines on Angel Island that they will not

be allowed to prosecute any such business on this island; and that if any such has been commenced, it must be abandoned."<sup>38</sup> Since Andrews relayed this order, gold-bearing rose quartz has been unknown on Angel Island.

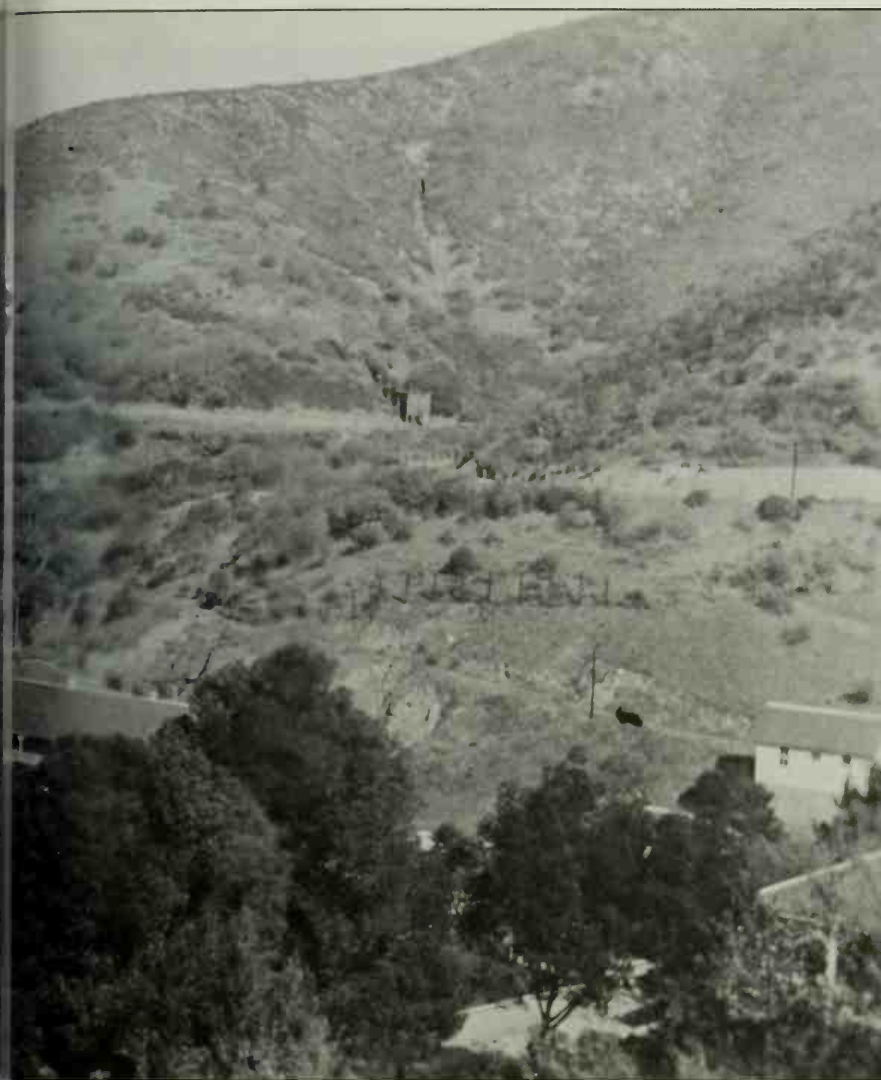
**RACCOON COVE** was renamed Hospital Cove when the Camp Reynolds hospital was built there in 1864, but the name is more closely associated with the San Francisco Quarantine Station which operated there from 1891 to 1937. Responding to an 1878 epidemic of yellow fever, Congress appropriated funds the following year to build quarantine stations in major American ports. The Marine Hospi-

tal Service chose Angel Island as the site for San Francisco's facility and persuaded the Army to grant a ten-acre easement at Hospital Cove. Construction began in 1890, and although it did not officially open until May, 1892, the station was in shape to receive the *China* with smallpox aboard in April, 1891.<sup>39</sup> By that time a dozen buildings were complete, including houses for the surgeons, pharmacists, and attendants, as well as separate dormitories for cabin, second, and steerage class passengers, who were housed on the island until they were declared disease free. A steerage class bath and an attendants' dining room were finished in 1893, and the old cruiser *Omaha* was moored next to the pier



ELLIOTT EVANS COLLECTION



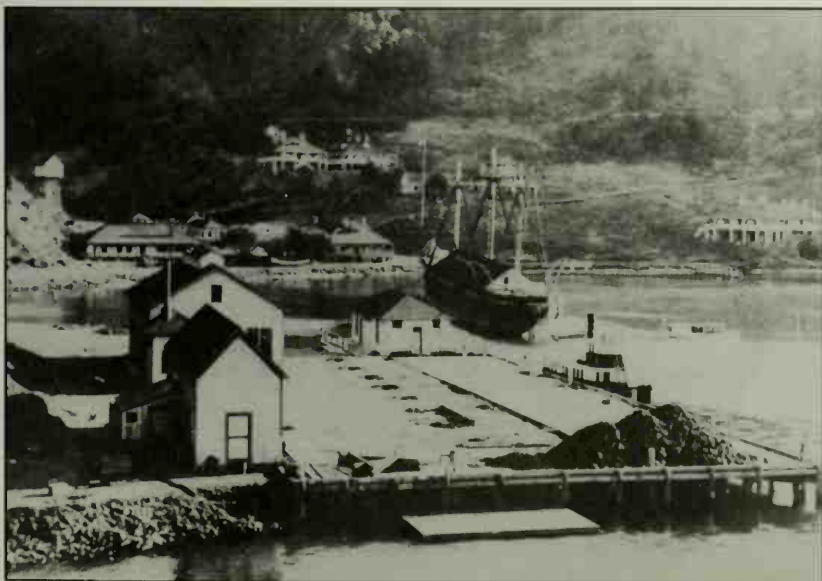


*The Quarantine Station at Hospital Cove, ca. 1894–95. The U.S.S. Omaha, which provided live steam to fumigate the holds of ships, was moored next to the pier, now the site of the Angel Island ferry terminal.*

to pump steam and sulphur fumes into contaminated ships.<sup>40</sup>

Camp Reynolds was not comfortable with the Quarantine Station. When it opened, post surgeon Major W. H. Gardner made an urgent request to Colonel William Shafter, the commanding officer, that a high fence be placed around the facility. It was built a year later and was still standing in 1915 when a survey of Quarantine Station buildings advised against spending anything to repair it “as it serves no useful purpose.” The report also suggested that the inner half of the cove be filled in to add four more acres of building space.<sup>41</sup> Bureaucratic inertia and a general decline in the Quarantine Station’s activity—it was shut down in 1937—combined to thwart this proposal. The last detainees were a Japanese family exposed to smallpox in 1935. The 400-person crew of the German cruise ship *Columbus*, scuttled off the east coast of Mexico on December 19, 1939, stayed in the empty barracks for several months in 1940.<sup>42</sup> The closed Quarantine Station remained until 1953, when the state of California acquired thirty-five acres at Hospital Cove.

OF ALL THE uses people have made of Angel Island, it is probably best known for its role as the “Ellis Island of the West.” Passage of the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 and subsequent amendments required that arriving Chinese immigrants be examined to determine whether they fell into the increas-



*Air view of the Immigration Station at China (now Winslow) Cove in 1927, showing the headquarters building which burned in 1940 and beyond it the detention dormitory famous for the poems Chinese internees left on its walls. This building housed prisoners of war in World War II and is now the Angel Island Museum.*

*(Below) Chinese women and children in the detention center meet with an American social worker about 1920.*

ingly narrow categories of Chinese allowed to enter the United States. By the turn of the century the detention shed at the Pacific Mail Company's dock in San Francisco was so crowded with Chinese waiting to be examined that Secretary of Commerce Victor H. Metcalf called it "discreditable in the extreme for the Government" and requested funds to build an immigration facility for San Francisco similar to that established at Ellis Island in 1892.<sup>43</sup> Congress appropriated \$150,000, and the Secretary of War transferred ten acres at Schofield Beach (later China Cove and now Winslow Cove) to the Immigration Service for use as a detention and screening center.

Construction began in the summer of 1906, and the new Angel Island immigration station opened on January 12, 1910. The *San Francisco Chronicle* described it as the "finest immigration station in the world . . . with most of the conveniences of a first class hotel" and "lots of sunshine and a splendid marine view."<sup>44</sup> The inmates, most of them Chinese, were less enthusiastic. Many of them expressed their anger and frustration in poetry carved in the redwood walls of their barracks. For example:

*America has power, but not justice.  
In prison, we were victimized as if  
we were guilty.  
Given no opportunity to explain,  
It was really brutal.  
I bow my head in reflection but there  
is nothing I can do.*<sup>44</sup>

The most notorious deportation hearing to take place at the immigra-



ELLIOTT EVANS COLLECTION



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*Chinese men and boys in the Immigration Station dining room, about 1920.*

tion station was that of Harry Renton Bridges in 1939. Bridges, a native of Australia and leader of the International Longshoremen's Association, was so successful in organizing strikes against West Coast shippers that Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins bowed to employer pressure to have him arrested for deportation as a communist.<sup>46</sup> In a makeshift room partitioned out of the administration building's dining room, Harvard Law School Dean James Landis presided over nine weeks of testimony. Every morning the principals, eighteen newspaper reporters, and representatives of the American Legion, American Civil Liberties Union, Associated Farmers, International Labor Defense, and assorted other

organizations rode the Immigration Service ferry *Angel Island* to the China Cove pier. Bridges was represented by three attorneys and was frequently accompanied by his fourteen-year-old daughter Betty.<sup>46</sup> In the end he was cleared, and six years later he was granted U.S. citizenship. The administration building burned on August 11, 1940, and the remaining buildings became the North Garrison of Fort McDowell a year later.

**ANGEL ISLAND** was used most consistently for military purposes until it became a state park. Aside from its fortification as part of the defense system for San Francisco Bay, it was used as a support facility

for three foreign wars. Soldiers returning from the war in the Philippines—87,000 by 1905—were demobilized on Angel Island, and the Army discovered that the island was suitable for a large military base. The whole island was named Fort McDowell in April, 1900, and a major construction program had been planned by 1905 on the recommendation of General Frederick Funston.<sup>48</sup> The huts and tents that had served the Philippines army's Depot of Recruits and Casuals were replaced in 1910 and 1911 by the major East Garrison buildings still standing today: the Thousand Man Barracks, the mess hall and drill hall, the Post Exchange, the hospital, the headquarters building, and the row of Mission Revival officers' houses along East McDowell Drive.<sup>49</sup> During World War I the base was known as the Fort McDowell Recruit and Replacement Depot and was so full that temporary wooden barracks were built west of the Thousand Man Barracks. In 1920, it became the Discharge and Replacement Depot.

For the next twenty years, Fort McDowell was quiet. In 1937, 268 enlisted men and 24 officers were permanently posted there. Three years later, in 1940, its capacity to handle casual troops was raised from 4,200 to 6,000 and the ferry *General Frank M. Coxe* made eight round trips a day to Fort Mason.<sup>50</sup> After Pearl Harbor the pace picked up rapidly as Fort McDowell became part of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation Authority. Eighteen new barracks were built in 1942 at China

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*Final retreat parade, Fort McDowell, August 28, 1946. The Army had declared Angel Island superfluous, and the fort remained inactive until 1954, when the installation of Nike missiles began and the state park headquarters was established at Hospital Cove.*

Cove and at Point Simpton to the east. The central immigration station buildings were fenced for use as a prisoner-of-war camp. In July, 1942, forty Japanese prisoners, including five officers, were confined there.<sup>51</sup> The East Garrison became a staging area for overseas replacements; by the end of 1942 nearly seventy thousand troops had been processed there. The first contingent of veterans returning from combat duty in the Pacific arrived in February, 1943. Traffic was heavy enough in 1944 to add Army launch J710 to the Fort Mason run. The first WAC detachment arrived that year, reported the *Fort McDowell Salute*, and an Italian Service Unit was formed in which Italian internees earned eighty cents an hour as laborers.<sup>52</sup> Fort McDowell's own band made its debut in November, 1944, and an Air Force band arrived from Oregon in December.<sup>53</sup>

When Germany surrendered in May, 1945, almost three hundred German prisoners were in the North Garrison enclosure, and several thousand American veterans were in the East Garrison waiting to be discharged. In September, as a stream of troop ships was coming through the Golden Gate with men returning from the Pacific, General Homer Groninger ordered a sign with sixty-foot letters saying WELCOME HOME and WELL DONE to be placed over the road in the Alcatraz Gardens area. Construction was finished in three weeks and floodlights illuminated it for soldiers who passed it at night.<sup>54</sup>

The Army announced in 1946 that



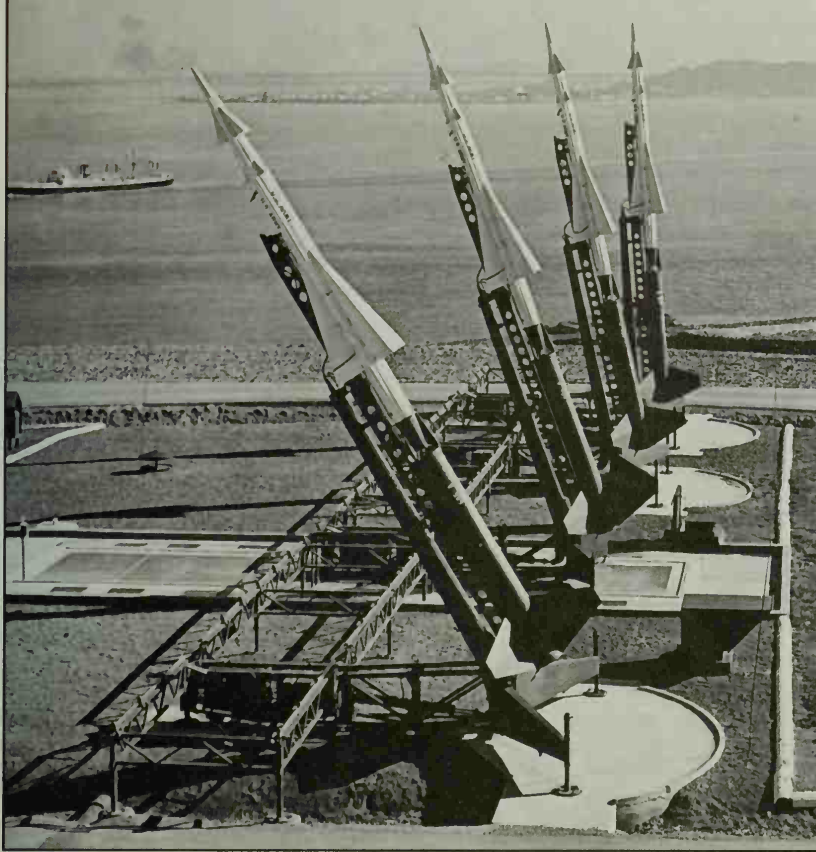
it would close Fort McDowell and declared it surplus in July. After the flag was lowered on August 28, the National Park Service, the State of California, Marin County, and the cities of San Francisco and El Cerrito showed varying degrees of interest in acquiring the island from the War Assets Administration.

It took until 1950—the year the quarantine station was officially closed—for the Angel Island Foundation to be organized and begin a campaign to make the island into a park.<sup>56</sup> Three more years passed before the state began to acquire the island. The California Division of Beaches and Parks occupied the Hospital Cove area in April, 1954, but the Army had found a new use

for the rest of the island. The Secretary of the Interior granted permission in February, 1954, to install a battery of Nike missiles on Angel Island, and Battery B of the Second Missile Battalion, 51st Artillery, arrived in May, 1955. Its launchers were close to Point Blunt, its headquarters in the East Garrison hospital, its observation and fire control center atop Mount Ida, and its eighteen families settled in the East Garrison officers' houses.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the state's holdings at Hospital Cove, the Coast Guard maintained small enclaves at Point Blunt, Point Knox, and Point Stuart.<sup>58</sup>

In 1955, California renamed Hospital Cove to honor Juan Manuel de Ayala, captain of the *San Carlos*; the





*Like the artillery emplacements of the nineteenth century, the Nike base was viewed as part of a defense system encompassing the entire San Francisco Bay.*

*(Below) Field-grade officers' quarters above East McDowell Drive, 1942. These Mission Revival houses have been preserved and are in the process of restoration. Several of them were used by families associated with the Nike battery and later by state park personnel.*

following year Mount Ida was re-named for Caroline S. Livermore, a leader of the Angel Island Foundation.<sup>59</sup> China Cove became Winslow Cove, for Charles A. Winslow, another early champion of the park, in 1966.

The Nike battery—nearly obsolete by the time its installation was completed—was demobilized in 1962, and at the end of the year the rest of the island was added to the park. Regular ferry service from Tiburon to Ayala Cove began in May, 1966. That year the state commissioned a survey of the island, its three hundred buildings, and its history by Oakland architect Marshall Welch McDonald. McDonald's recommendations for preservation and best use of the island, together with a plan prepared by the Department of Parks and Recreation staff in 1979, have been the basis for the park's development. Among the recent achievements of a small staff and many volunteers are the museum in the old China Cove barracks, the visitors' center at the East Garrison guard house, the refurbishing of the brick warehouse at Camp Reynolds, and the restoration by Robert and Mary Noyes of the commanding officer's house at Camp Reynolds. In addition, new anchorages have been completed at Quarry Point and Winslow Cove.<sup>60</sup> Like the strata in its rock formations, Angel Island's varied structures tell a story of changing human use to which new chapters will no doubt be added in the future. ■

*See notes beginning on page 71.*



# THE APPRENTICESHIP OF KATHLEEN NORRIS

by Deanna Paoli Gumina

Kathleen Norris fulfilled the dream of many aspiring writers: she was paid to write romantic fantasies. Heralded as "America's Most Popular Woman Writer for Women," she produced ninety-three novels, countless magazine articles and short stories, and many serialized novellettes, and for twenty years she wrote a weekly syndicated newspaper column. Kathleen also oversaw the transformation of sixteen of her novels into Hollywood screenplays and wrote two plays, two historical essays, and a radio show. Her books, including international translations, have sold ten million copies; some were reprinted in the 1970s as popular romantic novellas. The theme of every piece Kathleen wrote—no matter how slight or fabricated the plot—was her definition of woman.

With a simple, straightforward style, Kathleen assured her readers that their sexuality made them all-important. For women to act as the nurturers and caretakers of conceived life was not a confining role, she argued, but a source of power that obligated women to define their individual identity before marriage. Kathleen claimed that women had let men dominate them and thereby lost sight of the power inherent in their sexuality. Her biting rhetoric on this subject never mellowed.<sup>1</sup>

Kathleen's philosophy of woman

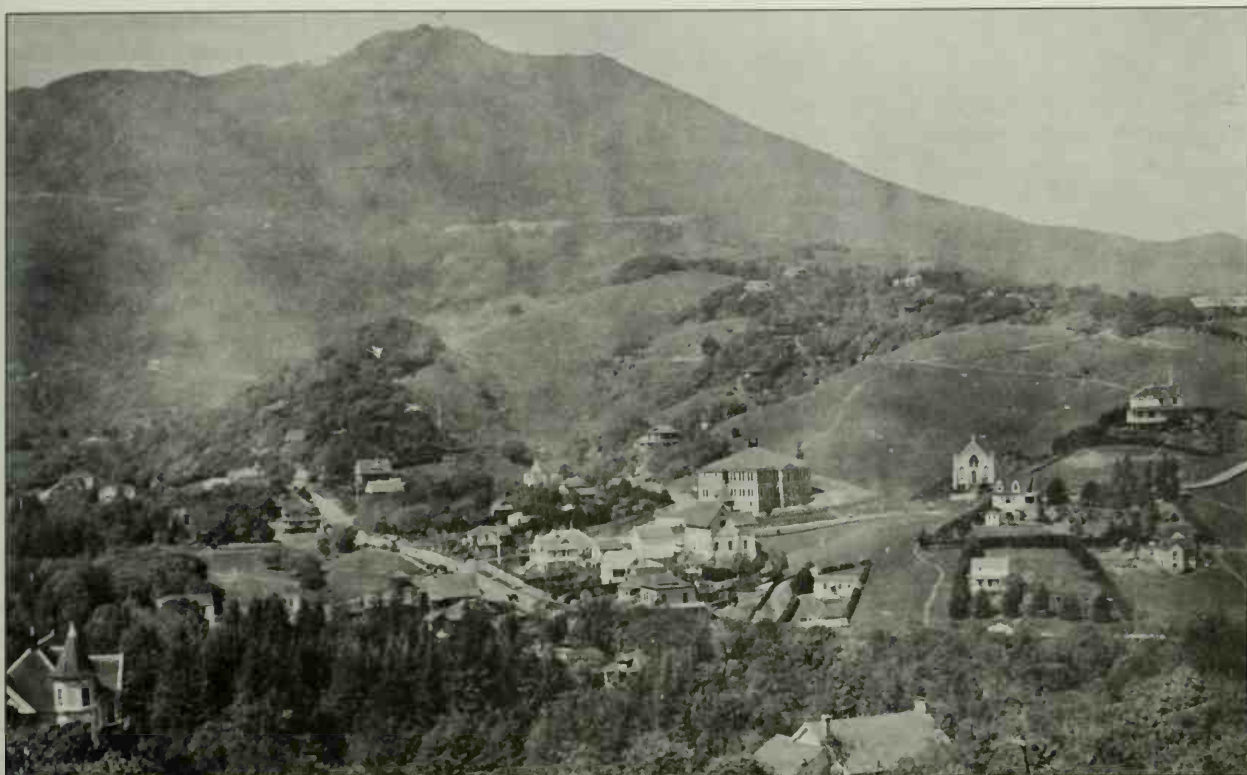
and her yearning to write were fostered during her childhood in secluded Mill Valley. The second child and first daughter of James and Josephine Thompson, Kathleen and her younger sister Teresa wrote stories to entertain their younger brothers and sisters. The six Thompson children were encouraged to read voraciously and eclectically by their father, who had them tutored at home for four years before sending them to an ungraded school. "My father's main concerns were with the moral rather than the intellectual side of our development," Kathleen wrote in *Family Gathering*. "We were not allowed to bring any schoolwork home, and he would inquire suspiciously, if he saw one of us reading, 'You're not studying are you?'" The effect of this caution was to make Teresa, Kathleen, and Joe, the eldest child, "passionate if stealthy students."<sup>2</sup> The values Kathleen formed under the tutelage of her Irish Catholic parents and "Aunt Kitty," James's sister Kathleen Mary, who lived with the Thompsons, were even more important in her education than book learning. In an age when Protestantism was the national cultural norm, Kathleen won a mass audience for stories that frequently depicted her Catholic faith and Irish ethnicity.

In the holiday season of 1899, while she was being fitted for a

"dress that was to be all ruffles for my first ball," Kathleen's world shattered. Just before Thanksgiving her mother died of pneumonia, and by Christmas her father was dead too. Joe, Kathleen, then twenty, and Teresa were left as the self-designated "breadwinners" for the three younger children (aged sixteen, twelve, and eight) and Aunt Kitty. They found a flat in San Francisco, because "the cost of commutation [sic] to the city for the three of us who must be breadwinners would more than cover a city rent, schools were much too far away for the children to manage, and long lonesome days in the old house would be too hard on Aunt Kitty."<sup>3</sup> At thirty dollars a month, the Hyde Street flat was expensive for the young trio, who together earned a mere eighty-five dollars a month and had spent what little money they were bequeathed on headstones for their parents' graves. But the neighborhood was the one where their parents had settled as newlyweds.

"There was no one to help us, except with affection and advice," wrote Kathleen. "The terrible gap between the protected old life, and the raw harshness of the new, was bridged by our sense of [the] dramatic."<sup>4</sup> During this tense period when their grief was nearly unbearable, they turned the uneasy solitude of the days and evenings into tourna-





ments of writing contests or word games. They took long tramps to the beach and feasted upon coffee and toast, gave impromptu "monthly" birthday parties for their house, and, to the dismay of their upstairs neighbors, opened wide the front room windows and sang the songs that Josephine had played for them, preferring to sing rather than cry, for they were all beyond tears. They took in boarders to defray the rent.<sup>5</sup>

Writing at her leisure was no longer a possibility for Kathleen. She got her first job from family friend and Bohemian Club member Raphael Weill, the owner of the White House Department Store. For six months she sold shirtwaists in the ladies' wear department before giving in to pleas from her mother's family that she quit. "The prospect of 'one of poor dear Jo's daughters' becoming a common, vulgar saleswoman brought into contact with supercilious society women all day, had absolutely floored my aunt Margaret and my grandmother," recalled

Kathleen.<sup>6</sup> While her elders were relieved that she was no longer exposed to the gossips of San Francisco society, Kathleen regretted having to give up a "good paying job" to protect her social honor.

Her second job was as a clerk in the accounting office of a hardware firm. Her aunt and grandmother approved of this position once they learned that Kathleen's desk was behind a glass partition separating her from the male employees. Kathleen's employment with this firm became the background for the opening of her novel *Saturday's Child* (1914) in which the heroine was an attractive, naive, nineteen-year-old, also parentless, who found work calculating discounts.

Kathleen worked at the hardware firm for two years and like Susan Brown of *Saturday's Child*, quit because there "was no future for her, or for any girl here, that she knew," as she wrote in *Saturday's Child*. Office work was "monotonous . . . grimy," and uninteresting. Each



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Mill Valley around 1900. Still rural, the community was growing as fog-weary San Franciscans discovered commuting by ferry.

Kathleen Norris.

of Susan's co-workers "dreamed bright dreams in the dreary [office] place, and waited, as youth must wait, for fortune, or fame, or position, love or power, to evolve her from the dullness . . ." of their routine.<sup>7</sup>

Kathleen left her desk in the accounting department to become a librarian at the Mechanic's Institute Library, a prestigious institution frequented by San Francisco's intelligentsia. She began writing short stories at this time, one of which "Aux Italiens," was published in December, 1904, by the *Overland Monthly*.<sup>8</sup> Leaving the library sometime in 1905, Kathleen enrolled as a special student in creative writing classes at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. She audited the daily themes composition class offered by Professor Chauncy Wetmore Wells and spent two afternoons a week studying conversational French. After five years of family responsibilities, "I was reaching for freedom," she wrote. This period in Kathleen's life was filled with contrasting moments of happiness when "one paper after another was noted" by Professor Wells with the remark that "we appear to have a writer among us."<sup>9</sup> Yet there was also the loneliness of "no associates, no young wardrobe, no undergraduate entertainment, no identity" which gnawed at Kathleen.

But in the classroom with Professor Wells Kathleen could conceal neither her talent nor her ambition. Both Professor and Mrs. Wells, who invited Kathleen to afternoon tea, encouraged her to continue to write. The Wells's praise and the publication of two short stories, "Julie" and

"The Grand Duchess," in *Occident Magazine*, a periodical sponsored by the English Club of the University of California, were the highlights of her academic career. Years later she remembered Wells's support and dedicated to him her novel *Storm House*.<sup>10</sup> At Christmas time, however, Kathleen's rekindled dream of becoming a writer ended, for she was urgently called to return home. Aunt Kitty had contracted pneumonia, and Teresa needed her help.

It was early spring before Kathleen had regulated the household and could start to think of writing again. At the end of March, 1906, most of the family moved back to Mill Valley to ready the house for a summer rental. The house and the community, recalled Kathleen, held a "tonic charm" for the parentless Thompsons, and each brought friends to spend a holiday in the country.<sup>11</sup> Two-and-a-half weeks later came the great earthquake and fire which destroyed much of San Francisco, including the neighborhood they had just left. Safe in Mill Valley, the family brought mattresses outdoors and slept in a row on the front porch, watching San Francisco smolder under a vermillion sky and breathing the soot that drifted over the Bay from the ruined city. Within forty-eight hours, Kathleen and five other aspiring writers—whom she never named—rushed stories of the tragedy off to eastern magazines. Seven weeks later, Kathleen received her manuscript with a polite note thanking her for her effort. Her colleagues had received pink acceptance slips. "It was a deep blow to me that my efforts should be rejected when the Eastern magazines were so obviously eager for earthquake material," she wrote.<sup>12</sup>

While Kathleen's earthquake story was in the East, the *Argonaut* published three or four of her short stories. (She could never remember the exact number published, only that their publication had been encouraging.) Her next story, "What

Happened to Alanna," was rejected.

Kathleen had hoped that her earthquake story would herald her debut as a writer. The seriousness of her aspirations was apparent in the jobs she sought. For a few weeks, she held a position as a reporter with the San Francisco daily *Evening Bulletin*, but was discharged for no apparent reason. She also did some work for the Associated Press wire service, but she was dismissed with the kindly assurance that her forte was not writing. "Long afterward I learned that my famous brother-in-law, Frank Norris, had been discharged from the San Francisco *Wave* for the same reason," she wrote, a fact that gave her a shared sense of struggle with him.<sup>13</sup>

Abandoning hopes for a literary career, Kathleen then went to work for the Red Cross. For four months, she was a social worker, "recommending this applicant for a sewing machine and that one for new eyeglasses." Picking up "little human interest stories" from the earthquake refugees, she wrote stories "just for the fun of the thing," signed them, and left them at the office of the San Francisco *Daily Morning Call*. It was only after her aunt had read one that she learned that the newspaper had been publishing these stories. Delighted, she hurried down to the newspaper office where she was paid for her work and offered a job by the city editor.<sup>14</sup>

As a social reporter, Kathleen wrote two half-columns a day and four columns (accompanied by four pictures) on Thursday for the Sunday morning edition. As San Franciscans readjusted themselves after the shock of the earthquake and began rebuilding their social lives as well as their city, the society column expanded into a full page. Kathleen reported on gala parties, describing the decorations and costumes, or announced engagements, marriages, and births, and outlined the club activities that were reported on the women's page. "Wild with hope,"

Deanna Paoli Gumina is the author of *The Italians of San Francisco, 1850-1930* and *Old Saint Mary's, Crossroads of the World*.



she commented, "I enlisted the entire family, and everyone else of whom I dared ask favors, and owing to their combined sleuthing, a column took shape, a second column, a third. I began to breathe."<sup>15</sup> Her sisters—Teresa, now twenty-five years old, and Margaret, nineteen and engaged to a Navy midshipman—kept Kathleen informed of the events that concerned the young members of the city's smart set, even though they were not members of it. Kathleen's aunts Kitty and Margaret provided information on the genealogies and family histories of the socialites. Other help came from "the social editors of the other four papers [who] were friends, who prompted and corrected with a loyalty never met anywhere else."<sup>16</sup>

Later she wrote that she regarded the opportunity of working for a newspaper as

*a Godsend, and looking back I date a happier and more confident frame of mind from the hour I accepted it. I worked gratefully, tirelessly, early and late; I went from one end of the city to the other, searching news, interpreting news, developing news. Life perhaps has no greater thrill than the thrill of the reporter who goes into the office with a big story triumphantly secured upon the scribbled yellow sheets in his pocket, and I often knew this thrill.*<sup>17</sup>

Kathleen had to learn to write with speed, clarity, and promptness to meet her deadlines lest she be subjected to the city editor's dry admonishment to "Get a job on a monthly!" This training in the techniques of her craft contributed in later years to her large output as a writer. Furthermore, though she complained at the time, the subject of her reporting schooled her in the modes and mores of San Francisco's plutocracy, which became the background for such novels as *Mother* (1911), *Saturday's Child* (1914), *The Story of Julia Page* (1915), *Hildegard* (1926), *Little Ships* (1925), *Barberry Bush* (1927), *The Rich Mrs. Burgoyne* (1912), and her finest, *Certain People*



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of Importance (1922). In these works, as Kathleen directed the heroine away from the temptations of the idle rich, she contrasted the shallow lifestyle of the elite with the happiness that a young woman could find in a simple life among those she loved.

*The White House department store, where Kathleen held her first job, stood at the corner of Kearny and Sutter. It is decorated here to honor American soldiers returning from war in the Philippines.*

After a few months with the *Daily Morning Call*, Kathleen was offered a job with the *San Francisco Examiner*, where she was paid "three golden half eagles every week," thirty dollars a month, which to her was a "breathtaking" wage that eased the Thompsons' financial strain. She was assigned to "unimportant interviews, special women's stories, oddities in women's news." But under the tutelage of city editor Edmond Coblentz, who trained "a small army of writers," Kathleen perfected her writing skills and began earning larger assignments. She covered the suffragist convention in Oakland

and the Convention of Women's Clubs in Watsonville, where she was more impressed with the farming community and fruitpacking plants than with the conventions, convinced that there was an immense story to be written about "this place and these people." She was sent out

*on a tugboat to interview the concubine of a visiting Chinese dignitary who loftily described the moral misgivings of our fire-chastened city as mere rubbish. I rode a big horse around the ring in a rodeo; I affected feeble-mindedness and was taken by one of the older newspaper women to be committed and take a good look at the interior of the state hospital* . . .<sup>18</sup>

Until Aunt Kitty relented, Kathleen abided by her aunt's stipulation that she must "never enter the Press Club," a haunt the elder woman envisioned as filled "with spittoons, bar, tobacco smoke, and unscrupulous males." But running deeper than these concerns were both Aunt Kitty's and Kathleen's grandmother's fears that "Jo's girls never would marry."<sup>19</sup>

In February, 1908, Kathleen had her first story syndicated by the wire services and reprinted in the *New York Times*. The story concerned Margaret Illington Frohman, a prominent actress who came to California for a quiet rest at an undisclosed site. Kathleen did some resourceful detective work, and found Mrs. Frohman in Clarabon Hospital in San Francisco. When the superintendent of the hospital denied that the actress was a patient, Kathleen remained, and relied upon the histrionic talent inbred in the Thompson character. She wrote, "I took out my card, that card that honestly said, 'Representing the Examiner.' Upon it I scribbled, 'Margaret dear. They won't let me in. Hope you are better, Kathleen.'"<sup>20</sup> The ploy worked. Kathleen was admitted to the actress's room and granted an interview, which the *New York Times* printed with her by-line.

At twenty-eight, Kathleen had supported her aunt, her younger brother Jim, and her sister Margaret for eight years. Many years later, in an article for *Good Housekeeping* magazine, she admitted to her readers that she had been burdened *by responsibilities far too heavy for her bearing, fatherless, motherless, and further handicapped by ambition, restlessness, and all the boiling and pent-up energy that tortured her, as it does any woman who has not found her self-expression.*<sup>21</sup>

To the world's eye, she was "an interesting spinster in a brown suit sent by the *Examiner*," who wondered if life might go on for her on those terms indefinitely.<sup>22</sup>

Kathleen came to another milestone in her life one rainy evening when she reluctantly attended a meeting of the smart set's Skating Club in the hope that a certain couple would announce their engagement. As she crossed the room she was stopped by a young debutante who several weeks earlier had announced to her that she was engaged and going to be married soon. According to the rules of the newspaper, Kathleen had had to obtain the young man's confirmation of this fact, and when she called him, he told her, "in a series of shouts," that the young lady in question was a "mighty nice girl, but she'd been engaged to some six or seven fellows in turn, and he wasn't among them."

Kathleen was now confronted by the pair, and the young debutante apologized for her silliness in announcing her engagement to "Charley Norris," whom she had in hand. Thus, tall and handsome and grinning boyishly, Charles Gilman Norris—"Cigi"—came into Kathleen's life, and the two spent the remainder of the evening together. He identified the skaters Kathleen did not know, and afterwards walked her back to the *Examiner* office so

she could file her story.<sup>23</sup>

On the following Sunday, Cigi presented himself at the Thompsons' flat to drop off for Kathleen a book written by his novelist brother, Frank Norris. It was an awkward moment when Kathleen answered the door. She had been tearfully mulling over a letter from the tall, equally Irish, Jack Carrington, to whom she had considered herself engaged. "Our most ambitious plans were merely dated 'sometime or other,' and included a chicken farm," Kathleen later wrote of the affair. Now Jack had written to say that marriage would be a "mistake" and that they should best forget the whole thing. With reddened eyes, Kathleen graciously accepted the book from Cigi and he asked her to join him in a walk. She accepted his invitation and asked him to remain for dinner that evening. He accepted.

The fortuitous meeting took place in a lonely period in both their lives. Kathleen been rejected by the man she thought she would marry, and Cigi, an aspiring writer, overshadowed by his deceased older brother Frank's fame, had recently returned from New York and was working for a new western magazine, *Sunset*. No matter that Cigi was nearly two years younger than Kathleen,<sup>24</sup> or that his family was more socially prominent than hers. All that mattered was that "we loved each other," wrote Kathleen, and, *it was all arranged in the course of three meetings, . . . all perfected over many a little table . . . in the French and Italian Quarters, where we used four dollars' worth of light on each fifty-cent meal. We would have a little house and a garden, across the bay, and these would be my domain, and "Himself"—it was thus he was designated—should keep his position upon the railroad magazine Sunset. And eventually we would both write books, or plays, or both. So that was that.*<sup>25</sup>

From the moment Kathleen began to write, she had longed to go to New York. Cigi proposed casually



one evening that since she was eager to go East, they could marry immediately and move to New York, or he could go on ahead alone to find a job and be joined by his bride-to-be when all was in readiness. "Solemnly, across the little luncheon table in the Vienna Bakery," she wrote, it was decided: "We joined hands . . . We would be married. We would write books. We would live in New York."<sup>26</sup>

Three months later Cigi left San Francisco and returned to New York to begin work at the *American Magazine*, where he was hired because of his brother's friendship with the staff. Cigi's job, as he described it years later, was "make-up man, art editor, proof reader." With Cigi established in New York, Kathleen sought assurances from her sisters, Teresa, Margaret, and brother Jim that they would be able to support themselves and Aunt Kitty without her. Her brother Joe offered to purchase the Mill Valley home from the rest of the family for \$1,500, a sum that amounted to \$300 for each of the Thompson siblings plus Aunt Kitty. Simultaneously, an outside buyer made an offer for the Thompsons' undeveloped area adjoining Treehaven.

Cigi and Kathleen corresponded daily, from September 9, 1908, when Cigi departed San Francisco for New York until Kathleen left the city eight months later to meet him. The letters they exchanged at this time were categorized by Kathleen in later years as the "early engagement letters." Each one was numbered, and as the day of the nuptials grew nearer, each letter bore the number of days before the wedding. Kathleen wrote that during this period she was like a girl in a spell: *a dream—I go about all day, deliciously excited—loving every instant of it . . . I start things and won't finish them—make engagements and break them— . . . and like best to be alone . . . [and] think of you—and nothing else.*<sup>27</sup>

Kathleen and Cigi's mother, Ger-

trude Norris, left San Francisco on Friday, April 22, 1909, and arrived in New York the following Tuesday. Early on the morning of the wedding, April 30, 1909, Kathleen attended Mass at St. Agnes Catholic Church and afterwards bought herself a cherry-pink hat. In the meantime, Cigi bought a ring at Tiffany's. At seven o'clock that Saturday evening, Cigi and Kathleen were married at the Church of St. Paul the Apostle on Sixteenth Street and Columbus Avenue.<sup>28</sup> With her marriage, Kathleen began the second half of her apprenticeship.

Overwhelmed with the exhilaration of being in New York, Kathleen found Cigi's associates on the *American Magazine*, America's oldest periodical, to be the most talented individuals she had thus far known. Hobnobbing with these professional writers, many of whom were making headline news as muckrackers and social reformers, and hearing their gossip and going to parties, dinners, and the theater with them made Kathleen eager to begin her own work, even though it would be months before she could concentrate on a theme. During her engagement period, Kathleen had ambitiously outlined stories that she hoped Cigi would place for her, a dependency upon his editorial acumen that grew as he created a role for himself as her literary agent. Before leaving San Francisco, she had spoken to the Hearst editors about sending back from New York a series of letters entitled "Rebecca's Letters" or "Susan's Letters." But now she was too dazzled by the city itself to write, and the Hearst series as well as the many stories she had planned never materialized.

Cigi did not share Kathleen's enthusiasm for life in a "large drafty studio" or in the "smoke-wreathed cellars" of bohemian Greenwich Village, but Kathleen was fascinated with the confusing labyrinth of nar-



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During Kathleen's brief career at the *Daily Morning Call*, the paper was published from temporary quarters in the burned-out Spreckels Building. The *Call* returned to its downtown headquarters on May 23 to cover the rebuilding of San Francisco from the front lines.

row, twisting streets in the Village, where life was simple and cheap and people were free to be themselves. She associated the poverty and frustration of the area's artistic inhabitants with the poverty she had known in San Francisco as a working woman supporting her family. Her high-hearted optimism enabled her to romanticize this life, as she would do in countless stories, to suit her fantasies. Very simply, she was starstruck, as Cigi was fully aware.

Ever the businessman, however, Cigi pointed Kathleen away from Greenwich Village and toward her desk and the business of magazine writing. The only way into the tight circle of New York's literary establishment was to publish, and by the autumn of 1909 Kathleen had begun to write—or to *think* in earnest about writing. But all she was able to compose at first were letters to her family in rhyme, cake recipes also written in verse, or neatly listed grocery needs on a rented typewriter whose letters "a" and "p" sometimes slipped from their moorings. Occasionally, she wrote letters to newspapers and was pleased when they printed them. Finally, the New York *Evening Telegram* announced a short story contest. The winner was to receive the space rate for a story of between 1,800 and 2,000 words. A bonus of fifty dollars was thrown into the winnings for the one whose story was selected as the week's best.

Kathleen searched her mind for two days before choosing "Jane Ireland" as her pen name. She felt more comfortable using this *nom de plume*, fearful that if her story failed to win she would be an embarrassment to the family as sister-in-law of the famous Frank Norris. With her identity so concealed, Kathleen worked on a story for several days, but she was frustrated and unable to make the story flow and put aside thoughts of entering the contest. She blamed her inability to write on her shyness which caused her to suffer agonies at the thought of anyone—"even my

husband—reading anything that I wrote. I never let him even suspect what I was doing," she wrote in *Noon*.<sup>29</sup>

Several months passed before Kathleen settled down and again took up her pen. This time she courageously entered the contest, sending in two stories to the *Evening Telegram*, and to her complete surprise the newspaper accepted both. She was paid twelve dollars apiece for them, and was also awarded the fifty-dollar prize money for the week's best story. When a third story was accepted, the elated Kathleen combined the cash prizes as a gift to Cigi for his upcoming birthday. The first of Kathleen's stories appeared on May 7, 1910, and was entitled, "A Present for a Gentleman," signed "Jane Ireland." The two others followed that month—"The Convalescence of Mam'selle" and "The Fifth Mrs. Frye."<sup>30</sup>

Cigi's reaction to Kathleen's success went far beyond her expectations. As she wrote in *Family Gathering*, he was incredulous, exultant, and then brooded as he pondered her potential talent. If she would go on writing, that would improve their economic situation considerably, he told her. Cigi made only \$25 a week; of this, \$7.50 went for rent, \$7 was allotted to Kathleen for groceries, \$1 went to Cigi for pocket money, and the rest, \$9.50, was set aside as savings. "If I would go on writing!" she recalled. "How my feet touched the ground after that I don't know. It was one moment that ought to be in every woman's life," she wrote, "when her man is proud and a little bewildered at a new development in her, and they plan together as a team."<sup>31</sup>

Success lessened Kathleen's shyness, and she eagerly sought Cigi's advice and editorial opinion. They struck a partnership based on the strength of their talents. Kathleen was the storyteller and Cigi the business manager. While waiting for Kathleen's stories to appear in the

paper, Cigi took from his wife's trunk two San Francisco stories: "What Happened to Alanna," written after the 1906 earthquake and fire, and "The Tide Marsh."<sup>32</sup> After carefully reading "Alanna," Cigi decided that it would sell if properly presented to a prospective magazine, and he set about developing a sales strategy. It was at this point that Cigi stepped into his lifelong role as Kathleen's literary agent.

. . . [The] matter was taken entirely out of my hands, and Charles listed what we felt were the 28—or perhaps it was 38—most promising magazines, listed them alphabetically, beginning with the Atlantic.

For weeks and weeks the story traveled. From every one of the 28, 38, editors, Alanna returned. The summer declined into autumn, . . . and still nobody wanted the story.<sup>33</sup>

For five long and discouraging months, "Alanna" came and went. When it returned for the twenty-eighth time, exhausting the list of prospective magazines, Cigi matter-of-factly readdressed the envelope and sent the story back to the *Atlantic Monthly*, the first magazine on his list. His experience as a manuscript reader had taught him that sometimes a reader hastily misjudges a work, and that it was best to give the magazine and the story a second chance.

Kathleen, now expecting their first child, was spending the summer with cousins in Catumet, Massachusetts, away from the sweltering heat of New York when Cigi succeeded in placing "Alanna." On the second round the *Atlantic Monthly* accepted the story. It was rumored that the editorial staff had hesitated, because "Alanna" was not in the tradition of the magazine, but one editor had insisted that it was "intimately told, true to life." Its heavy Irish Catholic emphasis, which would characterize many of Kathleen's novels, particularly *Little Ships* (1925) and *The Callahans and the Murphys* (1924), caused



additional unease among editors who preferred a Protestant, Anglo-Saxon slant. "Alanna" was published in the September, 1910, issue and brought Kathleen \$75.00. By early November, when Kathleen gave birth to her son, "The Tide Marsh" was scheduled for publication in the December issue of the *American Magazine*. In the next year, seven of Kathleen's stories were published, all in leading journals.

At age thirty-two, Kathleen published the work that elevated her to the status of an effective writer of fiction. A concise novelette, published in the *American Magazine* in 1911, *Mother* was such an absorbing and tenderly sentimental story that former President Theodore Roosevelt—the father of six children and an outspoken foe of planned parenthood—publicly praised it as a testimonial to the joys of raising large families.<sup>34</sup> He shared Kathleen's love of children and feared that the spread of birth-control practices would destroy the American family.

The story was inspired by the unselfish devotion of Kathleen's own late mother, but it was undertaken because of a short story contest sponsored by *Delineator* magazine. A thousand-dollar cash prize was offered to the writer of the best three-thousand-word essay, and the ambitious Kathleen, eager not only to supplement the Norris household budget but, more importantly, to establish herself as a serious writer of fiction, set out to win the prize.

Kathleen worked on her story in a corner of the family's sitting room where she had arranged her rented typewriter upon a small kitchen table. While her infant son napped, she wrote. "It was at first to be a semi-humorous story," she revealed in *Noon*,

called "Mary's Young Man," but as I worked, the marvel and mystery and miracle of a good mother began to seem



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to me for the first time what it truly is, the most beautiful thing in the world, and I wrote the story as seriously and as well as I could.<sup>35</sup>

But before Kathleen could define what she considered a true picture of motherhood to be, she had overrun the contest word limitation by several thousand words. Rather than sacrifice the subject of the story for format, Kathleen claimed in her first autobiography that she set "Mother" aside and submitted another story for the contest, which was won by Zona Gale, a former *New York World* reporter.

After some time Kathleen returned to "Mother." Upon completing the revised work, she gave it to her husband to read for his editorial opinion. He told his wife that "Mother" could be worth ten times the prize money that she would have received from the *Delineator* contest. The following day, Cigi showed "Mother"

Charles Gilman Norris (second from right) and fellow members of the Bohemian Club at Bohemian Grove.

to his editor, John S. Phillips, who accepted it for publication in the August 1911 issue of the *American Magazine*.

"Mother" was written both as a work of fiction and as a tract against birth control. The question to which Kathleen addressed herself was whether birth control would breed promiscuity and threaten family life as she idealized it or would enhance sexual intimacy and create a more stable family environment. She was uncertain of the outcome of this dilemma. It was her wrestling with this controversy that focused the literary limelight upon her. Yet, birth control was a conflicting personal issue for Kathleen. While she publicly advocated no form of birth control, she privately counseled young mothers to practice abstinence to avoid an unwanted pregnancy. No half-baked boy from Ireland with his collar turned around had the right to tell some woman that another baby was a blessing when she and her family were already emotionally and financially hard-pressed, she confided to her niece, Rosemary.<sup>36</sup> Regrettably, Kathleen never revealed this sentiment to her reading audience.

Proud yet protective of his wife's sensitivity as an unknown writer, Cigi presented "Mother" without Kathleen's knowledge to two book publishers. The first saw no potential in the story, but the second was encouraging. He told Cigi that if Kathleen could expand the 8,000-word story into a novelette of about 25,000 to 35,000 words by September 1, 1911, "Mother" could be released in book form for the holiday sales.

"This was early July," wrote Kathleen in *Noon*, "and we were established in a boardinghouse on Long Island." The publisher had given Kathleen less than two months to lengthen her story, and she thought the task impossible. Nevertheless, despite the distractions of a hot summer, an active baby, and a boardinghouse filled with noisy guests, the

manuscript was ready by the end of August. Kathleen again gave it to her husband to read in what would become a ritual with each story that she wrote. This time Cigi was emotionally shaken by the story's force, and with tears in his eyes, he told his wife that it would make her famous. He was right; the response to the novel *Mother* was overwhelming.

With the publication of *Mother*, Kathleen emerged both as one of the nation's foremost "women writers" and a chief advocate of family life. In this later role she eventually fulfilled her self-imposed mission to take her written message beyond her fiction readership to all who would listen, addressing herself in her radio broadcasts and her syndicated newspaper column to the sanctity of marriage and the preservation of family life and motherhood. Of all the political crusades and social causes that she supported throughout her long life, her principal regard was for the maintenance of family ties as she had known them as a child.

By fall, Macmillan Company, the publisher of *Mother*, reported record sales. Phillips, Cigi's employer at the *American Magazine*, was so excited by the response to *Mother* that he told visiting Edward W. Bok, the editor and publisher of the *Ladies Home Journal*, about the novel. Politely, Bok replied that although he had not seen the book, he would, of course, like to own a copy. Cigi immediately left the office for the nearest bookstore, hoping to purchase a copy of *Mother* and present it to Bok at the train station. To his astonishment, Cigi found bookstore after bookstore sold out, and his only recourse was to borrow a friend's copy. Without a minute to spare, Cigi reached the train station, boarded the Philadelphia-bound train, and handed Bok a copy of his wife's work.

Several days later, Bok returned

to New York, visited the Norrises and told the delighted Kathleen of his intention to publish an abridged form of *Mother* serially in the *Ladies Home Journal*. This was the first time in modern literature that a best-selling novel was serialized in a popular magazine. Bok had paid Kathleen one of the highest compliments a writer could then receive.

The editors explained their innovative action as "unusual" in a preface to "Mother: The Story of a Girl's Home." They had regarded this novelette as "one of the strongest stories of its kind that has been written of late years," and were hopeful that "it should be read and enjoyed by thousands of readers of this magazine in whose hands the book, . . . may never fall."<sup>37</sup>

With both the novelette and the short story version of *Mother* a success, Kathleen wrote in her autobiography that her "First Lesson"—and she capitalized the term—as a writer was completed:

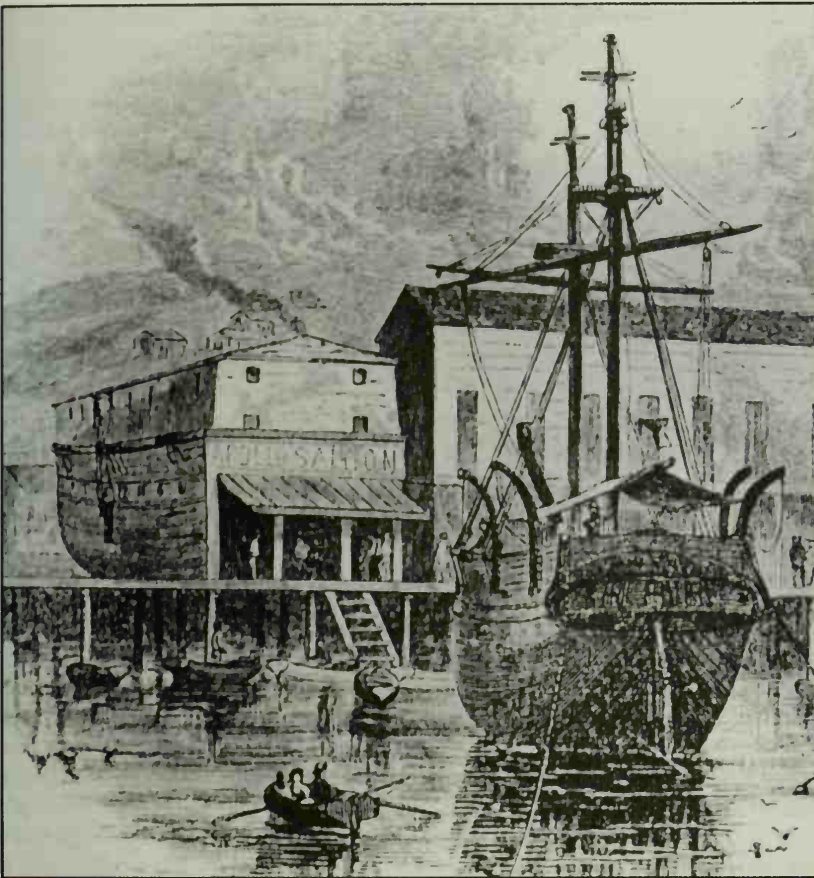
*I had passed the Rubicon of the writer, that very definite dangerline where so many aspiring authors stop forever. I mean when they have had three or four, or six short stories accepted, without exactly knowing how or why, vaguely thinking each plot may be the last, and leaving the whole thing to blind impulse and chance.*<sup>38</sup>

By this series of happy events, continued Kathleen, she had become an established writer. The simultaneous publication of *Mother* with her short stories in popular magazines such as the *American Magazine*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Everybody's*, and *Woman's Home Companion* had given her the appearance of instant success. "But I knew better," she wrote in *Noon*. Every moment since 1899, the year in which both her parents died, had been part of the process of becoming a writer. "There was not one bitter or discouraging hour of it that had not been of use to me since," she concluded.<sup>39</sup> ■

*See notes beginning on page 72.*



1851–1880



# THE ORIGINS OF SAN QUENTIN

by Clare V. McKanna, Jr.

California suffered through rapid change from 1850 to 1880, and in the eyes of some persons crime appeared to endemic. Certainly by 1852 it was obvious to some that a state prison was needed. One writer labeled this period "California's three decades of terror."<sup>1</sup> That may be an exaggeration, but as thousands of men swarmed into the mining communities, pickpockets, crooked gamblers, and ordinary thieves made their presence known among the honest law-abiding citizens. Crime became so important an issue that vigilante committees formed in San Francisco and in various mining camps throughout the Sierra. Life seemed to have little

value in California, and murders occurred frequently. Hubert Howe Bancroft suggests that "diversity of thought" and "the absence of indigenous institutions" helped to create an atmosphere of excesses. In his opinion, "crime is generally the result of ignorance or passion." He also might have commented that the excess of guns in the hands of Californians made it easy for anyone to rob a fellow citizen of his purse. There can be little doubt that the gold rush provided "easy pickings" for both professional and amateur thieves, yet Bancroft concluded that "crimes against the person were more general than crimes against property."<sup>2</sup> That, however, was far from the truth. A survey of San Quentin Prison Registers from 1851

to 1880 indicates just the opposite: approximately two-thirds of the inmates were convicted of crimes against property.<sup>3</sup>

California's first prison developed to fill the need to incarcerate a growing criminal population that seemed to be overwhelming the honest citizens. As will be seen, the state prison system was poorly conceived and the state legislature preferred to spend as little money as possible to operate the first state prison on San Francisco Bay.<sup>4</sup>

California adopted the lessee system, a method commonly used in the Midwest and South of awarding contracts to private individuals to run prisons or use prison labor. In 1825, Kentucky prison authorities had used that method in developing

(Above) Prison ship Euphemia.

their prison in Frankfort. The lessee system also received support in Missouri, Alabama, Texas, and Louisiana. State legislatures quickly learned that prisons were not self-supporting and accepted offers from private individuals to contract for the use of convict labor. In 1871, the Texas legislature forced the governor to lease the prison to the contractor presenting the highest bid.<sup>5</sup> This practice at Huntsville continued for many years. In some cases, such as San Quentin, the lease included physical control of the prison. The lessee system provided cheap labor and was not discontinued in the South until the 1920s. It was a despicable business: legislatures and contractors intended to make a profit out of imprisonment. Few were successful, however, and in that sense, the California prison contractors were typical.

San Quentin had an inauspicious beginning in the hull of the decrepit bark *Waban*. On April 25, 1851, James M. Estell and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo leased the labor of California's convicts and agreed to operate the prison for a period of ten years. They converted the *Waban* into a prison ship, towed it to Angel Island, and put their thirty or so inmates to work in the quarry.<sup>6</sup> In May of 1852, the legislature ordered the prison inspectors to find a permanent prison site. Two months later they paid \$10,000 for twenty acres on Point San Quentin, a promontory thrust into San Francisco Bay, surrounded by Corte Madera and San Rafael coves.

The management of California's first prison left much to be desired during its formative years. Numerous scandals and escapes provided entertaining reading for subscribers to the *Alta California* and other local

newspapers. James Estell's ten-year contract allowed him to work the inmates in any way he saw fit. At first he locked them in the prison ship and worked them in the quarry, but when the state purchased Point San Quentin, Estell moved his operations there and soon established a brickyard. He finished building the "Stones," the first prison structure, in 1854, but the prisoners already outnumbered the cells 300 to 48. San Quentin, throughout its entire history, has never had enough cells to institute the single-cell system. Escape was easy, since Estell refused to build a wall around the prison complex, which would mean taking inmates away from the task of making bricks for profit, until the state legislature agreed to provide money for the undertaking. With a contract and cash in hand, Estell constructed a wall approximately five hundred feet square and twenty feet high. Though poorly designed, it made escape more difficult.<sup>7</sup>

The specifications for San Quentin followed patterns used to build prisons in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; in fact, the typical cell contained more square footage than its eastern counterparts. Cells in the "Stones" building were five feet eleven inches by nine feet ten inches. State prison cells in Kentucky were seven by three feet, and in Illinois seven by four feet,<sup>8</sup> but four prisoners shared the "Stones" cells, while in most eastern prisons only one or two inmates occupied a cell.

Conditions at San Quentin were abominable. Each cell in the "Stones" had a sheet-iron door with a small four by twelve-inch opening at the top called the "Judas hole." There were no windows. Four men were forced to share these cramped quarters without adequate ventilation, light, or sanitary facilities. The crowding caused a good deal of comment, and in 1869 visiting physician Alfred W. Taliaferro complained: "As you know, the men when locked up are literally piled one upon an-

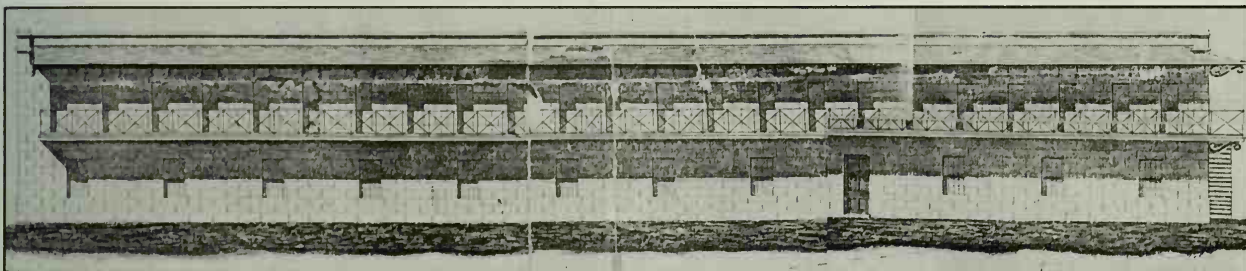
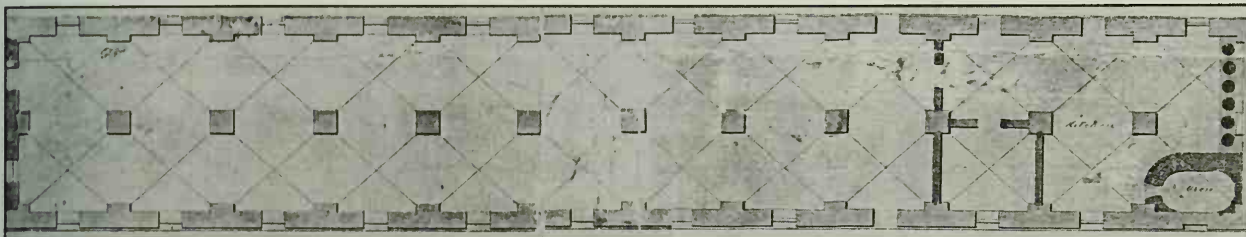
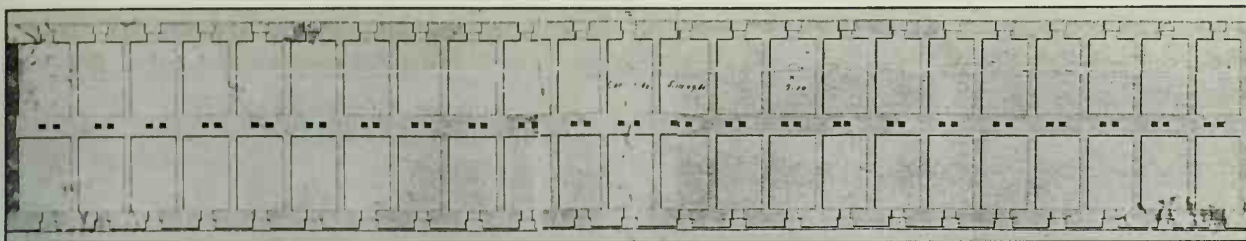
other; this fills the room with animal heat and impure air."<sup>9</sup> The odor emanating from the slop bucket provided for the prisoners at the far end of the cell can now only be imagined, and the stench encountered after opening the cell door must have been overwhelming. The bedding consisted of a vermin-infested straw mattress and a coarse double blanket. Many of the blankets were used until they virtually disintegrated. In a 146 by 24 foot room on the lower floor of the "Stones" approximately three hundred men were forced to live "like so many brute animals in a corral" that confined fourteen-year-old boys with hardened criminals.<sup>10</sup>

Every morning when the inmates stepped out of their cells, they brought with them the whitewashed slop buckets to be dumped, washed, and placed upon a rack to dry. Insection committees, periodically sent by the legislature, were appalled at the condition of the prisoners held by the contractor. Many inmates were not properly clothed, and less than half had shoes. Some were barefoot; others wrapped burlap bags around their feet. Some of the prisoners looked like "the commonest street beggars," or worse. They must have dreaded the winter, since they lacked sufficient clothing to keep them warm. Bathing facilities were inadequate.<sup>11</sup>

By time-honored tradition, the captain of the guard administered punishment: he flogged inmates with a rawhide strap, typically from twelve to twenty-four strokes for minor infractions of the rules such as talking at meals or while working. Returned escapees received harsh treatment, sometimes as many as 160 strokes. Despite the severity of this punishment, however, there are no records indicating that any inmate died from the floggings. Another form of punishment, mild by comparison, included the shaving of half of the inmate's head to distinguish him as a troublemaker. Guards frequently used cross-irons

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CALIFORNIA STATE ARCHIVES

(a device that held the prisoner's arms immobile) and heavy chains on recalcitrant inmates.<sup>12</sup> The punishments administered at San Quentin in the nineteenth century were similar to those used in penitentiaries throughout the United States.

**T**he penitentiary system developed simultaneously in Europe and the United States during the early nineteenth century. Cesare Beccaria declared: "The purpose of punishment is not to torment a sensible being, nor to undo a crime already committed. . . . The end of punishment, therefore, is no other than to prevent the criminal from doing further injury to society and to prevent others from committing the like offense."<sup>13</sup> Most of the early prison reformers believed that prisoners could be rehabilitated. Louis Dwight and his followers provided inmates with Bibles and sermons,

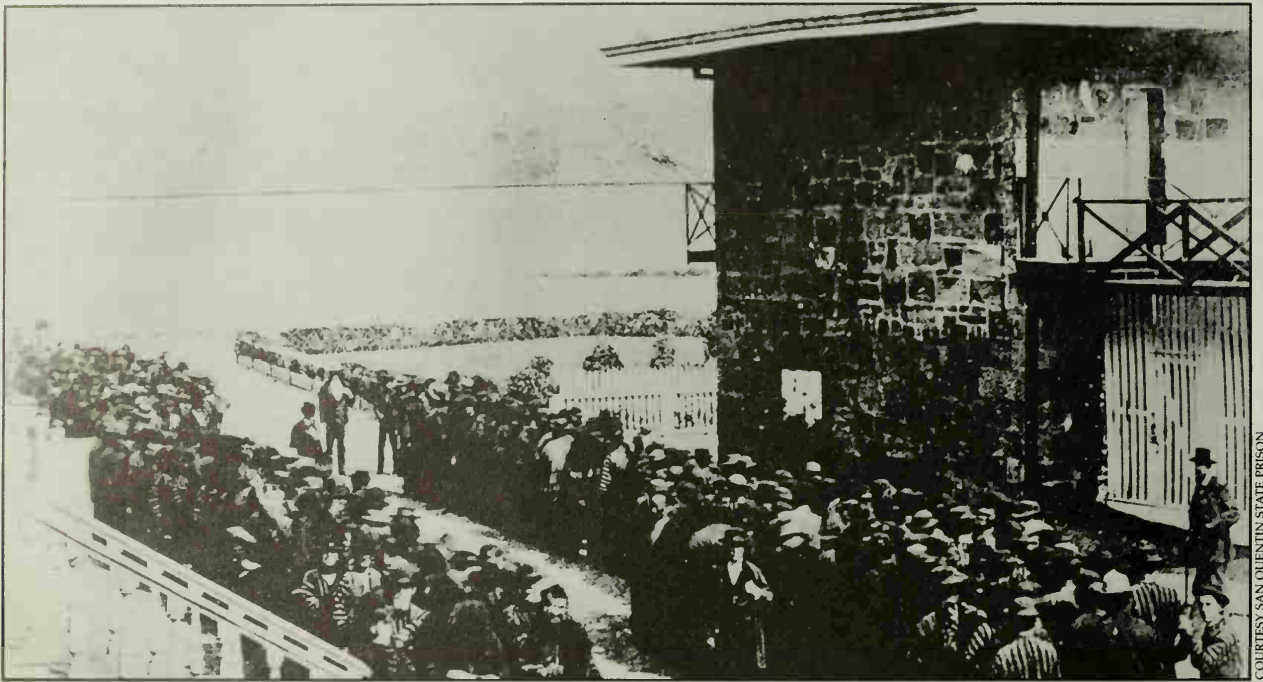
hoping to change them into useful citizens. Yet, most prison officials believed that strict discipline and punishment for any violations of conduct rules were necessary to rehabilitate the inmates. Recalcitrant prisoners often received severe punishment whose rehabilitative purposes were hard to detect. When Pennsylvania prison officials instituted the "dark cell" to discipline inmates, the idea swept the prison movement like wildfire. San Quentin, though isolated from the East, was no exception.

In March 1858, after a series of disputes with the prison contractor, Governor John B. Weller seized control and operated San Quentin for approximately one year. Immediately he initiated what he considered to be proper prison "reform." Weller ordered the construction of fourteen dungeon "dark" cells. He preferred them to floggings that did not seem to control the behavior of the prisoners. Officials placed the first victim, James Garvin, into the new facilities

on March 13, 1858, with a diet of bread and water. Eight escapees received similar treatment thirteen days later. The floggings decreased dramatically during the next three months. Prison officials had administered an average of three hundred strokes per month during the first two months of 1858, but that number dropped to forty-two in March and to zero in April.<sup>14</sup> The dungeon had replaced the lash as a method of punishment.

Michel Foucault suggests that prison administrators in the early nineteenth century decided that it was cruel to punish the body physically, but reasonable to punish the mind. This idea fit in with prison "reform" in Europe as well as the United States, and eventually gained support at San Quentin.<sup>15</sup> Some critics recognized that switching from physical to mental punishment by using the "dark cell" was misguided at best and certainly destructive. Prison physician Alfred Taliaferro detested it and exclaimed:

(Above) Floor plans for the "Stones" building ca. 1853.



COURTESY SAN QUENTIN STATE PRISON

"Down there, in that horrible hole, the prisoner gets darkness, foul air, dampness, cold, bread and water simply, and no exercise."<sup>16</sup> He called for its abolition. Ironically, the dungeon did not change prisoner behavior; in fact, authorities returned to the whip in conjunction with chains and the dungeon and also added a new form of punishment that seemed more like torture. The "shower bath" called for stripping the prisoner naked and tying him to a "ladder," then spraying a stream of cold water under high pressure from a large hose against the victim's face, chest, and exposed genitalia. Prison officials continued these practices until 1880, when they banished the lash. Two years later they stopped using the "shower bath," but they continued to operate the dungeons until 1940.<sup>17</sup>

In the early years the food the inmates received resembled punishment. Most observers claimed that the prisoners were provided with an

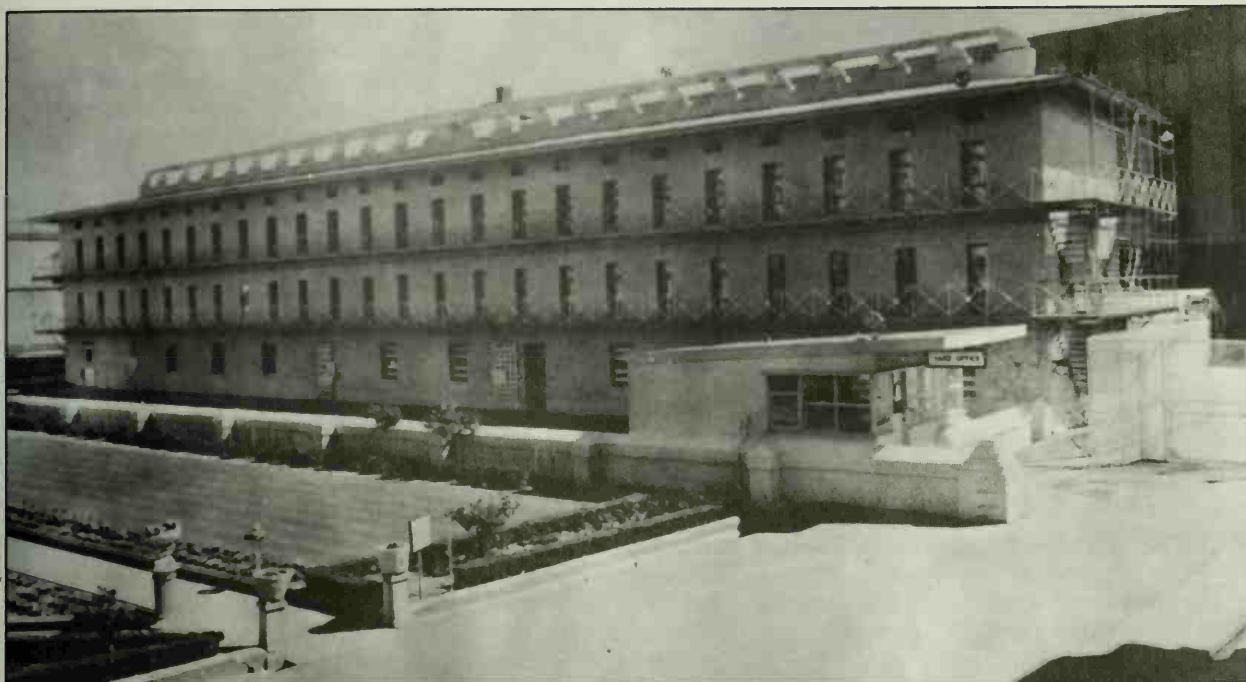
abundance of food but that the quality left much to be desired. Few San Quentin visitors actually sampled the food, and they were better off not doing so. A reporter for the *Alta California* tasted it and made the following observation: "Yesterday I examined the codfish more carefully, and found most of it really very bad. It tastes bitter, and appears rotted."<sup>18</sup> According to one source, meat supplied to the prison arrived "in a most revolting condition, being *blue, green and putrid!*"<sup>19</sup> The quantity of meat per inmate was small, with beans and bread serving as the main filler. The bread had an interesting consistency that could be rolled up into a ball and thrown against a wall, where it would stick like putty. Prison authorities often purchased vermin-infested flour. Not surprisingly, there are numerous reports of sickness caused by bad food, and the prison physician complained often to prison inspection committees. By the late 1860s an improvement occurred with the introduction of vegetables, mush, and tea.

Guards hired by Estell were poor

in quality, but that was hardly surprising since the pay was low and the hours long. In 1855, a legislative investigation into the management of San Quentin revealed some rather noteworthy items. Among them was the report that Lieutenant of the Guard John Gray appeared to be "drunk about two-thirds" of the time. One witness observed that he had "seen Gray so drunk he could not walk straight." Another testified that he "never saw him sober."<sup>20</sup> Some of the prisoners were given free drinks by Gray in one of several bars situated on or near the prison reservation. "Why, [the guards asked], should these unfortunates, deprived of their liberty, be also deprived of the staff of life?"<sup>21</sup> Captain of the Guard J. N. Thompson received sexual favors from female inmates—whether they freely consented is not known. He apparently placed several women in the overseer's house and visited them frequently. Thompson preferred the company of "Scotch" Mary Ann Wilson, and "it was well understood by all the guards that he had free sexual

(Above) San Quentin ca. 1870, with the "Stones" cell block.





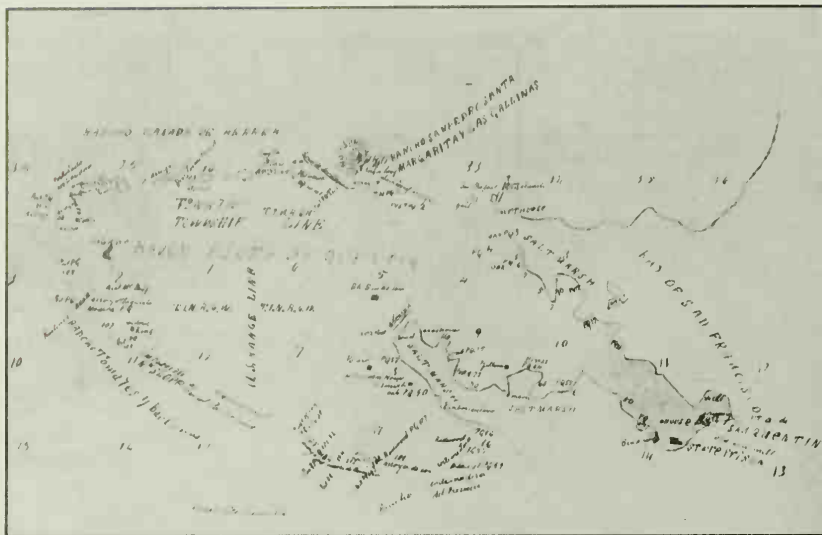
intercourse with her."<sup>22</sup> Lieutenant Gray also frequented the "house" to while away the hours drinking and consorting with Dolores Martinez. There was no attempt to keep these escapades secret from Estell, who seemed to condone the bacchanalian bouts.

Numerous complaints against Estell forced the legislature to conduct many investigations into his handling of San Quentin. Some men who worked for or dealt with him spoke out before the California legislative committees. One businessman stated: "I have had some business transactions with General Estill; I have sued the company, and have suits now pending against him. I dislike Estill very much, and believed him to be a dishonest man. . . ."<sup>23</sup> Others complained that he allowed convicts to visit San Rafael and San Francisco and used them to do work around his house in San Francisco. One woman testified that Estell accepted \$195 in payment for

a pardon for her son. Other prisoners received special privileges ranging from not being locked up in a cell to being allowed to shop in San Rafael and Corte Madera. Some inmates were seen fishing in the bay with no guards. Thomas McFarland Foley, an educated Englishman confined to San Quentin for manslaughter, was one of the more conspicuous of those who received special favors from Estell. Shortly after entering the prison, he became a close confidant of Estell and was given a gun and allowed to guard other prisoners. He also had access to a safe where Estell kept money. After a short stay, Foley left with \$500 from the safe, leaving a promissory note.<sup>24</sup> This seemed to be typical of Estell's management of San Quentin. Alfred Taliaferro, speaking of the private-contract system of leasing inmates, probably stated the situation best: "I do not think the prisoners are safe in private hands, nor that it can ever be made so; I am opposed to the practice of farming out the convicts. . . ."<sup>25</sup> Poor administration, harsh treatment, substandard food, and drunk-

en guards encouraged inmates to attempt escapes. Escapes began with the inception of San Quentin, when twenty of sixty prisoners broke out of the *Waban* in 1852. During the first ten years, no less than five hundred forty-seven inmates made good their escape. The construction of the "Stones" and the wall did not deter this movement to any significant degree. Several inmates escaped from the "Stones" in 1854, before the cement had hardened. Many more fled in open revolts against the guards. Forty-two prisoners escaped in June, 1859, twenty-three in June 1860, and another twenty-eight in July. Summer seemed to be the most popular time for breakouts. Some prisoners fled while being marched to meals, when they could easily scramble into the chaparral; summer fog often helped them to make good their escape into the trees and brush surrounding the prison and on toward Mount Tamalpais and the Pacific Ocean. Equally important, Point San Quentin jutted out into San Francisco Bay, which made it possible for adventurous prisoners to climb

(Above) The "Stones" in the 1950s, after the third floor had been added.



CALIFORNIA STATE ARCHIVES

aboard passing ships bound for San Francisco. Many of the revolts, which often involved ships used to ferry bricks from the San Quentin brickyards to San Francisco, ended in the wounding or death of inmates. Yet escapes and revolts continued, and, considering the qualities of the guards, it is little wonder that so many prisoners managed to escape.<sup>26</sup>

**B**y 1865, official prison reports reveal a significant change in the management of San Quentin. The state had regained control of the prison from the contractor and introduced new techniques. A full-time prison physician cared for the sick and prisoners injured by the lash. Striped uniforms were introduced, not for the comfort of the inmates but to separate them from the guards. Rigid discipline brought about a decline in breakouts. Only 4.2 prisoners escaped per year after 1865, a dramatic change from the first fifteen years, when the average reached 47.2 per year. The introduction of lock-step marching and enforced silence at all times helped to change the atmosphere in San Quentin, as did new surroundings

furnished by the state legislature. Two newly appointed prison directors watched over the construction of two three-story cell blocks with a capacity of 396 cells. A few years later a four-story building for workshops reached completion, along with a new floor on the "Stones" to help alleviate overcrowding. Even with the new buildings, however, too many prisoners were crammed into limited space. Legislators looking for votes in their home districts refused to allocate enough money to house prisoners adequately. By 1873, nine hundred thirty-one inmates were housed in four hundred forty-four cells. Even after the construction of Folsom prison in 1880 and the transfer of hundreds of prisoners, there was not enough space for all the inmates. Yet throughout the entire period, San Quentin officials bragged about maintaining a cost-efficient system commensurate with that of other prisons in the United States. Although cost efficiency seemed to be a major criterion for measuring the success of prison management in the nineteenth century, it did not take into consideration the real needs of the inmates—but few citizens accepted their complaints as legitimate.<sup>27</sup>

San Quentin in 1880, after twenty-nine years of turmoil and contro-

versy, began to settle into a period of calm that characterized most prisons in the late nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Penitentiaries were unpleasant places which were extremely destructive to the younger prisoners. The practice of mixing youthful offenders with hardened criminals provided a crime school of the worst sort, with tragic results. Many repeat offenders were under age twenty when they received their first sentence. Forty-seven percent of the Hispanic prisoners who were repeat offenders were under sixteen when they committed their first offense. This was not unusual. In Huntsville, Texas, prison inmates aged ten to sixteen made up twenty-five percent of the total prison population, and in Louisiana, authorities locked up children as young as seven.<sup>29</sup> Michel Foucault suggests that "the conditions to which the free inmates are subjected necessarily condemn them to recidivism."<sup>30</sup> San Quentin failed to separate youthful offenders from corrupting forces within the prison walls, yet California fit comfortably within the penitentiary system of mid-nineteenth century America.

In retrospect, all prison systems, particularly those that employed the use of "dark cells" or dungeons, seemed to be a step backward from the practices of the eighteenth century into the dark ages. As David J. Rothman has asked: "By what criterion is a penitentiary an improvement over the stocks or system of fines and whippings?"<sup>31</sup> Prison officials preferred punishing the mind rather than the body, but paid little attention to psychological wounds that scarred the inmates permanently. It was in this context that San Quentin began—baptized by endemic crime in California and an equally violent and often inept prison administration that mimicked methods employed in eastern provinces. It may not have been a good system, but it was acceptable to legislator and taxpayer alike. ■

See notes beginning on page 73.

(Above) Hand drawn map of Punta del San Quentin ca. 1855.



Printing, Publishing, and Ancillary Trades:  
*A Checklist of Manuscript and Archival Holdings  
in the Edward C. Kemble Collections on  
Western Printing & Publishing,  
California Historical Society Library, San Francisco*  
Compiled by Glenn E. Humphreys, Curator of the Kemble Collections

*From time to time California History publishes a bibliographic guide to a special collection as a special service. Because the following checklist is extraordinarily long, we are publishing it in this issue in lieu of the usual reviews and California Checklist.*

The Kemble Collections offer remarkable documentation of the field of Western printing and publishing. Assembled by George Laban Harding, whose life-long interest in printing history began as a student at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business, the Collections developed a Western focus when Mr. Harding settled on the West Coast. His exhaustive accumulation of books, periodicals, and ephemera, as well as original material of all kinds, became part of the CHS Library in 1963, since which time the holdings of both the Library and the Kemble Collections have more than doubled. The Kemble Collections thus contain manuscript and archival material that supplement and enhance the holdings of the CHS Library generally. Many of the more than 3,000 collections in the CHS Library's Department of Manuscripts and Archives deal with printing, publishing, and ancillary trades, and they contain financial records, inventories, business correspondence, and the personal journals of California craftsmen. This checklist, therefore, is a compilation of the holdings of original material from both the Department of Manuscripts and Archives and the Kemble Collections on Western Printing & Publishing of the CHS Library.

The checklist includes both nineteenth- and twentieth-century collections, beginning with the *Alta California* account book (1849-1850), which contains the financial records of the first substantial job-printing office in the state, and ending with the archives of The Somer-

viles' (1948-1983), which include financial records, correspondence, work dockets, and employee records of this San Francisco printing firm. The collections range in size from a single letter written by Columbus Bartlett, a San Francisco printer, to the more than 450 boxes of the Taylor & Taylor Archives, one of the largest and most comprehensive assemblages anywhere in the world concerned with the history of a single printing firm. The checklist contains manuscript collections about printing, publishing, book organizations, type founding, paper making, book-selling, librarianship, and book collecting. It does not include, however, materials such as the James King of William letterbook, which was written before he became a newspaper editor and publisher and is about his career in banking. A large number of the collections document the careers of California printers; among the most notable collections about printing are the O'Meara & Painter account book, the James Weld Towne papers, and the Lehmann Lithography Company records. The subjects of publishing and book organizations are strongly represented by the Jerome A. Hart papers, the American West Publishing Company Archives, and the records of the Ina Coolbrith Circle. There are extensive holdings related to type founding and paper making, such as the Nelson C. Hawks papers, the A. Foreman & Son account book, the records of Blake, Moffitt & Towne, and the Pioneer Pulp Company records. The checklist also includes the records of

nineteenth-century booksellers, librarians, and book collectors, such as Epes Ellery of the Antiquarian Bookstore, Alfred Whitaker of the Mercantile Library Association, and Isaiah Lees and Ralph Kirkham, both private collectors.

The entries in the checklist are arranged alphabetically by the formal title of the collection. The subheadings identify the types of material in the collection, the dates covered, the size of the collection, a descriptive guide notation, and the call number. Size categories are described by four notations: folder, volume, box (15.5"×10"×5"), and record storage box (15.5"×12.5"×10.5"). If a descriptive guide is available for the collection, it is noted in the subheadings.

The body of each entry contains a brief description of the collection, which usually begins with a short discussion of the company or individual. The materials in the processed and the smaller, unprocessed collections are then listed in as much detail as possible. It was not practical, however, to list all materials in several large, unprocessed collections, such as Britton & Rey, Lithographers. Some of the collections were previously described by Diana Lachatanere in her *Preliminary Listing of the San Francisco Manuscript Collections in the Library of the California Historical Society* (San Francisco: California Historical Society Library, 1980). The entries for those collections in the present checklist are based upon the earlier descriptions, but in most cases they have been expanded.

Glenn E. Humphreys

***Alta California* (1849–1891)**

Records, 1849–1850: 1 volume.

V. F865.1. A7

The *Alta California* was the first daily newspaper in San Francisco, and the office of the *Alta California* was the first substantial commercial printing business in the city. The newspaper was founded in January 1849 by George C. Hubbard, Edward Gilbert, and Edward C. Kemble; the Kemble Collections are named in honor of the last of these pioneering printers. The collection consists of the newspaper's account book (January 1849–June 1849, July 1850; 42 pp.), which shows the daily debits and credits not only of the newspaper, but also of the job-printing office, which was an important part of the firm's business. The entries, which were written by Gilbert (later California's first Congressman), include such information as the name of the customer; prices charged for jobs; payments for supplies (a new printing press, paper, ink, and other materials); owners' profits; labor costs; and a brief description of many jobs.

**American Type Founders Company (1892–)**

Records, 1908. 2 folders.

F856.1. A3

The San Francisco branch of the American Type Founders Company was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, but the firm recovered quickly. Eighteen months after the disaster, ATF left its temporary office in Oakland and moved into a new five-story building at 820–822 Mission Street. This collection comprises the text and layout of a pamphlet, which was prepared to celebrate ATF's new building. The text describes the departments of the company, and chapters include: Sales Department, Casting Room, Type in Stock, Brass Rule, Wood Goods, Machinery, Rebuilt Goods, and San Francisco Newspaper Misc. There are two versions of the text: a detailed, handwritten description of the departments and an abbreviated typescript. The halftone illustrations are laid in, and in a separate envelope are thirty-two original photographs which were used to produce many of the halftone illustrations.

**American West Publishing Company**

Archives, 1965–1975. 9 record storage boxes and 3 five-drawer file cabinets.

Unprocessed.

Beginning in 1965, George Pfeiffer III developed what became the American West Publishing Company into one of the most respected companies in the field of Western Americana. In addition to the magazine, *American West*, Pfeiffer published such books as *California: An Illustrated History* by T.H. Watkins, *High Road to Promotory* by George Kraus, and David Lavender's *Nothing Seemed Impossible*. The Archives of the American West Publishing Company are among the larger collections in the Kemble Collections. They contain correspondence, invoices, account sheets, salesmen's memos, ephemera, and agreements with distributors. Also present are the production folders for the books that the company published. The folders contain such information as production costs, promotional mailings, production schedules, correspondence, and contracts.

**Antioch Ledger**

Records, 1871–1875. 1 folder.

MS. 3439

In December 1870, nine months after the *Antioch Ledger* was established, Joshua P. Abbott purchased a half-interest in the newspaper. By 1873 he was the sole proprietor. He continued to edit and publish the *Ledger* until 1881, when he leased it to C.H. Smith. This collection consists of correspondence that Abbott received from type founders and advertisers, such as Painter & Company; Sherman & Hyde; and S.M. Pettingill, Newspaper Advertising Agent, New York.

**Argonaut Publishing Company (1877–1958).**

Records, 1880–1905. 2 volumes.

MS. 64

The *Argonaut*, founded by Frank M. Pixley and Frederick M. Somers, was a weekly San Francisco magazine, which focused on social news and literature. It enjoyed its greatest popularity while edited by Jerome A. Hart, who was Associate Editor from 1880 to 1891 and Editor from 1891 to 1907. The *Argonaut*

records consist of two volumes. The first volume (6 pp.) is a transfer journal (August 1880–January 1902), which records the changes in stock ownership. Laid in are "Treasurer's Annual Statements" for the years ending 31 May 1894–1895, 1902–1905; annual reports of the president and treasurer (31 May 1893); proxys (1894–1895); and gain & loss reports (1894–1895, 1901–1902). The second volume (107 pp.) records the dividends paid by the company (1881–1893).

**Bancroft, Albert Little (1841–1914)**

Papers, 1866–1913. 1½ boxes.

MS. 123

In 1859 Albert L. Bancroft joined his brother Hubert Howe Bancroft in San Francisco and became a partner in the elder Bancroft's book and stationery firm, H.H. Bancroft Company, which was renamed A.L. Bancroft & Company in 1869. The Bancroft papers consist of fifteen personal account books, two diaries, and five notebooks of genealogical material. The account books contain Bancroft's personal and household expenses (1866–1885), and although the documents do not include financial records of A.L. Bancroft & Company, they do include his earnings and shares in the firm. In addition the collection includes sheets with annual business summaries of A.L. Bancroft & Company (1879–1882). The two diaries contain notes about hunting and camping trips (1873–1876, 1880). Bancroft compiled five notebooks about his family and a "Card String of Events," which contains a chronology and genealogy of the Bancroft family. There is also a folder of miscellaneous correspondence, personal papers, and receipts (1860–1913).

**Bartlett, Columbus**

Letter, 1853. 1 folder.

Z3. B70

Columbus Bartlett was the brother of Washington Bartlett, who was a pioneer printer and governor of California. Columbus Bartlett, in partnership with Washington Bartlett and a third brother, C. Julian Bartlett, was involved in several printing offices and publishing ventures, such as the San Francisco Eve-



ning *News* (1 November 1853–20 January 1854). In early 1853 the office was known as C. Bartlett & Company. On 15 June 1853 Columbus Bartlett wrote to R. Hoe & Company and ordered a printing press and a paper cutter. The Bartlett papers contain the original letter and the office copy.

**Blake, Moffitt & Towne (1868–)**

Records, 1876–1893. 43 volumes.

Unprocessed.

In 1868 Blake, Robbins & Company was formed by the merger of the two leading paper-supply houses in San Francisco (Blake & Moffitt and Charles F. Robbins & Company), and the most successful printing firm in the city (Towne & Bacon). The four original partners were: Francis Blake, James Moffitt, Charles F. Robbins, and James W. Towne, the last of whom served as East Coast representative of the firm. When Robbins died in 1884, the three remaining partners incorporated under the name of Blake, Moffitt & Towne, which firm continues today, although the name was changed to Unisource Corporation in 1985. The collection includes the records of Blake, Robbins & Company as well as those of Blake, Moffitt & Towne. Included in the collection are: 15 cashbooks (January 1876–October 1884); 2 daily cash debit and credit summaries (June 1880–July 1882); 5 petty cashbooks and bank account books (petty cash: December 1880–June 1884, January 1887–January 1891; bank accounts: January 1881–June 1884, January 1887–June 1888); 2 journals (August 1883–December 1884); 13 general and country ledgers with indexes (January 1876–August 1893); 2 trial balance volumes (January 1878–December 1878, January 1883–December 1884); 3 personal accounts ledgers (August 1883–December 1884, September 1886–December 1888, January 1889–August 1891); 1 freight overcharges (October 1877–May 1884). Also included are a series of cancelled checks (January 1884–November 1884; August, November–December 1892). As the leading San Francisco paper merchant, the firm's records include every major printer, bookbinder, stationer, and type founder in the Bay Area, such as A.L. Bancroft & Company; James H. Barry; H.S. Crocker

& Company; Winterburn & Company; Althof & Bahls; A. Buswell & Company; Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch; Payot, Upham & Company; Painter & Company; and Palmer & Rey, among others. The firm also had "country" customers in towns throughout California and the neighboring states (including Willows, Marysville, Salinas, Santa Barbara, and Needles, California; Tacoma, Washington; Hawthorne, Nevada; Astoria, Oregon).

**Britton & Rey, Lithographers**

Records, 1901–1928. 10 record storage boxes.

MS. 3592 (unprocessed)

Britton & Rey Company, founded by Joseph Britton and Jacques J. Rey, was one of the most respected and longest-lived lithographic printing firms in San Francisco. In addition to printing, the partners were involved in other business activities, such as plumbing, and, especially after Valentine J.A. Rey joined the firm in 1901, real estate. This collection concerns Britton & Rey, Lithographers; and Britton & Rey Company, Realtors. Materials about the lithography firm include: financial records (auditors' reports, profit-and-loss statements, lists of outstanding accounts, analysis of the departments in the company, tax records, a "private ledger" [1914], operating costs and sales reports, payroll sheets, and bank statements; [1901–1928]); printing contracts; equipment purchase and lease agreements; correspondence; bylaws of the firm (1901); minutes of stockholders' meetings (1901–1911); and minutes of annual and special meetings (1908–1928).

**Brown, Beriah**

Papers, 1863–1865. 1 folder.

MS. 2406

This collection consists of the papers generated by a disagreement between George Guthrie, the proprietor of the San Francisco Daily *Republic*, and several other men, including Samuel Brannan. Guthrie asserted that he had had a contract with Brannan and the others, who were seeking public office, to print 10,000 extra copies of the *Republic* for four days (29 & 30 August, 1 & 2 September 1863). In October 1863 Guth-

rie sold the newspaper to Beriah Brown, who changed the name of the newspaper to the *Democratic Press* and sued Brannan for \$800, which was the cost of the 40,000 newspapers. The collection documents the lawsuit through 13 April 1865 when one of the defendants asked that the case be dropped because Brown was disloyal to the government. Two days later when the news of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln reached San Francisco, an outraged mob, representing people who had long been angered by Brown's pro-South editorials, wrecked the office of the *Democratic Press*. Brown quickly left the area. In June 1864 Brown's partner, William S. Moss, began publishing the newspaper again, but changed its name to the *Examiner*.

**Burgess, William Hubert (1825?–1893)**

Papers, 1850–1893. ½ box.

Descriptive guide.

V. MS. 10

William Hubert Burgess was a nineteenth-century artist, lithographer, and teacher in San Francisco. In addition to correspondence the Burgess papers contain a five-page article about lithography and chromolithography in which he describes the preparation of the stones and the process of adding colors.

**Butler, Benjamin Franklin**

Papers, 1853–1891. 1 folder.

Descriptive guide.

MS. 275

Benjamin Franklin Butler was one of the earliest lithographers and booksellers in San Francisco. Working with the leading California artists of the time, such as Edward Jump and the Nahl Brothers, Butler was noted for his city views and mining scenes. The collection includes the partnership agreement between John H. Gihon and Butler to establish a company to engage in book-selling, bookbinding, publishing, and lithography (1853); a lease between Gihon and Butler and Samuel Brannan for a shop on Montgomery Street (1853); a receipt from James Walker for engraved bonds for the Republic of Nicaragua (1856); and a letter from George H. Baker negotiating the purchase of

Butler's lithographic shop (1857). Also present is a thirteen-page reminiscence by Butler's wife, Harriet Hitchcock Butler. The narrative deals with her voyage from New York to San Francisco, the 1851 San Francisco fire, her husband's business concerns, and her life after his death.

**Cohen, Alfred A. (1829-1887)**

Catalog, n.d. 1 folder.  
MS. 410

The collection consists of the 107-page catalog of the personal library of Alfred A. Cohen, who was a prominent Bay Area attorney with railroad and ferry interests. Cohen formed an extensive collection of books, which was cataloged in 1873, and then recataloged in the early twentieth century (ca. 1916). According to the appraisal in the catalog, the total value of Cohen's library was \$6,063. It was a gentleman's library and included such works as, *Facsimile of Ancient Charters in the British Museum* (1873), Shakespeare's *Works* (1802), George Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (1790-1795), and H.H. Bancroft's *Works* (1882-1890).

**Cooper, Elias, M.D. (1822-1862).**

Papers, 1844-1862. 10 boxes.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 458

In 1855 Dr. Cooper arrived in San Francisco and was soon recognized as one of the leading physicians in the city. In 1858 he founded the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific and two years later published the first issue of the *Medical Press*, which was the organ of the school. It was respected for its technical papers, editorials, and book reviews. The journal was absorbed by the *Pacific Medical & Surgical Journal* in 1865. The collection contains the list of subscriptions and exchanges for the *Medical Press* (1860-1862); a scrapbook listing "Prominent Persons" on the Pacific Coast from Peru to Oregon with lists of agents for other periodicals; and the invoices from Towne & Bacon and the Bay City Printing Office, which were the printers of the journal. The other materials in the collection document Cooper's career and consist of his lectures, case reports,

account books, patient records, and correspondence.

**Cummings, Melbourne W.**

Oral history. 1 volume, 27 pp.;  
2 cassettes.  
CT 42.1-2

On 13 June 1977 Elede Hall interviewed Melbourne Wesley Cummings, the Chairman of the Board of the Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, which was founded in Massachusetts in 1942 by Cummings and his partner, Lew Addison Cummings. In the interview Cummings reminisces about the founding of the firm and discusses the development of the company and the opening of the California branch in 1968. Although the company has a trade division, it is known primarily for publishing textbooks.

**Edwards Publishing Company**

Papers, 1893-1906. 1 folder.  
MS. 1359

The Edwards Publishing Company, which was formed by Mr. & Mrs. Frank G. Edwards, published a number of land-title periodicals, including *Edwards' Abstract From Records* (San Francisco, daily); *Edwards' Transcript of Records* (Alameda County, daily); *Breviate of Records* (Marin County, weekly); and *Edwards' Criterion* (monthly). The collection includes subscription records, correspondence, office-rent receipts, and the firm's orders for type from Palmer & Rey, the San Francisco type founder.

**Ellery, Epes (1830-1894)**

Papers, 1852-1885. 3 folders.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 649A  
MS. 2336

In 1852 Epes Ellery, who had been trained as a bookbinder in Boston, sailed aboard his father's ship to California. In 1854 in San Francisco he established the Antiquarian Book Store, which became known for its carefully selected stock, especially of used books. Ellery closed his bookstore in 1864. The collection documents Ellery's voyage to California and his career as a bookseller in San Francisco. While aboard the *Barque Gallego* on his voyage from New

York, Ellery kept a journal (August 1852-October 1852; 59 pp.). At the end of the volume are seven pages of personal and professional notes, including "receipts" for edge gilding, colors, and acids used by bookbinders. Also present is Ellery's letterbook (November 1853-July 1863; 207 pp.) which contains the outgoing correspondence of Charles Wooley, a periodical and newspaper dealer, and Ellery, who purchased Wooley's business and changed the emphasis from periodicals to books. The letterbook illustrates not only the kinds of books Ellery was selling, but also sheds light on many aspects of the book trade, such as cash discounts, payment of orders, transportation problems, and insurance costs. Also included are personal and professional papers, such as U.S. Post Office receipts, a state and county license to conduct business, and letterheads, as well as materials relating to Ellery's later career in mining.

**Ewer, Ferdinand C. (1816-1883)**

Diary, 1826-1860. 1 volume.  
Descriptive guide.  
V. MS. 21

In the introduction to this 322-page volume (22 May 1861), Ewer states that he began keeping a journal on 28 June 1848 and that this "more permanent volume" contains the entries from the original diary. In addition to copying the original entries, Ewer tipped in materials, such as letters and pieces of ephemera. This revised volume, then, covers Ewer's early years on the East Coast, his education at Harvard, his voyage to the West Coast in 1849, and his activities in California from 1849 to 1860 when he moved to New York. Ewer's career in journalism began in 1842 when he edited and published a four-page newspaper titled "The High-schooler," which was in manuscript, although the masthead was printed. Ewer continued his career as a journalist in California; he describes his early days on the staff of the *Pacific News* and his rise to Editor-in-Charge on 1 January 1850. By April 1851 he had left the *News*, and from then until December 1853 he was associated with a series of newspapers, including the *Sacramento Transcript*, *San Francisco Sunday Dis-*



patch, *Alta California*, San Francisco *Times & Transcript*, and San Francisco *Prices Current*. In December 1853 William Brooks approached Ewer about editing a literary monthly, *The Pioneer*, which became a notable literary magazine. As editor of *The Pioneer* Ewer published articles by many California authors, including Louise Clapp ("Dame Shirley"), George Derby ("John Phoenix"), and John S. Hittell. For most of the publications mentioned above, Ewer made diary entries that describe his work, associates, and working conditions. Throughout the volumes are original sketches of San Francisco, Stockton, and Yosemite Valley.

**Fairfield, Frederick Pease**  
Papers, 1931-1932. 1 folder.  
MS. 3024

The Frederick Pease Fairfield papers contain a 74-page scrapbook diary of Fairfield who was the publisher of the *San Jose Post*. In the diary Fairfield writes about the difficulties he faces publishing a newspaper in the Great Depression, his efforts to sell the business, his relationship with the new owners, and his life in San Jose and Oakland. Pasted in are letters, postcards, and photographs.

**Foreman, A. & Son (1880-1906)**  
Records, 1893-1906. 1 volume.  
V. F856.1 .F76  
Z3 .F43

Andrew Foreman was a master type founder who learned his trade at the Miller & Richard foundry in Edinburgh. In 1866 he came to San Francisco to set up William Faulkner's California Type Foundry. Foreman remained with Faulkner until 1880, when he and his son, Andrew Foreman, Jr., established A. Foreman & Son, type foundry. The company was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. This 443-page account book is in two sections. The first section is arranged by month and lists the firm's income by source (usually the company name), and its expenditures on, for example, rent, materials (galleys, mallets, "old metal"), and labor. The second part is organized by customer names and includes the leading printers of late nineteenth-century

San Francisco, such as H.S. Crocker & Company, Hicks-Judd, the Edward C. Hughes Company, and C.A. Murdock & Company. Other large accounts include San Francisco newspapers, such as the *Bulletin*, *Call*, *Examiner*, and *La Voce del Popolo*, and other type foundries, such as the Pacific States Type Foundry, and Painter & Company. Accompanying the account book are miscellaneous invoices and correspondence, including an 1893 letter about discounts offered by the "syndicate," a bank book, and copies of the papers relating to the estate of Andrew Foreman, Sr.

**Francis-Valentine Company**  
Records, 1896-1897. 1 folder.  
Z3 .F46

By 1896 the Francis-Valentine Company, which was also known as the Commercial Steam Printing House, had been in business for more than forty years. In the 1860s the principals in the business advertised the firm, with its twenty presses, as the largest printing establishment in the state. This collection consists of an 18-page volume which contains the firm's bylaws (1896), minutes of the board of directors' meetings (1896, 1897), organization papers (1896), and minutes of a stockholders' meeting (1896). Accompanying the collection are miscellaneous ephemera and a photograph (ca. 1891) of the staff of the Francis-Valentine Company.

**Gordon, David Everett (1830?-1913)**  
Letters, 1855-1856. 1 folder.  
MS. 369A

David E. Gordon was closely associated with several newspapers in northern California, most notably the *Trinity Journal* (1856-). The six letters in this collection cover the establishment of the *Trinity Journal* by Henry J. Seaman and Gordon, who eventually became the sole proprietor. In the letters, which were written to his brother, Gordon discusses the difficulties he faced as a printer, his life in Weaverville, and events in California.

**Hale, Reuben Brooks (1869-1950)**  
Papers, 1925-1933. 11 boxes.  
MS. 912

Reuben B. Hale was president of the Hale Brothers Realty Company and the Panama Realty Company, and vice president of the Hale Brothers Stores. In 1925 he became a director of the San Francisco Shipping News Company, which printed and published an advertising newspaper. The Hale papers contain the articles of incorporation and bylaws, policy statements, and correspondence of the San Francisco Shipping News Company. This material is part of a larger collection which concerns Hale's position with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company.

**Harding, George L. (1893-1976)**  
Papers, 1929-1976. 4 boxes and 1 record storage box.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 3156

George Harding was one of the pre-eminent book collectors and printing historians in the twentieth century. Although he chose a business career with Pacific Telephone, he had a life-long interest in printing. After settling on the West Coast he became interested in Western printing history; in 1934 his definitive biography of Agustin Zamorano was published. Before his death in 1976 he amassed a remarkable collection of books, periodicals, ephemera, and archival and manuscript material that today forms the core of the Kemble Collections. This manuscript collection documents Harding's activities as a book collector and printing historian. Approximately half of the collection consists of correspondence with booksellers (such as Glen & Muir Dawson, Philip Duschne, and Herman Cohen), printers (such as Greg Anderson and Roger Levenson), librarians (such as Lawrence C. Wroth and Lawrence Clark Powell), and fellow collectors and historians (such as David Pottinger, Ray Nash, and Maurice Annenberg). The other part of the collection consists of research notes for his publications including *A Census of California Spanish Imprints* (1933), *Don Agustin V. Zamorano* (1934), *Tahitian Imprints* (1950), and *A Copybook From the Hand of Agustin V. Zamorano* (1974).

Oral history. 1 cassette.  
CT 37.1

The cassette records George L. Harding's lecture about Agustin V. Zamorano, the first printer in California. The lecture was given before the Zamorano Club in 1973.

Oral history. 3 cassettes.  
CT 37.3-.5

On 17 September 1976 the California Historical Society held a memorial program to honor George L. Harding for his accomplishments in printing and publishing. The speakers that evening included Dr. Albert Shumate, Roger Levenson, Roby Wentz, and Dean Anderson. The evening was recorded on three cassettes.

**Hart, Jerome A.** (1854-1937)  
Papers, 18 boxes and 43 volumes.  
MS. 951

Jerome A. Hart served as the Associate Editor (1880-1891) and Editor (1891-1907) of the *Argonaut* and in this collection are the magazine's "Editorial Books" (June 1878-December 1905, April 1906-December 1906; 24 vols.), which record staff salaries and the amounts paid to contributors to the magazine. In 1878 the staff included Ambrose Bierce, who received \$40 an issue when the total recorded expenditures per issue were usually \$120 or less. Contributors to the *Argonaut* in this period included most major California authors from Charles Warren Stoddard and Emma Dawson to W.C. Morrow and Gertrude Atherton. Beginning in January 1891 Hart began a series of "Ed. Mem." books (January 1892-January 1897; 5 vols.) which consist of his notes about the editorial columns in the *Argonaut*. The Hart papers also include drafts of many of his writings; several boxes of ephemera, most notably about the publication of *Two Argonauts in Spain*; personal correspondence and receipts (1883-1906); and business correspondence and receipts (1879-1933). Hart compiled 43 scrapbooks of ephemera, newspaper clippings, photographs, and articles and tables of contents from the *Argonaut*.

**Hawks, Nelson Crocker** (1840-1929)  
Papers, 1855-1896. 1½ record storage boxes.  
V. F856.1 .H30-35, 40

Although his name is not well known, Nelson C. Hawks was the developer of the American point system of printing type, which instituted one of the most important changes in American printing in the nineteenth century: standardization of type measurement. The collection documents Hawks's career as a printer, publisher, type founder, and printers' supplies dealer. The bulk of the collection consists of fifteen diaries, which Hawks began while living in Delafield, Wisconsin, and continued after he moved to San Francisco in 1874, where he founded the Pacific Type Foundry as a branch of the Chicago Type Foundry (Marder, Luse & Co.). The diaries provide detailed descriptions of his personal and business affairs (January 1855-August 1856, January 1862-December 1863, April 1868-December 1880, April 1882-March 1896). Complementing the diaries are two letterbooks with tissue copies of Hawks's business correspondence (June 1875-September 1876 [500 pp.]; and February 1882-January 1883, February 1884-March 1885 [approximately 475 pp.]). A third letterbook contains letters written to Hawks by the principals of Marder, Luse & Company (February 1876-December 1881). Hawks also compiled two scrapbooks. The first scrapbook consists of ephemera that he printed while in Wisconsin, and the second contains newspaper clippings about his activities on the Pacific Coast (manager of the Pacific Type Foundry, publisher of the *Pacific Specimen*, developer of the American point system, and partner in Hawks & Shattuck, printers' supplies). Also included is a volume in which is recorded the production and distribution of an iron composing stand that Hawks patented in November 1869. Accompanying the collection is one of three known copies of *Explanation of the Point System of Printing Type*, which Hawks published in an edition of 500 copies in 1918. In the pamphlet he explains his role in developing the American point system.

**Hearst, William Randolph** (1863-1951)  
Papers, 1931-1942. 2 folders.  
MS. 978

Beginning with the San Francisco *Examiner* in 1887, William Randolph Hearst built a publishing empire that came to include a string of newspapers and magazines. The Hearst papers contain correspondence to and from Hearst regarding the *Examiner*, the New York *Evening Herald*, and the Chicago *Herald*. Also included are typescripts of public policy positions taken by Hearst and an eight-page typescript of anecdotes about him.

**Henderson, Alexander B.**  
Correspondence, 1888-1893. 1 folder.  
MS. 973

Alexander B. Henderson worked for several local newspapers, including the *Chronicle*, *Examiner*, and *Call*. In 1887, when William Randolph Hearst became the publisher of the *Examiner*, he promoted Henderson to the position of Managing Editor. In this position Henderson worked closely with Hearst to transform the *Examiner* from a small, deficit-ridden newspaper into one that labelled itself the "Monarch of the Dailies." Nearly half of the letters in the collection are from Hearst and contain his instructions for managing the newspaper.

**H.S. Crocker & Company** (1856-)  
Records, 1866-1901. 1 folder.  
MS. 487

In 1871 Henry S. Crocker and his partner, John D. Yost, opened the San Francisco branch of H.S. Crocker & Company, which eventually became larger than the original office in Sacramento. This collection includes a 66-page volume with a roster of names of employees from 1887 to 1901, which includes the date hired, wages per month or week with the amount in code, and the date the employee left or was discharged. At the back of the volume is a list of payments to various charities. Also included in the collection are payment agreements between H.S. Crocker & Company and the Central Pacific Railroad Company and a photocopy of an advertising contract be-



tween the two firms. Complementing this collection is the Mary Ives Crocker collection (MS. 3593), which documents the private life of Henry J. Crocker, the late nineteenth-century president of H.S. Crocker & Company.

**Hunt, Haywood (1888-1974)**  
Papers, 1903-1969. 6 boxes.  
Unprocessed.

Haywood Hunt was one of San Francisco's master printers. In 1915 he settled in San Francisco where he was associated with Kennedy-ten Bosch Company until 1940, when he established his own printing office. His firm, known as Hunt Towers, was a center for the local printing trade. The bulk of the collection falls into three divisions. One portion consists of letters dealing with *The Southern Amateur*, a journal Hunt edited and published in Greenwood, North Carolina; and his efforts to find employment with printing firms (1903-1910, 1915). During these years he was a tramp printer until he settled in San Francisco in 1915. The next major portion of the collection consists of business correspondence (1925-1929). Many of the letters concern the Pacific Coast Society of Printing House Craftsmen Clubs. Hunt was a charter member of the Society and was instrumental in its founding. The correspondence relates to the organization and activities of local clubs in the West, the preparations for annual conventions, the International Association of Printing House Craftsmen, a tribute to John Henry Nash, and the Henry Lewis Bullen exhibit at the Typographic Library and Museum in New Jersey. Correspondents include Horace A. Sykes, Charles A. Whitmore, Signor Sivertson, A.B. McCallister, C. Raiff Miller, Henry Bullen, and members and officers of local craftsmen clubs. The third portion of the collection contains business records (incoming and outgoing invoices, 1957, 1967-1968); a book of price estimates for jobs (1943-1952, incomplete); and miscellaneous correspondence of his printing business. Also included are his personal papers. Complementing the collection are a box and a half of photographs of Hunt and Hunt Towers, and his periodical library, which is now

housed in the Kemble Collections.

**Ina Coolbrith Circle (1919-)**  
Records, 1921-1969. 4 boxes.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 457

In 1919 the Ina Coolbrith Circle, which was named in honor of the first poet laureate of California, was established to study the history and literature of California. The Club, which continues today, sponsors lectures, poetry readings, and musical programs; and it maintains a library. The history of the group is well documented in this collection, which includes: correspondence (1921-1969); newsletters and announcements of meetings, (1927-1962); financial reports (1942-1962); a ledger (1931-1939, 1941-1951); a meeting register (1943-1944, 1950-1958); a checklist of books in the library (n.d.); legal papers and constitutions; a scrapbook which contains newspaper clippings, (1943-1958) and minutes of meetings (1941-1944); a second scrapbook of newspaper clippings (1921-1956); and a scrapbook of member-related ephemera, which includes a parmelian print of Ina Coolbrith by Ansel Adams.

**Inland Press**  
Records, 1915-1930. 1 folder.  
Z3 .I15

By 1915 the Inland Press of Sacramento had been established by Tom Frankland, Charles E. May, and Joseph S. Williams, who had worked together at Joseph M. Anderson Company, printers. The collection consists of correspondence Frankland and Williams received in the early years of the firm. Also included are layouts and samples of their work.

**John Howell—Books (1912-1984)**  
Guest Register, 1915. 1 box.  
Unprocessed.

Established by John Howell in 1912, John Howell—Books became the leading bookstore in San Francisco. Under the guidance of John's son Warren, it achieved an international reputation for its fine stock. In 1915 John Howell commissioned Bernard Maybeck to design a cottage at the Panama-Pacific

International Exposition to house his exhibit of books, early printing, bindings, illuminated manuscripts, and autographs. At the Fair Howell asked each visitor to sign the guest register, which was a two-volume dummy of *Arias the Libyan: A Romance of the Primitive Church* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1914). The signatures include those of authors, printers, collectors, and booksellers who were attracted to the exhibit as well as those of the general public. Also included in the collection are nine cuts, which were used in the firm's publications and letterheads. In addition the collection contains genealogical materials about the Howell family, and presentation copies of local authors' books.

**Kemble, Edward C. (1828-1886)**  
Letter, 188\_. 1 folder.  
Unprocessed.

Edward C. Kemble was a printer with the first newspaper in San Francisco, the *California Star*; the publisher of the first daily newspaper in California, the *Alta California*; and on 25 December 1858 he had published "The History of California Newspapers" in the *Sacramento Union*. This collection contains a letter in which Kemble explains his reaction to the discovery of gold in 1848 and why he advised his readers "not to get excited about the prospect of gold."

**The Kemble Club**  
Papers, 1934-1935. 1 folder.  
Z3 .K2

In the Fall of 1934 a group of men formed The Kemble Club "in order to provide a more perfect union of congenial souls interested in the arts of the book and the history of the West..." Members included Charles Camp, Thomas Cowles, George Ezra Dane, John Johnck, George L. Harding, Lawton Kennedy, David Newberry, Harold Seeger, Douglas Watson, George Lyman, and Edwin Grabhorn. The papers consist of postcard announcements of the monthly dinner meetings, lists of the names of members who attended the meetings, the Club's statement of purpose, and a piece of ephemera published by the Club: *Crow (Cornix Cinerea)* by Edward C. Kemble (1934).

**Kester, Frank** (1888–1981)

Papers, 1888–1980. 1 box and 3 record storage boxes.

MS. 3588

Beginning in 1901 with the *Elm*, his school newspaper, Frank Kester was associated with newspapers in northern California for more than sixty years. Kester is best-remembered as the Marine Editor of the *Oakland Tribune* from 1921 to 1942. After leaving the *Tribune* he worked as a reporter, columnist, and editor on newspapers from Gilroy to Redding. The Kester papers contain an eighteen-folder typescript autobiography that describes aspects of his career and travels. In addition, the collection includes typescripts of many of his columns on the Mother Lode area and the coast of California. The papers are complemented by a large collection of photographs.

**Kirkham, Ralph W.**

Catalog, n.d. 1 folder.

MS. 1197

Ralph W. Kirkham formed a large collection of books, which was described by Flora Haines Apponyi in *The Libraries of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Company, 1878). According to Apponyi the library contained “an unusually fine collection on military subjects.” The Kirkham manuscript collection consists of a 70-page catalog of the library, which is arranged by twenty-two subjects, including a miscellaneous section of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century books. Accompanying the catalog is a letter from Apponyi concerning Kirkham’s purchase of her book.

**Knowland, Joseph R.** (1873–1966)

Papers, 1889–1961. 16 boxes.

Descriptive guide.

MS. 3154

In 1915 Joseph Knowland purchased the *Oakland Tribune*, and under his leadership it became the leading newspaper in the East Bay. The Knowland papers contain a rough-draft autobiography (1961); files about the *Tribune*, which include a confidential report about Bay Area readers of afternoon newspapers (n.d.); and materials issued by or-

ganizations such as the Associated Press Association, the International Typographical Union, and the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Publishers’ Association. The bulk of the collection concerns the development of Oakland, the California State Parks Commission, and the California Centennial Celebration.

**San Francisco Law Journal**

Records, 1877–1878. 1 folder.

MS. 1874A

On 1 September 1877 William T. Baggett and F.A. Scofield published the first issue of the *San Francisco Law Journal*, a weekly periodical that contained full reports and abstracts of the decisions of the California Supreme Court and the United States District and Circuit courts. Baggett arranged the subscription list of the journal by location, and this collection contains the volume (September 1877–August 1878; 31 pp.) that records the names and addresses of subscribers who lived in San Francisco.

**Lees, Isaiah W.** (1830–1902)

Catalog, n.d. 1 folder.

MS. 1252

Isaiah W. Lees was a long-time San Francisco policeman who rose to the position of Chief of Police in 1897. He formed a large library, which was notable for its Western Americana and local imprints. The Lees manuscript collection consists of his catalog of “Pacific Coast Books” (121 pp.). The entries, which include author, title, place of publication, date, and often the size and the number of pages, are arranged alphabetically by main entry. Magazines, poetry, and songs are listed separately at the back of the volume.

**Lehmann Lithograph Company**

Records. 1 record storage box.

Unprocessed.

The Lehmann Lithograph Company was established by Adolph Lehmann, and under his leadership it became one of the most successful lithography firms in San Francisco. Lehmann specialized in the designing and printing of labels. The collection contains microfilm copies of the company’s financial records and artwork of the house artists. Accom-

panying the microfilm records is a large collection of the firm’s labels.

**Lewers, John** (1822–1862)

Papers, 1857–1862. ½ box.

Unprocessed.

John Lewers immigrated from Ireland to the United States in 1837. While in New York and Louisville he learned the printing trade, which he pursued when he came to California in 1857. Lewers worked for several newspapers in Sacramento and was a member of the local union, No. 46. The Lewers’ papers consist of more than seventy letters, with an accompanying typescript, written by members of the Lewers family, most notably by John Lewers to his mother. In his letters he describes his life in Sacramento and visits to other members of his family in California.

**Loy, William E.** (1847–1906)

Papers, 1873, 1900–1904. 2 folders.

Z3 .L21

In 1877 William Loy moved to California where he reported on the printing trade for the *American Newspaper Reporter & Printers’ Gazette* (New York). Throughout his career Loy wrote about the contemporary printing trade and the history of printing in California for several journals, most notably *Paper World* and *The Inland Printer*. While working as a correspondent Loy was active as a printer, editor, type founder, and printers’ supplies dealer and was associated with the *Chico Enterprise*, the *Pacific Type Foundry*, *Tatum & Bowen*, the *Pacific States Type Foundry*, and the *American Type Founders Company*, among other companies. The largest portion of the collection consists of correspondence to and from Loy. Accompanying the letters are invoices, a payment contract, and advertisements (1901–1904) concerned with Loy’s activities. Also included is an inventory of materials in his printing office in Villisca, Iowa; genealogical information; and miscellaneous ephemera. The collection also contains a checklist of the items in Loy’s library, which is now in the Kemble Collections.



**McDevitt, William**

Trial transcript, 1916. 1 volume.  
MS. 1340

William McDevitt operated bookstores on Sutter and Fillmore streets in San Francisco for more than forty years. Most of the stock was general used books, which has been described as "not only dusty, [but] they were higgledy-piggledy piled up all over the place, by the tens of thousands." In addition to selling books, McDevitt was politically active both as a member of the Socialist Party and as an election commissioner while James Rolph was Mayor of San Francisco. Several days before the 1916 Preparedness Day Parade, in which several people were killed by a bomb, McDevitt made a speech protesting the parade. This action angered members of the Chamber of Commerce, who brought charges against him and asked Mayor Rolph to remove McDevitt from his position as an election commissioner. This collection consists of the transcript of the informal trial that was held before Mayor Rolph.

**McGlashan, John**

Letter, 1857. 1 folder.  
Unprocessed.

John McGlashan was a pioneer San Francisco bookseller. This collection contains a letter that he wrote to the G. & C. Merriam Company in Springfield, Massachusetts, in which he discusses the condition of the book trade in San Francisco.

**Mackay Printing Service**

Records, ca. 1952-1957. 6 record storage boxes.  
Unprocessed.

Robert D. Mackay has been a printer with offices in downtown San Francisco for more than forty years. The records of the Mackay Printing Service consist of more than 1,000 work dockets from the 1950s, samples of the firm's work, and invoices the company received from suppliers such as the Commercial Paper Corporation, the California Typesetting Company, and the Golden Gate Photo-Engraving Company.

**Mackenzie & Harris Company (1915-)**

Records, 1924-1974. 15 volumes.  
Unprocessed.

Mackenzie & Harris, established as the Monotype Composition Company in 1915 and continued as Mackenzie-Harris Corporation since 1975, was (and still is) the leading composition company and type foundry on the Pacific Coast. The business was formed by George Mackenzie after the close of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition where he had worked at the Lanston Monotype exhibit. In 1924 Carroll Harris joined the firm and two years later they changed the name to Mackenzie & Harris. Mackenzie and Harris built an international reputation for the quality of their work and their leadership in stocking new typefaces. The Mackenzie & Harris archives consist of financial records (ledgers, 1947-1965; journals, 1943-1965; transfer records, 1971-1974; payroll records, 1949-1970); bylaws of the Monotype Composition Company, 27 March 1924; three volumes of stock certificates, 1924-1969; and three volumes of minutes of stockholders' meetings, 1924-1965.

**Mercantile Library Association**

Records, 1874, 1876-1877. 2 volumes.  
MS. 1444  
MS. 3261

In 1853 when the Mercantile Library Association was founded the framers of its constitution stated that the organization's objectives were "the establishment of a library and Reading Room; the collection of a Cabinet, Scientific Apparatus, Works of Art, and other literary and scientific purposes." The focus of the organization was on the Library and by 1876, under the guidance of Alfred E. Whittaker, it had become one of the finest libraries in San Francisco. The library was at its zenith in 1876; by January 1906 it had been merged with the Mechanics' Institute Library, and three months later it was destroyed in the Earthquake and Fire. The first volume in the collection is the "Librarian's Reports, Order of Business, Misc. Matters," (January 1876-January 1877; 73 pp.) which was prepared by Whittaker. The volume includes the library accounts, circulation reports, purchases from booksellers (such as B.

Quaritch in London, G.P. Putnam's Sons in New York, and LeCount Brothers in San Francisco), orders to bookbinders (such as Bartling & Kimball in San Francisco), and reports from the librarian on miscellaneous matters. The second volume is a record of subscriptions to the Association's catalog (1874), which is a dictionary catalog of 36,000 volumes in the library. The 47-page subscription list includes a record of the number and kind of binding the catalogs received from the binder in March and April 1874.

**Meyerfeldt, Albert**

Records, 1906. 1 folder.  
MS. 3634

Like most San Francisco printers, Meyerfeldt's printing office was situated in downtown San Francisco (414 Pine Street); it was destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire. After the disaster Meyerfeldt prepared an inventory of the material that was lost (printing presses, type, stock, office furniture. . . ), the total appraised value of which was \$8,405. Also included in the collection are two passes to enter San Francisco after the Earthquake and Fire and a permit issued to Meyerfeldt to open his safe. He recovered quickly from the disaster and opened a temporary office in Oakland until he could move into a new location on Market Street in San Francisco.

**Mighels, Ella Sterling (1853-1934)**

Papers, 1870-1934. 13 boxes.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 1470

The collection consists of the papers of Ella Sterling Mighels, best-known as the author of *The Story of the Files: A Review of Californian Writers and Literature* (1893) which originally appeared serially in the *Wasp* and was later expanded and published in book form under the auspices of the World's Fair Commission of California (1893). In addition to *The Story of the Files* she wrote *Literary California* (1918) and *The Story of a Forty-Niners Daughter* (1934), her autobiography. In June 1913 she and George Hamlin Fitch organized the California Literature Society to study the work of California writers. The Society held

monthly meetings at which members or guest speakers presented a talk on some aspect of California literature. Members included Harr Wagner, J.C. Rowell, Zoeth Eldridge, Charles Murdock, and many less well-known San Franciscans. The collection includes programs of the meetings, which are annotated by the secretary; announcements of the meetings; and ephemera associated with the Society. The collection also includes two volumes with information about the children's library of the Ark-adian Brothers and Sisters, an organization that Mighels established to promote her ideas about the raising of children. In 1910 she began collecting books for the library, which, by 1916, was housed in William McDevitt's bookstore. The two volumes contain reports from the librarians of the group, circulation records, and a checklist of titles in the library (1917). A large portion of the collection consists of Mighels' correspondence (1870-1934) and her diaries (1904-1927), which give her point of view about her many literary activities and her relationships with publishers, printers, and booksellers, such as Wagner, Murdock, John J. Newbegin, and Nathaniel Anderson. The life of the self-styled "link between the Gold Rush days and the twentieth century's brave new world" is well documented in the collection which, in addition to the above-mentioned material, includes several manuscripts.

**Murdock, Charles A. (1841-1928)**  
Papers, 1868-1926. 1 folder and 1 scrapbook.  
MS. 1528  
Scrapbook 1

From 1867 until he retired in 1915 Charles Murdock was the finest commercial printer in San Francisco. The beginning and the end of Murdock's career are documented in this collection, which includes the articles of incorporation between Murdock and Matthew D. Carr, and the dissolution agreement between Murdock and R. Kirkham Blair. Also present is an order for printing from the San Francisco Public Library (1884) and an itemized bill for the printing necessary to promote the lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who visited California in 1871.

The collection also contains miscellaneous personal papers related to his terms as a San Francisco supervisor. Accompanying the manuscript collection is a scrapbook that contains samples of his work; "Records of C.A. Murdock & Company," which lists gross receipts (1867-1915), profits (1867-1893), and remarks (1867-1893); a list of employees (1886); notes about the firm's finances (1893, 1900); newspaper articles by or about Murdock; photographs; sketches of San Francisco and other locations; and miscellaneous ephemera.

**Murdock, Margaret (1894-1985)**  
Oral history. 1 volume, 32 pp.; 2 cassettes.  
CT 38.1-2

Margaret Murdock, daughter of the distinguished printer Charles Murdock, was a volunteer in the Kemble Collections from 1972 to 1983. Many of the names of the local printers, publishers, and booksellers were familiar to her and in the oral history she recalls their connection to her father. She also discusses other aspects of her father's life and reminisces about her own life at the University of California, Berkeley.

**O'Meara & Painter**  
Records, 1857-1859. 1 volume.  
V. F856.1 .02

The San Francisco printing firm of O'Meara & Painter was formed by two pioneer printers, John O'Meara (1827?-1860) and Jerome B. Painter (1827-1883). O'Meara, who had worked for the New York *Tribune*, arrived in San Francisco in 1850 and worked for several local newspapers; while Painter was a partner in the first commercial printing office in San Francisco: Jobson, Sterett & Painter, which was destroyed by fire in 1851. By 1854 the two printers had formed O'Meara & Painter, job printers at 132 Clay Street. The firm was successful, especially after O'Meara was elected State Printer in September 1857. After O'Meara's death in 1860, Painter formed Painter & Company, which became one of the leading type foundries in California. The printing firm's account book (July 1857-November 1859; 182 pp.) records the number of items printed, type of item, account name, price charged, and payment received. At the back of the volume is the weekly "Bill

of Hands," January 1858-December 1858, February 1859-November 1859. The "Bill of Hands" lists the names of the employees and their weekly wage.

**Paul, Almarin Brooks**  
Reminiscences, 1823-1883. 1 volume.  
Descriptive guide  
MS. 3010

In 1849 Almarin Paul caught Gold Fever and came to California. After four years in the mines he moved to San Francisco where he devoted most of his energies to serving as a correspondent for the St. Louis *Herald* and writing, under the name "Cosmos," for the *Evening Bulletin*. In the fall of 1856 Paul, W.H. "Caxton" Rhodes, E. Connor, Washington Bartlett, and C.J. Bartlett formed Paul & Company, which took over the publication of the *True California* (26 May 1856-31 May 1857). In 1857 Paul moved to Washoe, Nevada to pursue a career in mining. In this 92-page reminiscence Paul discusses his youth and his activities in California.

**Paul Elder & Company**  
Records, 1900-1968. 1 folder.  
Z3 .E25  
Z3 .E45

Paul Elder (1872-1948) was well-known as a publisher and bookseller of fine books. His shop, which was designed by Bernard Maybeck, was as fine as his stock. This collection includes a 1933 letter promoting Dr. H.A. van Torchi-ana's *History of the Mission Santa Cruz*. Also present are reproductions of the firm's Articles of Incorporation (1903), Certificate of Increase of Capital Stock (1911), Certificate to Wind Up and Dissolve (1945), Certificate of Dissolution (1945), Articles of Incorporation (1948), Amendment of Articles of Incorporation (1948), Address of Principal Office (1949), Amendment of Articles of Incorporation (1968), and a financial statement (1909). Accompanying the collection are miscellaneous ephemera.

**Pioneer Pulp Company**  
Records, 1885-1906. 2 boxes.  
MS. 1704  
MS. 2182

In May 1885 Egbert Judson; Anthony Chabot; Albert Dibblee; James Gould;



and Allen, George, and Edwin Towle of the Towle Brothers Company incorporated the Pioneer Pulp Company to "carry on and conduct the business of making, and dealing in paper, paper pulp, and all products of paper or paper pulp." The company was located at Towles Station, Placer County, which was the headquarters of the Towle Brothers Company, a lumber business. The collection consists of the firm's daybook (March 1895–April 1903); cash-book (September 1888–August 1903); journal (September 1888–July 1903); and ledger (September 1888–October 1903). Also included are legal documents of the firm, such as the partnership agreement (1885); an inventory of materials at the mill (1888); and a land purchase agreement with the Central Pacific Railroad Company (1886).

**Reineger, Novella**

Papers, 1968. 1 folder.  
MS. 2050

On 5 January 1968 Local 18 of the Mailers' Union called for a strike against the San Francisco Newspaper Printing Company, which published the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*. The mailers' strike was supported by *Chronicle* and *Examiner* employees who were members of other unions, such as the International Typographical Union, Web Pressmen's Union, and the Paper Handler's Union. The collection consists of a 59-page typescript of a booklet for union members. Included in the booklet is a union fact-sheet on the strike; instructions for picketing; an interview with Dick Meister, the labor correspondent of the *Chronicle*; and printed statements by columnists such as Herb Caen and Art Hoppe. Also included are copies of *Strike Bulletin*, nos. 1-10, 12, 14-17, 19-20.

**Rose, Roderick**

Oral history. 1 cassette.  
CT 39

On 19 October 1976 Elede Hall interviewed Roderick Rose, the Chairman of the Board of the Bancroft-Whitney Company, the well-known San Francisco publisher of legal texts. The Bancroft-Whitney Company was formed in 1886 by the merger of the law department of A.L. Bancroft & Company and the publishing business of Sumner

Whitney. In the interview Rose discusses the early history of the Bancroft-Whitney Company and his association with the firm, which began in 1929.

**Santa Clara Shakespeare Club**

Records, 1922–1929. 1 folder.  
MS. 1899

The Santa Clara Shakespeare Club records consist of a 149-page volume containing the constitution of the Club, list of members and meetings (1922–1929), minutes of the meetings (1923–1929), newspaper clippings, and annual reports (1923–1927). The Club, which was formed to study the works of Shakespeare, sponsored papers and book reviews, and was involved with local high schools.

**Schwabacher, Frank**

Papers, 1911–1954. 1 folder.  
MS. 1924

The collection consists of a four-page reminiscence of the Crown Paper Company by Frank Schwabacher, whose father, Sigmund Schwabacher, was one of the firm's founders in 1889. The reminiscence focuses on the paper mill in Floristan, California. Also included is a forty-eight-page typed report titled, "Plan of Management for Certain Holdings of the Floristan Pulp and Paper Company," (1911). The report is accompanied by a map of the Truckee Tract, which was owned by the paper company. After several mergers, the Crown Paper Company became part of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

**Shinn, Milicent Washburn (1858–1940)**

Papers, 1880–1925. 3 folders.  
Descriptive guide.  
MS. 1960

In 1883 when Anton Roman revived the *Overland Monthly* he hired Milicent Washburn Shinn as the editor. She continued as the editor of the magazine through many difficult years until 1894 when she began doctoral work in the Psychology Department of the University of California, Berkeley, where she was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. The Shinn collection consists of three folders of business and personal papers. The largest portion of the collection contains the correspondence Shinn re-

ceived while she was editor of the *Overland Monthly*. Correspondents include Ina Coolbrith, Charles Warren Stoddard, Helen Hunt Jackson, and Ernest Peixotto, among others. The second folder contains correspondence Shinn received while investigating the Lick Observatory, which was the subject of an article she wrote for the *Overland Monthly*. The third folder contains family papers.

**Smalley, Carl J.**

Papers, 1913–1965. 2 folders.  
Unprocessed.

Carl J. Smalley was a publishers' representative who was based in California, but whose territory included the Western United States. He represented such East Coast publishers as E.P. Dutton & Company and the D. Van Nostrand Company, but more importantly Smalley represented nearly every major Western university press as well as local publishers such as John Howell—Books and the California Historical Society. The collection includes financial records (balance sheets, profit & loss statements, and commission reports for 1945, 1956–1957, 1959–1960, 1962–1965); names of bookstores in his territory; and correspondence (1931–1965). Also included are materials from his colleagues, such as Ellis K. Baker's order book (1931–1932), which is a salesman's dummy of the 1930 Random House edition of *Candide*; and a report of Margaret and Walker Frese's editorial trip (26 March–4 May 1946; 16 pp., incomplete).

**Society of California Pioneers (1850–)**

Records, 1927. 1 folder.  
MS. 2020

In March 1927 an inventory and appraisal was made of the collections of the Society of California Pioneers. This collection consists of the resulting 81-page inventory, which includes books, manuscripts, negatives and photographs, lithographs, paintings, newspapers, and "relics" among other categories. Most items were appraised individually, but materials such as stock certificates were appraised collectively.

**The Somervilles (1946–1983)**

Records, 1948–1981. 40 boxes.  
Unprocessed.

In October 1946 Mr. & Mrs. Bill Somerville purchased the Scammon Printing Company and for thirty-seven years The Somervilles (the company name from 1949 to 1983) was one of the finest medium-sized printing offices in San Francisco. Among the firm's large accounts were Swensons, Pan Am, and phone companies across the United States. The Somervilles Archives include financial records (accounts payable, bank-deposit records, invoices, work dockets, and employee records [1975-1981]). Also present are twelve folders of correspondence and the firm's mailing list. Accompanying the business records of the company are the supply and reference books the Somervilles used to run the business, such as type specimen books, paper sample books, equipment catalogs, and machinery manuals. Also present are scrapbooks and several boxes of samples of work produced by the firm. The firm closed in 1983.

**Sowers, Roy Vernon**

Oral history. 1 cassette.  
CT45

In April 1958 Robert McCollister interviewed Roy Vernon Sowers, who was a rare-book and print dealer. In the interview he discusses his career and the roles that librarians and private collectors play in the book world.

**Taylor & Taylor (1896-1961)**

Archives, 1898-1961. 450 boxes.

Descriptive guide.

Taylor & Taylor Archives Room.

The Taylor & Taylor Archives is one of the largest and most comprehensive assemblages of materials in the world concerned with the history of a single printing firm. The collection comprises records of the four printing firms with the Taylor name: E. D. Taylor Company (1896-1898); Stanley-Taylor & Company (1898-1911); Taylor, Nash & Taylor (1911-1915); and Taylor & Taylor (1915-1961). The records for the early years of the firm (1896-1911) include financial records, advertising materials, historical documents (such as an account of the destruction of the plant in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire), awards, sales records, and specimens of the firm's work. The majority of the records covers

the years 1915 to 1961. After the flamboyant John Henry Nash's departure in 1915, the Taylor brothers, Edward DeWitt and Henry Huntly Taylor, renamed the company Taylor & Taylor. The Taylors established an international reputation for their elegant typefaces and spare use of ornamentation. Although the work of Edward and Henry Taylor and later James Welsh Elliott, employed by the firm in 1931, was known for a high quality usually associated with fine presses, theirs was a commercial firm. After the death of Henry Taylor in 1937 and the retirement of Edward Taylor in 1946, Mr. Elliott purchased the firm and maintained its fine traditions for fifteen years before giving way to the onslaught of offset lithography. The records for the years 1915 to 1961 include advertising and promotional materials; awards; bibliographies of the firm's work; correspondence; detailed accounting records; historical documents (such as a handwritten account of the firm's financial history from 1901 to 1916 by Henry Taylor); printer's devices (such as the 1915 Taylor & Taylor device that was designed by Frederic W. Goudy); legal papers; information about the company library; manuals of style; plant inventories and layouts (including a scale model of the plant at 246 First Street); production records, charts, and schedules; type catalogs; work dockets; and specimens of the firm's work. Also included in the collection are personal papers of the owners; oral history interviews with James Welsh Elliott and George L. Harding in which they discuss the Taylor brothers; an account of the firm by Mr. Elliott which traces both the early history of Taylor & Taylor and Mr. Elliott's association with the firm beginning in 1931; and photographs of the plants.

**Thomas, Edgar P.**

Oral history. 1 volume, 17 pp.  
Unprocessed.

In 1947 Edgar Thomas began his career in educational publishing with Prentice-Hall as a field representative in southern California. He rose to the position of President of the Educational Book Division before he left Prentice-Hall to become the Director of the School Di-

vision of Addison-Wesley in California in 1973. In the interview, which was conducted by Elede Hall, Thomas discusses his career and the changes that occurred in educational publishing between 1947 and 1980.

**Tommasini, Amadeo R. "Tommy"**

Oral history. 1 volume, 41 pp., 2 cassettes.  
CT 36.1.2

Amadeo R. Tommasini was one of the most respected and most colorful printers and book designers in the United States. He was foreman and designer at the University of California Press. Although both he and the books he designed were frequently honored, he is perhaps best-remembered as the designer of the United Nations Charter. On 15 April 1977 Elede Hall interviewed Tommasini about his printing career. In the interview he discusses his youth, his involvement in the Printing House Craftsmen Clubs, and his work at the UC Press, especially the printing of the UN Charter.

**Towne, James Weld (1829-1917).**

Papers, 1856-1873.

V. F856.1 .T662

James Weld Towne was one of the most typographically and financially successful printers in nineteenth-century San Francisco. He was a partner in two well-known printing firms (Whitton, Towne & Company, and Towne & Bacon, which became Bacon & Company) before becoming the East Coast representative of Blake, Robbins & Company (the forerunner of Blake, Moffitt & Towne, paper merchant). This collection contains four letterbooks that include nearly all the outgoing correspondence generated by James Towne (and his partners) from June 1856 to January 1873. Correspondents range from suppliers, such as type foundries and paper makers, to customers of the firm and include: Phelps & Dalton, the California Type Foundry, S.D. Warren & Company, Blake & Moffitt, the San Francisco *Bulletin*, the San Francisco *Call*, the Santa Cruz *Sentinel*, Wells Fargo, H.H. Bancroft, Marvin & Hitchcock, and William Filmer, among others. Accompanying the letterbooks are the letters Towne received in 1865, which can be matched with the outgoing correspondence. Also



included are incoming invoices and the weekly "workman's bills" for 1865, which contain the employee's name, work completed, and wages paid. Complementing this collection is the private library of Arthur W. Towne, grandson of James W. Towne. The Towne Library includes more than 160 books and other materials printed by James Towne; many of the items are printer's copies.

#### **Union Lithograph Company**

Records, 1894-1908. 2 boxes.

Unprocessed.

The Union Lithograph Company was organized in 1890, and, although destroyed in the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, it was rebuilt and continued to operate independently until it was purchased by H.S. Crocker & Company in 1922. The collection includes a 151-page volume that contains the bylaws of the firm, which were adopted at the first stockholders' meeting in March 1894, and minutes of the stockholders' meetings from March 1894 to September 1906. Tipped in are the annual financial statements for the years ending March 1895, 1897, and 1899, and balance sheets for June 1894 and March 1896. Also present is a lease agreement (1897) between the Union Lithograph Company and Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch, and a contract (1894) between the Union Lithograph Company and William Carter to purchase his share of materials at the firm (machinery, stones, and fixtures). Accompanying the collection are two undated books of standard cuts available from the firm, and a 60-page scrapbook and a folder, which contain samples of the firm's work.

#### **Vincent, Joshua S. (1823?-1891)**

Papers, 1846-1847. ½ box.

Descriptive guide.

V. MS. 12

Joshua S. Vincent was one of thirty-three printers in Col. Stevenson's First Regiment of New York Volunteers who sailed for California aboard the *Susan Drew* on 26 September 1846. Although they did not have a printing press on the ship, the printers did issue a newspaper, "The Fish Market Reporter," which was published by Obadiah Dolphin, Zachariah Flounder, Zephomiah Blackfish, and Ezekiel Sheepshead. In

his diary (July 1846-November 1847; 100 pages) Vincent describes the newspaper and quotes passages from it. After leaving the Regiment, Vincent worked briefly for the *Alta California* in 1849, but he eventually left California and pursued his career as a printer and publisher in the Midwest, most notably in Linn Creek, Missouri, where he was the proprietor of the *Reveille*.

#### **Wagner, Morris**

Oral history. 1 volume, 19 pp.

CT 40.1-2

From 1936, when her father Harr Wagner died, until 1946, when she sold the company, Morris Wagner was the president of the Harr Wagner Publishing Company, which specialized in educational books and magazines. The company was formed by Harr Wagner in 1916 when he purchased the publishing branch of the Whitaker, Ray-Wiggin Company. In the oral history Miss Wagner discusses her parents, Harr & Madge Morris Wagner, and the years she was president of the Harr Wagner Publishing Company. Many of the books that she and her partner, Irmagarde Richards, wrote and published were accepted as California State textbooks. The company is now part of the School Division of the Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

#### **Ward, J. Francis**

Papers, 1960. 2 folders.

Descriptive guide.

MS. 1064

In 1891 the California Ink Company was established by members of the Union Oil Company, most notably Wallace Hardison who wanted to expand the interests of the company by making printers' ink. Through a series of mergers and different owners the California Ink Company became an important West Coast manufacturer of printers' ink and rollers. Although the main plant was in Berkeley, the firm maintained a branch in San Francisco and in 1960 commissioned J. Francis Ward to design a building at San Bruno Avenue and 15th Street in San Francisco. In May 1961 the company moved into the new building, which housed an ink

service center, roller-making plant, and a graphic arts warehouse. This collection consists of a seventy-seven page volume of the architectural specifications for the new building and eleven blueprint sheets of the building. [Recently George Matsumoto & Associates, successors to J. Francis Ward Company, donated a collection of the firm's architectural tracings and specifications (1918-1973). In this period the firm's clients included Bancroft-Whitney Company; Pollock Paper; South-Western Publishing Company; Harcourt, Brace & Company; and Milprint, Inc.]

#### **Weil, Isabel**

Records, 1946. 1 folder.

Unprocessed.

In 1942 two employees of Paul Elder, Gladys E. Seymour and Isabel Weil, opened their own bookstore, Personal Book Shop of San Francisco. Three years later the junior partner, Weil, sold her interest in the business to Seymour, who continued to sell books at 228 Montgomery Street. The collection consists of the agreement to terminate the partnership, a balance sheet, statement of income and expenses, and a method of allocating the net gain for year ending 31 January 1946.

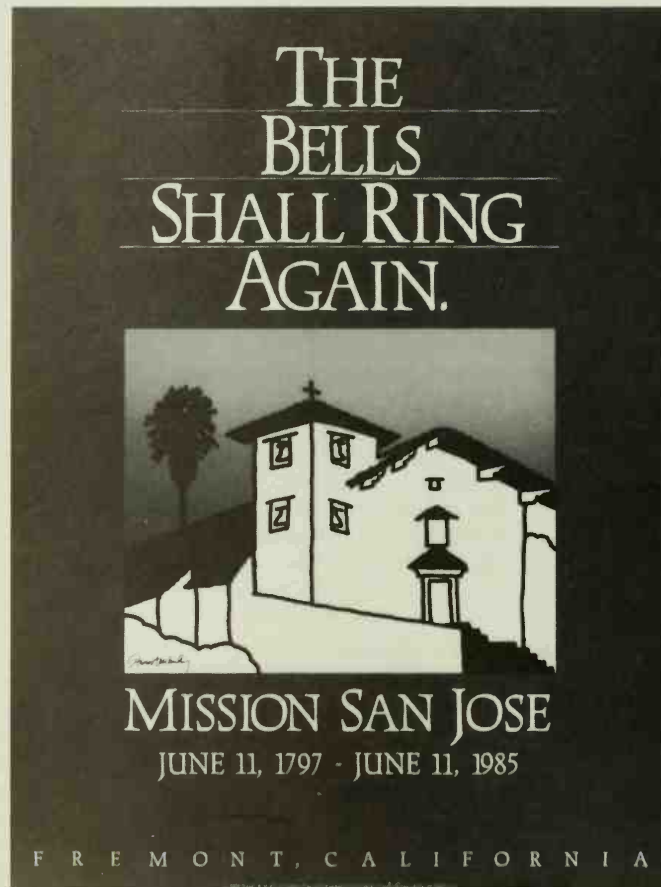
#### **Winchester, Jonas (1810-1887).**

Papers, 1829-1879. 1 box.

MS. 2332

Jonas Winchester, who came to San Francisco in July 1849 and remained in the state until he died in Columbia in 1887, wrote long, detailed letters to his wife Susan and brother Ebenezer, in which he described his printing and publishing activities as well as life in California. Winchester worked as an editor with Ferdinand Ewer on the *Pacific News*, and eventually became a part-owner of the newspaper. In May 1850, while still associated with the *News*, he was appointed to the lucrative position of State Printer. He held this position until he resigned in March 1851. This collection consists of letters and typewritten copies of letters and diary excerpts. In addition to family members, Winchester corresponded with Peter Burnnett, Horace Greeley, and Ferdinand Ewer, among others.

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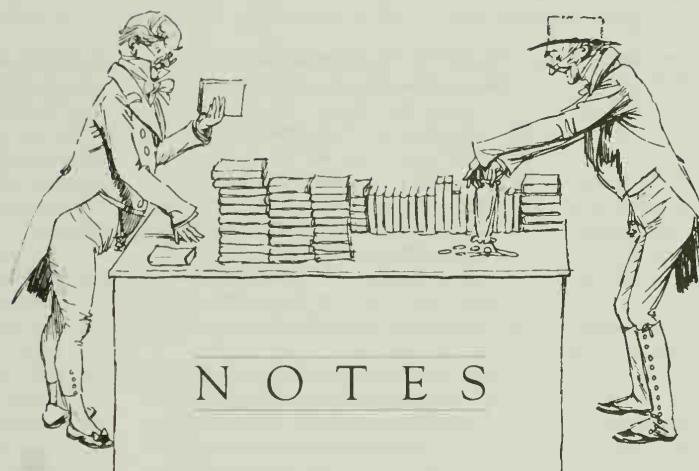
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## NOTES

### Hundley, Waterscape, pp. 2-11

1. Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), p. 43. I thank George Phillips for reading a draft of this essay and exonerate him of any liability for its contents.
2. Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, *The Natural World of California Indians* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 210-211.
3. For a sampling of the conflicting views of the Indian as ecologist in prehistoric America, see Paul S. Martin and Richard B. Klein, eds., *Quaternary Extinctions: A Prehistoric Revolution* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), pp. 357-370, 451-465, *passim*; Paul S. Martin, "Prehistoric Overkill," in P. S. Martin and H. E. Wright, Jr., eds., *Pleistocene Extinctions: The Search for a Cause* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 75-120; Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 167-171; Jared M. Diamond, "The Environmentalist Myth," *Nature*, cccxiv (1986), pp. 19-20.
4. D. Demetracopoulou Lee, "Linguistic Reflection of Wintu Thought," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, X (1944), 186-187; S. A. Barrett, "Pomo Myths," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, XIV (Nov. 6, 1933), 51, 53, 68, 77-78, 82-83, 456, *passim*; Edward W. Gifford and Gwendoline H. Block, *Californian Indian Nights Entertainments* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1930), pp. 186-187, *passim*; Alfred L. Kroeber, *Yurok Myths* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), *passim*; Dorothy Demetracopoulou and Cora DuBois, "A Study of Wintu Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLV (1932), 404-495; Cora DuBois and Dorothy Demetracopoulou, "Wintu Myths," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XXVIII, no. 5 (1931), *passim*.
5. Emil W. Hauray, *The Hohokam* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976); Michael C. Meyer, *Water in the Hispanic Southwest: A Social and Legal History, 1550-1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), p. 17; Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 74-76.
6. Elna Bakker, *An Island Called California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 123-133, 223-227, *passim*; A. Starker Leopold, *Wild California: Vanishing Lands, Vanishing Wildlife* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 24, 26, 55-70; S. T. Harding, *Water in California* (Palo Alto, Calif.: N-P Publications, 1960), pp. 4-5.
7. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (1628; n.p.: Readex Micropoint, 1966), pp. 79-80.
8. William L. Kahrl, ed., *The California Water Atlas* (Sacramento: Governor's Office of Planning and Research, 1979), pp. 4, 10, 12, 14, 17; Leopold, *Wild California*, pp. 56, 68; Raymond F. Dasmann, *California's Changing Environment* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1981), pp. 5-8; Bakker, *An Island Called California*, pp. 147-157, *passim*.
9. Kahrl, ed., *California Water Atlas*, pp. v, 1, 3-4, 6, 9.
10. Edmund Schulman, "Tree-Ring Hydrology in Southern California," *University of Arizona Laboratory of Tree-ring Research Bulletin* 4 (1947); J. M. Guinn, "A History of California Floods and Drought," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, 1 (1890); Kahrl, ed., *California Water Atlas*, p. 6.
11. Ralph L. Beals and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians," in R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book* (2nd ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 73-83; Heizer and Elsasser, *Natural World*, pp. 10-22, 56, 57-58; Cook, *Population of the California Indians*, pp. 40-43.
12. A. L. Kroeber, "The Nature of Land-Holding Groups in Aboriginal California," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Aboriginal California: Three Studies in Culture History* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1963), p. 111; Beals and Hester, "New Ecological Typology," pp. 74-82; Heizer and Elsasser, *Natural World*, pp. 7, 9-10, 57-113.
13. Heizer and Elsasser, *Natural World*, pp. 73-75; Beals and Hester, "New Ecological Typology," p. 81; William Strong, *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* (1929; Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press, 1972), p. 38; Julian H. Steward, "Ecological Aspects of Southwestern Society," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), 89; Sidney W. Mintz, "The Role of Water in Steward's Cultural Ecology," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society*, XI (Fall 1979), 25.
14. Quoted in Lee, "Linguistic Reflection of Wintu Thought," p. 187; see also B. W. Aginsky, "Population

- Control in the Shanel (Pomo) Tribe," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 209–216; Heizer and Elsasser, *Natural World*, pp. 23, 26, 33–34, 211, *passim*.
15. Henry T. Lewis, *Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory* (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1973); Lowell J. Bean and Harry W. Lawton, "Some Explanations for the Rise of Cultural Complexity in Native California with Comments on Proto-Agriculture and Agriculture," in *ibid.*, pp. v–xlvii; Walter Ebeling, *Handbook of Indian Foods and Fiber of Arid America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 183; Heizer and Whipple, *California Indians*, p. 22.
  16. Robert F. Heizer, "Prehistoric Central California: A Problem in Historical-Development Classification," *University of California Archaeological Survey Report No. 41* (Berkeley: Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1958), pp. 21–22; Herbert J. Spinden, "The Origin and Distribution of Agriculture in America," *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists*, 1915 (Washington, D.C., 1917), pp. 269–276; Carl O. Sauer, "American Agricultural Origins: A Consideration of Nature and Culture," in Robert H. Lowie, ed., *Essays in American Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), pp. 294–295; S. J. Jones, "Some Regional Aspects of Native California," in Heizer and Whipple, eds., *California Indians*, pp. 88–89; Ebeling, *Handbook of Indian Foods*, pp. 167–168.
  17. Julian H. Steward, "Irrigation without Agriculture," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XII (1930), 149–156; Mintz, "Role of Water in Steward's Cultural Ecology," pp. 17–32.
  18. Harry W. Lawton, Philip J. Wilke, Mary DeBecker, and William M. Mason, "Agriculture Among the Paiute of Owens Valley," *Journal of California Anthropology*, III (Summer 1976), 13–50; Ebeling, *Handbook of Indian Foods*, pp. 136–137, 151.
  19. Lawton et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute," pp. 33, 39–41.
  20. Mark N. Cohen, *The Food Crisis in Prehistory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).
  21. Paul D. Bouey, in "Population Pressure and Agriculture in Owens Valley," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, I (Summer 1979), pp. 162–170, addresses directly Cohen's thesis in *Food Crisis*. See also Lawton et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute," p. 15.
  22. Lawton et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute," pp. 41–43.
  23. Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell, *Yuman Indian Agriculture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951), pp. 1–65, 97–130.
  24. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 131–166, 238; Cook, *Population of the California Indians*, pp. 43, 46.
  25. Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957). Somewhat more flexible than Wittfogel is Donald Worster's *Rivers of Empire* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), p. 32, but his book seems not to take adequately into account the points raised in Lawton et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute," pp. 18, 37, 41, 44–45. See also Ebeling, *Handbook of Indian Foods*, pp. 153–154, but cf. 799, where he seems to contradict himself and is less persuasive.
  26. Frederic Hicks, "The Influence of Agriculture on Aboriginal Socio-Political Organization in the Lower Colorado River Valley," *Journal of California Anthropology*, I (Winter 1974), 133–144.
  27. Castetter and Bell, *Yuman Indian Agriculture*, pp. 72–73; Hicks, "Influence of Agriculture," pp. 137–141, *passim*.
  28. Lawton et al., "Agriculture Among the Paiute," p. 18.
  29. Quoted in Heizer and Elsasser, *Natural World*, p. 210.
- Crouchett, Byron Rumford,**  
pp. 12–23
- This article is based largely on repeated personal interviews with Assemblyman Rumford between 1979 and 1986. He gave me access to his private notes, correspondence, and his private collections of newspaper clippings and legislative sources concerning bills he sponsored during his years as well as looking back into his memory of the many incidents and battles surrounding the different bills.
- I also talked with old Democrats and non-Democrats, some Oakland–Berkeley area community activists, and lobbyists of the time, each of whom worked closely with Rumford for years and who helped by recounting their observations of the era. Rumford's maternal uncle, the late Clarence Johnson, shared his recollections of young Byron Rumford's years in the Arizona Territory and later in Phoenix.
- Scores of other civil rights and social-reform efforts by other legislators during this era, and by no means less important, are passed over here for the sake of brevity.
1. Interview with Fitzroy E. Younge at a meeting of the Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, Oakland, California on May 17, 1986.
  2. Interviews with Ida Jackson, Beth Pierre Wilson, Carolese Hargrave, and Ruth Acty in May, 1986, in Oakland, California.
  3. Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980), p. 229.
  4. Interview with Byron Rumford, 1979.
  5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *West Coast Diamond Jubilee Regional Conference Report* (San Francisco: NAACP, March 1984), p. 29.
  6. For details on discrimination, see Edward France, *Some Aspects of the Migration of the Negro to the San Francisco Bay Area Since 1940* (San Francisco: R&E Associates, 1962), and J. Harvey Kerns, "A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions Affecting the Local Negro Population of Oakland," report prepared for the Council of Social Agencies and Community Chest, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Data on the changing racial composition of the Seventeenth Assembly District is contained in U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of 1950, Characteristics of the population, California Population*.
  7. *State of Vote at Primary and General Elections* (1920, 1938, 1940, and 1946). Compiled by the Secretary of State. (Sacramento: California State Printing Office).
  8. Lawrence P. Crouchett, *William Byron Rumford, the Life and Public Services of a California Legislator* (El Cerrito, CA: Downey Place Publishing House, 1984), pp. 1–26.
  9. Interview with Rumford, 1981.
  10. Interview with Frances Albrier, October 1983.
  11. Separate interviews with Frances Albrier and Rumford, 1983.
  12. Crouchett, p. 109, and literature from Rumford's first campaign.
  13. *California, State Assembly Bills* (1947 Session). (Sacramento: California State Printing Office). This legislation was intended to bring California



- law into compliance with the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez*, 161 F. (2nd) 774, April 14, 1947. This ruling held the segregation of children of Mexican descent in California schools to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.
14. Interviews with former patrons and political associates of Assemblyman Rumford, 1979–1986 in Oakland and Berkeley.
  15. Interview with Rumford, 1980. See also "Annual Message to the Legislature" by Governor Earl Warren, *Journal of the Assembly of California*, vol. 1, Regular session 1949, pp. 31–39.
  16. California Legislature, Final Calendar of Legislative Business, 1949, p. 387.
  17. Cited by Rumford in an interview, July, 1981.
  18. Interview with Rumford, 1983.
  19. Rumford's recollection, interview, 1981.
  20. This narrative was taken from unpublished manuscript notes prepared by Rumford for his anticipated autobiography.
  21. Quoted in *Daily Californian* (Berkeley), March 9, 1951.
  22. In interviews Rumford named himself as the author of these bills, but as they were presented in the legislature he was only one of several co-sponsors.
  23. Interview with Rumford, 1979.
  24. *California, State Assembly Bills* (1955 Session) (Sacramento: California State Printing Office).
  25. Interview with Rumford, July 1981.
  26. *Ibid.*
  27. *Ibid.*
  28. "Statement of Governor Edmund G. Brown on Human Rights" transmitted to the California Legislature Thursday, February 14, 1963, *Journal of the Assembly, California*, vol. 1, Regular Session First extra session, 1963, (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1963), p. 625.
  29. Interview with Rumford, 1983.
  30. *Berkeley Gazette*, May 30, 1963. Also, interview in 1987 with Wilfred T. Usery, a member of CORE and a participant in the demonstration.
  31. This narrative is contained in Rumford's personal notes.
  32. *Berkeley Gazette*, October 31, 1964.
  33. *Lewis v. Jordan*, Sac. No. 7549. Cal. Ct. of App., June 3, 1964.
  34. *Mulkey v. Reitman*, 64 A.C. 557, 565, 1966.
  35. *California Statement of Vote, General Election, November 3, 1964: Special Elections 1963–1964*, compiled by Frank M. Jordan, *Secretary of State, California* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1964), p. 25.
  36. *Neil Reitman et al. v. Lincoln W. Mulkey et al.*, No. 483 U.S. Sup. Ct., October Term 1966.
  37. Rumford recalled that he and Brown reached this conclusion in a post-mortem discussion of the 1966 campaign. He repeated this point in several interviews.
  38. Interviews with Rumford, 1983 and 1984.
  39. *Statement of Vote at Primary and General Election 1968*. Compiled by the Secretary of State. (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, date)
  40. Broussard. Broussard's reference to Rumford's role as a mentor is drawn in part from his own experience, since Rumford was responsible for Broussard's first appointment as a judge.
  41. Interview with Donald Henry, May 1986. Henry serves as Consultant with the Department of Fair Employment and Housing in the San Francisco Office of the California Fair Employment and Housing Commission. Henry himself was an active participant in the civil rights crusades of the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, provided information, statistics, perspectives cited in this paragraph.
- Evans and Heron, Isla de los Angeles, pp. 24–39**
1. John Galvin, *The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay*, 1775 (San Francisco: John Howell, 1971).
  2. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Appleton, 1899), pp. 244–248.
  3. U.S. Geological Survey, Topographic Sheet (1:24,000) San Francisco North, rev. 1973.
  4. T. Leslie Ransome, *The Geology of Angel Island* (University of California, Publications of the Department of Geology, 1:7, 1894); also John A. Hussey, Fort McDowell, Angel Island, Marin and San Francisco Counties, California (mimeograph), National Park Service, Region IV, 1949, pp. 8–9. This report is the most important existing monograph on Angel Island.
  5. Marshall McDonald & Associates, *Report and Recommendations on Angel Island* (Oakland, 1966), p. 111.
  6. California Department of Parks and Recreation, *Angel Island State Park: Resource Management Plan*, July 1979, pp. 23–24.
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pp. 40–48
- This article is based on the author's unpublished booklength manuscript, "A Woman of Certain Importance: The Biography of Kathleen Norris." The manuscript draws heavily on Kathleen Norris's private letters, diaries, and memorabilia, for which I am indebted to the late Rosemary Benet Dawson. These papers are hereafter cited as Family papers.
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  10. Kathleen Norris papers, Bancroft Library.
  11. Letter from Kathleen Norris to Mrs. Austin (Grace Heggarr Lewis), January 1915. Huntington Library.
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  13. Norris, *Noon*, p. 27.
  14. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 58.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
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  18. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 63; *Noon*, p. 27.
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  20. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.
  21. Kathleen Norris, "My Own Story," *Good Housekeeping*, June, 1923, pp. 28–29.
  22. Letter from Kathleen Norris to Charles Gilman Norris, March 22, 1909. Family papers.
  23. Norris, *Family Gathering*, pp. 69–70.
  24. There is a discrepancy in the recording of Kathleen's birthdate. In the genealogy chart in *Family Gathering* and in various editions of *Who's Who*, Kathleen gave her birthdate as July 18, 1880. But in listing the names, ages, and birthdates of family members for the Census of 1900, her brother Joseph Thompson, Jr. gave Kathleen's birth year as 1879. He also listed their sister Teresa's birthdate as January 19, 1881, as did Kathleen in *Family Gathering*. Since both confirm Teresa's birthdate as January 19, 1881, Kathleen must have been born on July 18, 1879, as there are not nine months between July 1880 and January 1881. Throughout this manuscript I have used 1879 as her true birth year.
  25. Norris, *Noon*, p. 30.
  26. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
  27. Letter from Kathleen Norris to Charles Gilman Norris, October 15, 1908. Family papers.
  28. Letters from Kathleen Norris to Mary Moroney Marks, April 15, 1915; May 1, 1940; April 30, 1948. Family papers. Church records reveal that the Norrises were married on April 23, 1909, and not April 30, as Kathleen indicated in *Family Gathering*.
  29. Norris, *Noon*, p. 28.



30. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.
31. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 99.
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33. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
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# McKanna, San Quentin, pp. 49-54

1. J.E. Reynolds, "Introduction" in Charles Howard Shinn, *Graphic Descriptions of Pacific Coast Outlaws* (Los Angeles, 1958), p. 11.
2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887) Vol. I, pp. 11.
3. See San Quentin Prison Registers, 1851-1880 (Sacramento, California State Archives).
4. Due to their close proximity, many still confuse San Quentin with Alcatraz, an ex-federal prison once housed on an island in San Francisco Bay. San Quentin, situated a short distance further north, has always been a state prison.
5. A.B.J. Hammett, *Miracle Within the Walls* (Corpus Christi, 1963), p. 25.
6. Jack C. Hays purchased the *Waban*, after it had become somewhat unseaworthy, from Williams and Meiggs sometime in late 1851. *Alta California* May 29, 1851, and Bill of Sale from Williams and Meiggs, (San Francisco Maritime Museum).
7. Report of the Lessee of the State Prison to the Legislature of the State of California, February 14, 1855, and Report of Committee Relative to the Condition and Management of the State, in *Appendix to Senate Journal* Sixth session, (Sacramento, 1855), pp. 4-6, and pp. 1-2, and Report of the Joint Committee, January 27, 1858 in *Appendix to Senate Journal* Ninth Session (Sacramento, 1858), p. 24.
8. San Quentin Prison Drawing, 1853 (Sacramento, State Archives) and Enoch Cobb Wines and Theodore W. Dwight, *Report of the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada, Made to the Legislature of New York, January, 1867* (Albany, 1867), pp. 87-95.
9. Report of the Visiting Physician, Alfred W. Taliaferro, in *Appendix to*

- Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Eighteenth Session (Sacramento, 1870), I, p. 46.
10. Report of the Joint Committee on State Prison Affairs, 1858, in *Appendix to Senate Journal*, Ninth Session (Sacramento, 1858), p. 6.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 6 and *Alta California* July 16, 1859.
12. San Quentin Daily Logs, January-November, 1856, and Prison Inspectors Report, 1855, in *Appendix to Senate Journal*, Sixth Session (Sacramento, 1855), p. 6.
13. Cesare Beccaria, as quoted in Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: 1977), p. 4.
14. San Quentin Daily Logs, January-June, 1858, and Messages of Governor John B. Weller to State Legislature, March 10, 1858, in *Journal of the Senate*, Ninth Session (Sacramento, 1858), p. 326.
15. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1979), pp. 104-131.
16. Report of the Visiting Physician, Alfred W. Taliaferro, in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Eighteenth Session (Sacramento, 1870), I, p. 46.
17. In 1934, prison officials constructed "Siberia," four dark cells with individual temperature controls, on Death Row to punish recalcitrant inmates. These remained after 1940. See Captain of the Yard, Punishment Books, San Quentin Prison, 1872-1880 (Sacramento, State Archives) and Kenneth Lamott, *Chronicles of San Quentin: Biography of a Prison* (New York, 1961), pp. 96 and 242.
18. *Alta California*, July 12, 1858.
19. *Alta California*, July 22, 1858.
20. Testimony of Thomas Young, E. Buckley, and B.R. Buckelew, in Report of Committee Relative to the Condition and Management of the State Prison, 1855, in *Appendix to Senate Journal*, Sixth Session (Sacramento, 1855), pp. 23 and 26-28.
21. James H. Wilkins, "Evolution of a Prison," mimeographed copy (San Quentin, n.d.) p. 37.
22. Testimony of William H. White and Thomas Young, in Report of Committee, 1855, in *Appendix to Senate Journal*, Sixth Session, pp. 20-23.
23. Testimony of B.R. Buckelew, in Report of Committee . . . , 1855, *Appendix to Senate Journal*, p. 26.
24. Testimony of Juana Carrillo, Henry Baker, Thomas D. Johns, A. Jackson Tice, pp. 11-43, and Letter from Thomas McFarland Foley, Corte

- Madera State Prison [sic], to Judge Elcan Heydenfeldt, San Francisco, July 6, 1854, in Report of Committee . . . , 1855, in *Appendix to Senate Journal*, p. 11.
25. Testimony of Doctor Alfred Taliaferro, in Report of Committee . . . , 1855, *Appendix to Senate Journal*, p. 46.
26. San Quentin Daily Logs, 1854-1860, and Turnkey's Biennial Report, in Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the California State Prison, 1879, in *Appendix to the Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Twenty-third Session (Sacramento, 1879), I, p. 38.
27. Ironically, San Quentin has remained overcrowded up to the present era when prison authorities are occasionally forced to pitch tents in the exercise area to accommodate the swelling ranks of prisoners. Report of the Directors of the California State Prison, 1865, in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Sixteenth Session (Sacramento, 1866), II, p. 6, Report of Resident Director of the California State Prison, 1869, in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Eighteenth Session (Sacramento, 1870), I, p. 9, and Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the California State Prison, 1873, in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly*, Twentieth Session (Sacramento, 1874), II, pp. 7-8.
28. By 1880, a total of sixty-two state prisons housed 30,623 inmates in penitentiaries, with California authorities confining 1,495 prisoners in San Quentin and Folsom prisons. This represented six percent of the total U.S. prison population. A century later, state prisons housed 295,363 inmates, or one percent of the total national prison population. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1982-83* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 27, 191-93, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Tenth Census, 1880* (Washington, D.C., 1883), Part I, pp. 2-3, and Part II, pp. 1693-96.
29. See San Quentin Prison Registers, 1851-1880, George W. Cable, *The Silent South* (Montclair, 1969), p. 158, and Mark T. Carleton, *Politics and Punishment: The History of the Louisiana State Penal System* (Baton Rouge, 1971), p. 6.
30. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 267.
31. David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971), p. xv.

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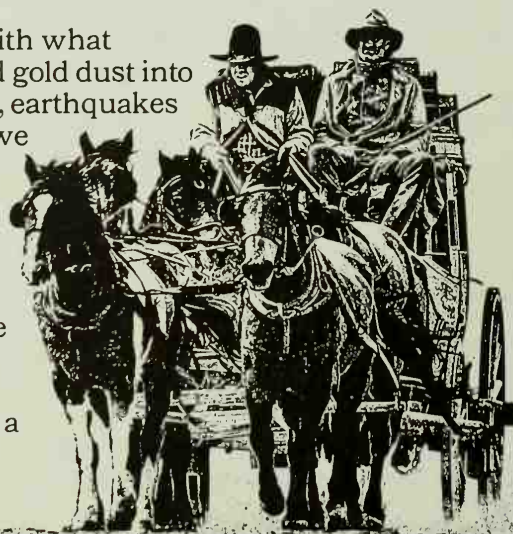
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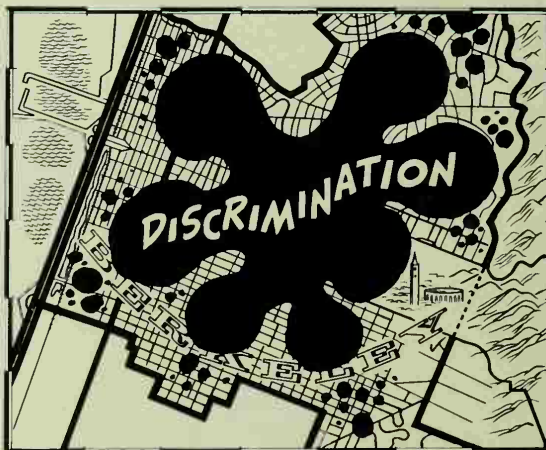
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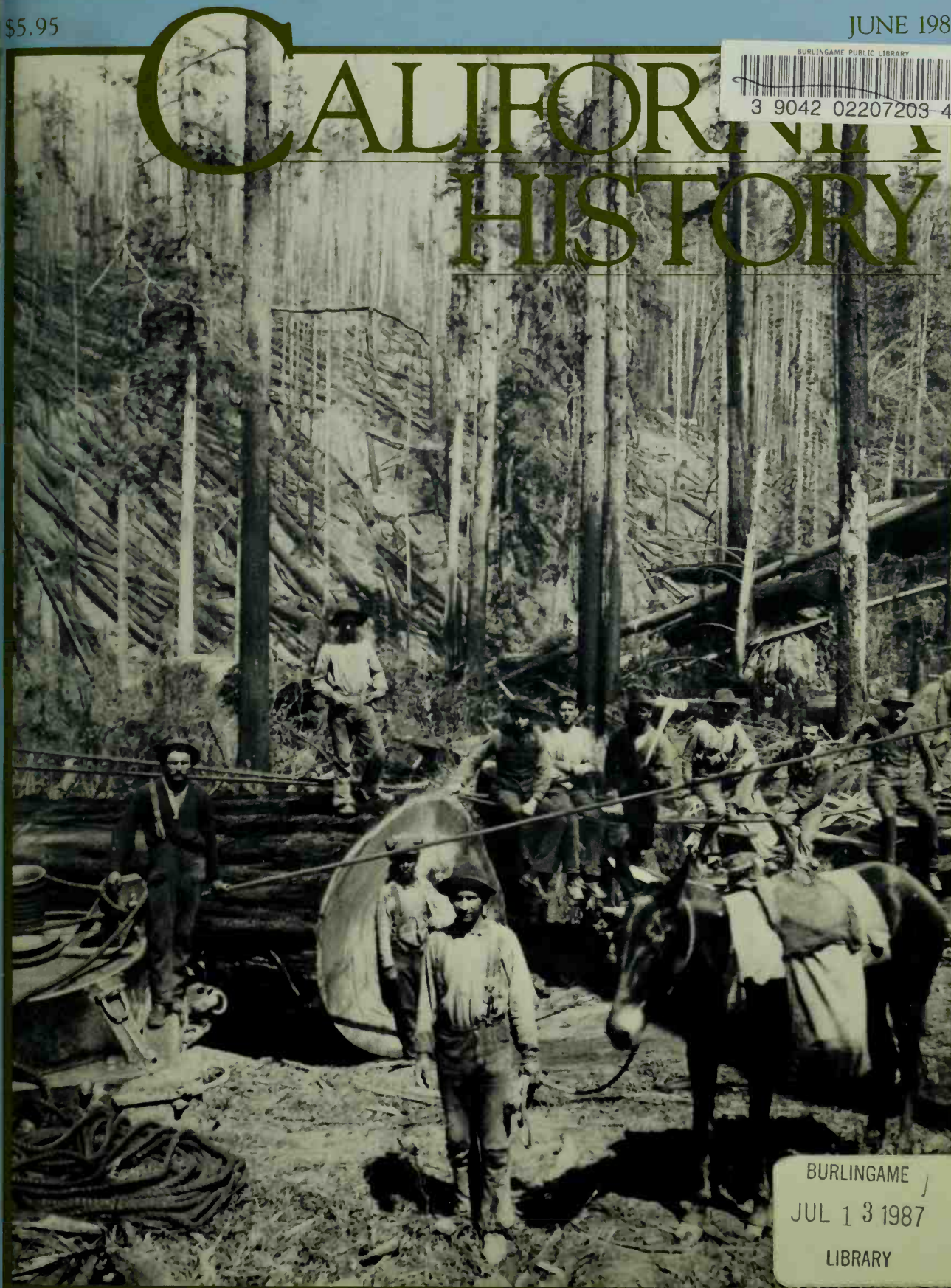


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# CALIFORNIA HISTORY



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## California Snapshots



(Above) Red Cross workers in Oakland, 1917. In the national mobilization following the U.S. entry into World War I, it was, according to an official history of supply activities at Fort Mason, "early realized that next to the procurement of the necessary equipment, it was important to conserve that which was in use, and to repair or reclaim that which had become damaged or worn out . . ." The salvage operation at Fort Mason was begun with a staff of two, but by April 30, 1919, it had grown to one hundred and eighty-eight. Nonetheless, the Army was unable to keep pace with the rapid accumulation of repairable clothing. In San Francisco, two hundred and fifty Red Cross volunteers worked in a clothing repair shop which turned out up to a thousand items of woolen clothing a day, totaling about thirty thousand items by the time the shop was closed in October, 1919, due to the influenza epidemic. The repaired woolen clothing was distributed to soldiers and to needy civilians in Europe; some items were sold by the military or by the Red Cross for revenue to support war activities. Torn and unusable underwear delivered to Fort Mason was cut up and sent to naval training stations and army and artillery posts for use as wiping rags.

Appeals to the public for salvage materials were made under such slogans as "HELP Win the War! Help American Soldiers and Sailors by Saving These for the RED CROSS." Items collected by the Red Cross included metal, rubber, glass, burlap and gunny sacks, and soft leather. Throughout the American involvement in the war, Red Cross relief activities were promoted as contributing to the war effort by aiding soldiers at the front. In 1918, a poster issued by the War Council of the Red Cross proudly proclaimed, "8 million patriotic Red Cross workers have made 291,004,000 necessary articles for war purposes."

California claimed a special commitment to supply and relief efforts in support of the war. As early as January, 1916, the California House for Belgian Disabled Soldiers opened in London, directed by Julie Helen Heyneman under Red Cross auspices and funded by such prominent Californians as Mrs. William Crocker, Mrs. M.H. de Young, Mrs. Mortimer Fleischacker, and Mrs. Phoebe Hearst. In a July, 1917, address to the Los Angeles Chatauqua, Governor William D. Stephens pointed out that two of the "big three" civilian aides to President Wilson were Californians—Herbert Hoover, in charge of food, and William Denman, in charge of ship-building. Moreover, noted the governor, "within a half hour after President Wilson promulgated his memorable war message, there was assembled at our State Capitol upon call of your Governor, thirty-three of the foremost men and women of the state. A State Council of Defense was organized, and at once was begun the work of preparing California for war." "Come what will," he concluded, "the fires of American patriotism will be found burning just as brightly here on the Pacific coast as upon the Atlantic." CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

(COVER) Machines in the woods replaced oxen rather than men. Photo by A. W. Ericson. PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION



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VOLUME LXVI

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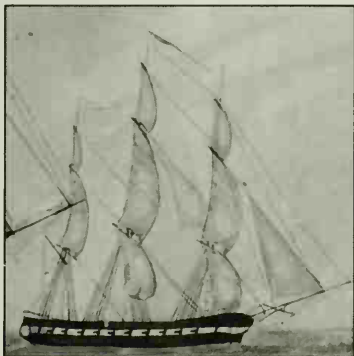
LEONARD PITT

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94



104



130

83

A Centennial for Josiah Royce  
*by Robert V. Hine*

94

Progressivism Moves into the Schools  
Los Angeles, 1905-1918  
*by Judith Raftery*

104

The War that Wasn't  
Thomas ap Catesby Jones's  
Seizure of Monterey  
*by Gene A. Smith*

115

The California Years of  
Virgil Macey Williams  
*by Ruth N. Post*

130

To Save the Republic  
The California Workingmen's Party  
in Humboldt County  
*by Daniel Cornford*

143

Reviews

151

California Checklist

153

Notes

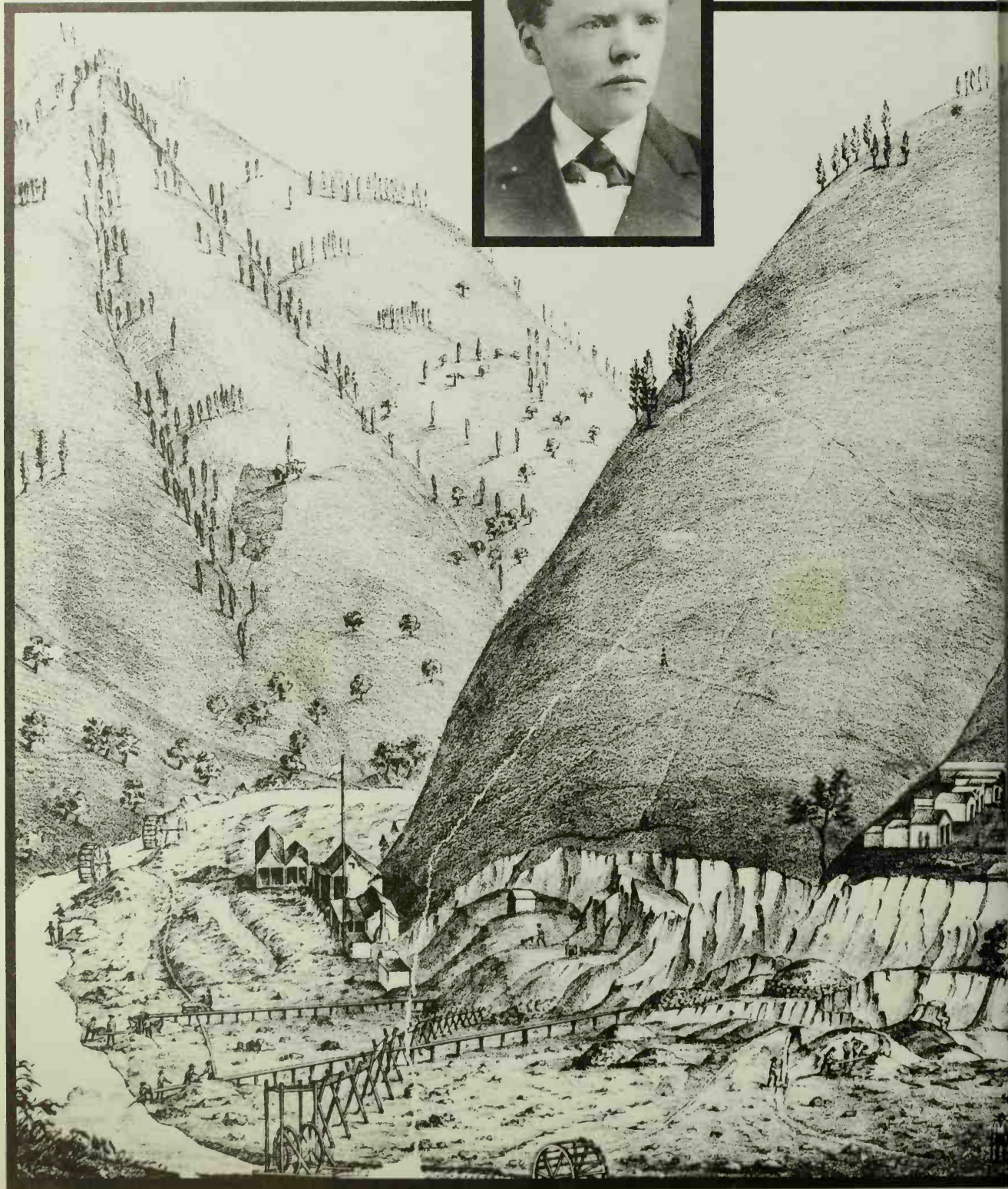
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# A CENTENNIAL FOR JOSIAH ROYCE

Josiah Royce was anxious to go, to leave his native California. The young philosopher wrote William James, who had instigated his move to Harvard, that he considered "an egg in Cambridge as worth more than a brood of chickens" in Berkeley. The "chickens" of California were now providing no intellectual sustenance for him. "Californians generally, and on the whole with very good reason, regard one another with profound suspicion and contempt," he wrote. "I have now a little son, three weeks old. . . . I shall be overjoyed at the thought of bringing him up in an Eastern atmosphere."<sup>1</sup> Within three years this jaundiced observer of his homeland would pen one of the sharpest interpretations of his state ever written. His history of California, a pithy volume of insight and foresight and a focus of frequent controversy, now celebrates its one hundredth anniversary.

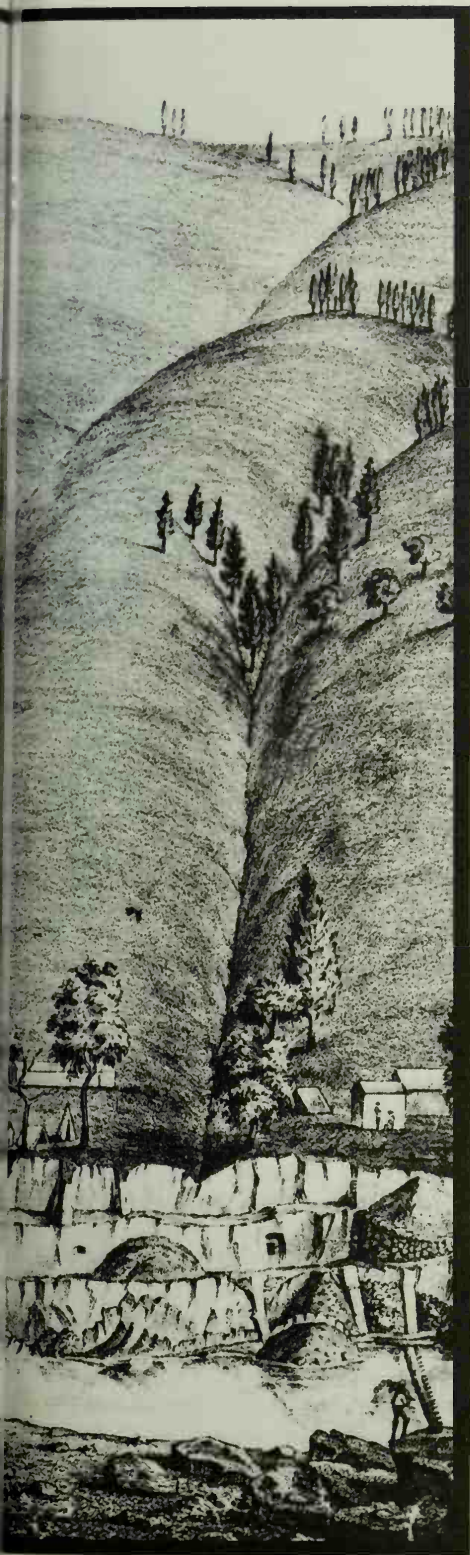
A year after Royce's arrival at Harvard, an acquaintance in San Francisco, William W. Crane, died. Crane had signed with Houghton Mifflin of Boston to write a history of California, and his death caused the publishers to seek out Royce, now

across the river in Cambridge, for the project. Royce, with no historical training and little knowledge of the subject beyond his own Californian background, undertook the book, which he foresaw as the first history of California written by a native son. He called it "a side-work, an amusement of idle hours," but he admitted that such amusements can be "pretty serious things." To another friend he acknowledged being tempted by the money, "by the affection that I should feel for the task," and by the good which might be accomplished in examining "the moral and general significance" of California history.<sup>2</sup>

In the summer of 1884 he threw himself into the job. Mercifully for Royce, Hubert Howe Bancroft and his crew of writers, then in the midst of their monumental labors on the West and just then publishing the first of their California volumes, allowed him free access to their documents. In their rooms at 1538 Valencia Street in San Francisco Royce pored over collections like those of Thomas Oliver Larkin and Mariano Vallejo. He tried valiantly to be his own researcher, but in the end had to admit that "without Mr. Bancroft's documents I should have been . . . unable to find my way out of the labyrinth." In another situation he confessed, "His [Bancroft's] library is the truly original source here, and my research . . . is at this one most important place but a following of his already beaten trail."<sup>3</sup> Royce befriended Bancroft and one of his writers, Henry Lebbeus Oak. Those relationships would deeply

(Insert) Josiah Royce.

*Technological innovation and social adaptation enabled early Californians to dominate and exploit an overwhelming physical environment. His own childhood observations of this process provided some of the inspiration for Royce's later research and analysis of the evolution of frontier society.*



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*The University of California campus in the 1880s. When Royce left it in 1882, the university was an academic outpost, a young institution not yet able to satisfy the intellectual yearnings of the state's ablest minds. For all his eagerness to go East, however, Royce relished his work on California, writing in an 1885 letter that he needed to "clear my hands of this cloying and delicious California preserve . . . I have had my fingers in it too long already . . ."*

influence his work and stand in curious contrast to his failure in contacting another active contemporary writer of California history, the lawyer Theodore Hittell. The fault must have lain with Hittell, a far more private man than Bancroft. But even Bancroft might have been more chary of his raw material had not Royce's limited agenda seemed to him no competitive threat to his multi-volume work.<sup>4</sup>

As Royce researched and wrote, his purposes expanded. Before he was through, he saw his history as nothing less than a revelation of the national character. Ultimately it might "serve the true patriot's interest in a clear self-knowledge and in the formation of sensible ideals of national greatness."<sup>5</sup> Inasmuch as there had been wrong-doing, his writing might be an atonement for his country's honor.

He restricted his history to ten years, 1846 to 1856, years he saw as absolutely pivotal. He himself had been born on the cusp end of this period, so that the bridges into his own contemporary world lay rather close. When he described California's varied landscape he included his own Grass Valley childhood memories of "frowning higher mountains" and buttes "springing up like young giants." He may have been commenting on himself rather than the state when he noted a draw-

back in the healthful climate: it prompted "active people to work too steadily, to skip their holidays, and, by reason of their very enjoyment of life, to wear out their constitutions with overwork."<sup>6</sup>

It was the conquest of California that for Royce most exposed the American character. The nation here engaged in a morally if not politically indefensible act. The Bear Flag Revolt was incited by the false rumors of John Charles Frémont, who for Royce became the butt of the moral problem. Far from justifiable, Frémont's call to military action before the United States Navy arrived could have brought such anarchy to California that England might well have accepted overtures from the inhabitants for a protectorate. In any case, the institution of guerrilla warfare was not in the best interests of the United States either politically or morally; in it "we can date the beginning of the degradation, the ruin, and the oppression of the Californian people by our own."<sup>7</sup>

The unprovoked violence, a consequence of Thomas Hart Benton's dispatches to Frémont in the Klamath forests, became "a violation of the laws of nations, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity."<sup>8</sup> Thomas O. Larkin, not Frémont, was pursuing the proper national course, the peaceful support of a local movement for independence from Mexico, presuming eventual annexation to the United States. In these acts and in the official military conquest that followed, Royce saw the nation typically ambiguous in its desire to conquer but in its unwillingness to assume the role of conquerer. Instead it clothed its aggression, as Frémont himself had done, in the garb of peaceful intentions

and conscientious duty. Royce's own generation, beginning to wrestle with overseas markets, acquisitions like Alaska, and Chinese exclusion, was addressed in an oft-quoted digression:

*It is to be hoped that this lesson, showing us as it does how much of conscience and even of personal sincerity can coexist with a minimum of effective morality in international undertakings, will some day be once more remembered; so that when our nation is another time about to serve the devil, it will do so with more frankness and will deceive itself less by half-conscious cant. For the rest, our mission in the cause of liberty is to be accomplished through a steadfast devotion to the cultivation of our own inner life, and not by going abroad as missionaries, as conquerors, or as marauders, among weaker peoples.<sup>9</sup>*

Between the conquest and admission, California was destined to endure "a time of doubts, of problems, of complaints, and of weariness."<sup>10</sup> In such moments the American nature could be at its best—moderate, self-controlled, and astute in the design of new communities. But in the Gold Rush, California was "to be morally and socially tried as no other American community ever has been tried," and it would exhibit "both the true nobility and the true weakness of our national character."<sup>11</sup> The nobility was seen in a polyglot population which successfully dealt with North-South dissensions; in the activities of women who injected family and religious values into a raw society; and in the average American's "instinctive cleverness" at self-government.<sup>12</sup>

Royce cautioned, however, at exaggerating that "marvelous political talent."<sup>13</sup> It must be seen against

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two evidences of weakness: civic irresponsibility and the local manifestation of a diseased national feeling toward foreigners. Both of these tendencies allowed orderly, friendly life to degenerate into serious, violent disorder. Though miners in a spirit of compromise and good humor bound themselves into "little republics," their camps were so devoid of broader civic responsibility that they endured difficult years of disorder and violence.

The social fabric needed considerable mending. Royce bitterly described the cruelty, irresponsibility, and ineffectiveness of lynch law in the mines and pointed out the inconsistency of contemporaries who whined about law and order but refused to be taxed for jails.<sup>14</sup> As for foreigners, Royce wrote, "You cannot build up a prosperous and peaceful community so long as you pass laws to oppress and torment a large resident class of the community."<sup>15</sup> Foreigners were kept by law and vigilantism in fear and misery.

Disorder served in the end to teach social responsibility. San Francisco's fearful fires of the early 1850s pre-

ceded sounder buildings, safer docks, more organized fire departments. Over-excitement, self-absorption, extravagance, and nervous strain were in time balanced by family life and church-oriented circles. The vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856 eventually rooted out the social apathy and public carelessness which surrounded them. This trip through the valley of despond also included the Land Act of 1851 (requiring all existing titles to be confirmed by a commission, expressing "our natural meanness and love of good order in one") and all of the new state politicians like Bigler, Broderick, and Gwin ("too selfish to be wise").<sup>16</sup> In the end, however, the journey produced a living, dynamic community:

*It is the State, the Social Order, that is divine. We are all but dust save as this social order gives us life. When we think it our instrument, . . . we call it sordid, degraded, corrupt, unspiritual, and ask how we may escape from it forever. But if we turn again and serve the social order, and not merely ourselves, we soon find that what we are serving is simply*

*our own highest spiritual destiny in bodily form. It is never truly sordid or corrupt or unspiritual; it is only we that are so when we neglect our duty.*<sup>17</sup>

Seldom has a history led to such lofty conclusions. California's ten formative years were not just the germ of a future, not just a parable for the American character; they were lessons in the proper ordering of human society.

His history was hardly finished when in the summer of 1886 the young college professor wrote a novel. Royce thus joined many another young academic, past and present, in trying his hand at fiction. Even that same summer Henry Adams and Adolph Bandelier were so engaged. "I think it has something to do with earning my living," Royce wrote, and he must have been thinking of his ill wife pregnant with their second child. But social purposes, though less obvious than those of a Helen Hunt Jackson or an Ignatius Donnelly, were nevertheless involved,

*The fires which ravaged San Francisco in the early 1850s forced the growth of a sense of civic responsibility which Royce saw as a necessary component of an enduring community.*

and he gave his story the same kind of philosophical base that he had given his history. He had learned that history "talks back," leaves documents that must be coped with, and never "stands still to be counted." Philosophy (and by implication its counterpart in literature) is "submissive and plastic." The novel gives the historian new freedom, inviting him to go beyond the document where nothing "talks back" but his own imagination.<sup>18</sup>

Royce had long embraced literature. As a junior at the fledgling University of California, he delivered a prize Charter Day oration on the modern novel. The future historian, he said, will place few "influences that have molded our destiny" higher in importance than current fiction. His favorite novelist then was the contemporary George Eliot, and her *Mill on the Floss*, because it exceeded *Adam Bede* and *Middlemarch* in its moral lesson, showed "the instructive influence a novel may exercise."<sup>19</sup>

Royce's own novel is usually seen as an exercise or stepping-stone on his philosophical path—a study in the conflict between duty and desire, a "perspective on identity and morality."<sup>20</sup> It is far more. Royce here continued the exploration of his state's history; it became history and fiction combined for a philosophic message. The central problem of the novel comes straight out of his *California*—whether land should be held in the traditional large holdings or should be broken into smaller parcels. The section in his history dealing with the Sacramento squatter riots of 1850 was the only portion of his book which he had extracted and expanded for a separate article in the *Overland*, and he would eventually use that essay for one of his *Studies*

of *Good and Evil* (1898). For the novel he turned down the publisher's suggestions of a more literary title and chose one closer to the geography and the history: *The Feud of Oakfield Creek: A Novel of California Life*.<sup>21</sup>

The land in question, between Mount Diablo and the Contra Costa hills, was claimed by small squatters, including a bohemian college professor, Alf Escott (patterned in his idealism after the leader of the Sacramento squatters), and a mag-nate living in a Nob Hill mansion, Alonzo Eldon. They were both old Californians and had fought the Paiutes together. But they had clashed over Eldon's desire to build a Medici-like fortune rather than be concerned, like Escott, with the common people who made such affluence possible. Ironically Eldon assuaged his conscience with a closet attachment to the teachings of Henry George, yearning for a society in which opulence like his would be impossible.

The plot is complicated and need not detain us here. The characters are varicolored, including Eldon's son, who has jilted Escott's daughter and married a complicated woman, Margaret; a wandering widower; and a flamboyant, corrupt newspaper editor. The action includes the Brotherhood of the Noble Rangers, squatters defending their rights under a higher law in the pattern of the Sacramento Settlers' Association or the San Francisco vigilance committees. In the end forty settlers resist the approach of Eldon and his men, and four others die. The final scene is a virtual replay of the events in Sacramento in 1850, and they are reminiscent, too, of the Mussell Slough incident (May 11, 1880), which Frank Norris recreated

in *The Octopus* (1901). For Norris, characters were victims in naturalistic traps—the surging growth of the wheat; the uncontrollable energy of the railroad—surrounded by values at flux in the surge of evolution. For Royce characters stood in moral dilemmas, facing conflicting loyalties between higher law or immediate needs, between personal or communal attachments, but the ultimate values were unshakable. Royce, like Norris, had found that a California novel, like California history, was an effective tool for a moral purpose.

The debut of Royce as California historian and novelist was anything but bright. Reviewers of both *California* and *The Feud* hit hard his wordiness and moralizing. Even an age accustomed to rhetorical excess rejected the style and the manner, and little perspective could be expected on the ideas of a freshman historian and a first novelist.

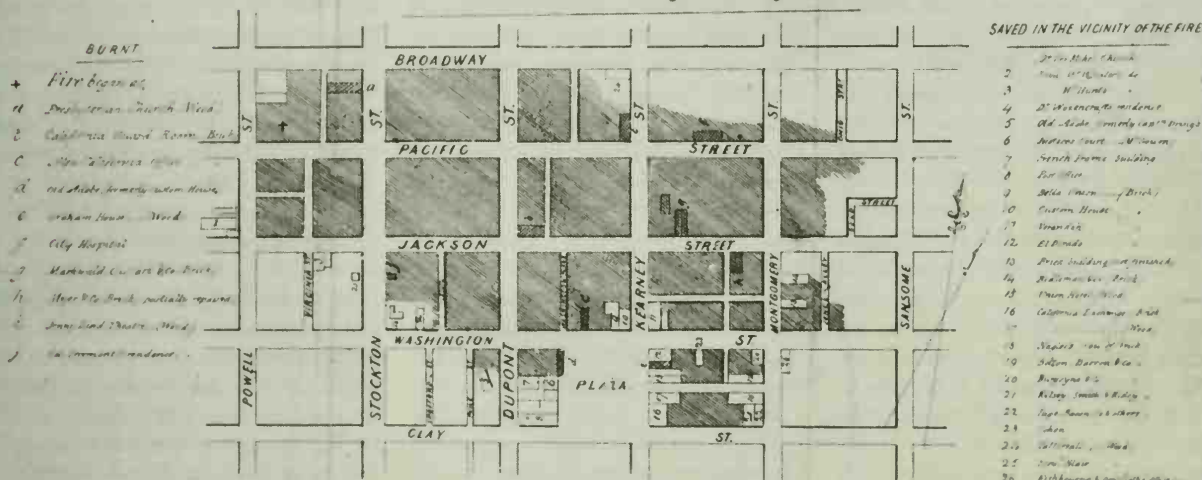
*California* took the brunt of the attack. An unsigned review in the *Overland Monthly*, for which Royce had written during his days in Berkeley and for which he held real attachment, was vicious. The book was described as "contract work, done under press," without unity "except in its uniformity of sermonizing reproof of Americans." Sprinkled through the review were words like immaturity, flippancy, diffuseness, unidiomatic English, and it concluded with a patronizing nod: "defects like this . . . will naturally disappear with longer experience in writing history; and we advert to them for Professor Royce's good." The anonymous reviewer found the censure of Frémont and California





VIEW & PLAN OF THE BURNT DISTRICT, SAN FRANCISCO, THE DAY AFTER THE FIRE, 22<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 1851.

As Seen from the Corner of Washington & Montgomery Streets.



frontiersmen excessive and unimproved. And in the end "both as literature and as history, it is, on the whole, a failure."<sup>22</sup>

Shortly before in the *Nation* Royce had unfavorably compared Theodore Hittell's new history with Bancroft's emerging work, and now Royce mistakenly assumed that the *Overland* reviewer was the incensed Hittell. Royce revealed little resentment, however, at least in a letter to his

friend and the journal's editor, Millicent Shinn. Henry Oak in the next month's issue of the *Overland* firmly supported Royce's position on Frémont and affirmed the book "both as literature and as history" to be "a very perfect piece of work," superior to anything yet done. William A. Dunning in the *Political Science Quarterly* was more guarded: "If only the excellence of the author's literary style were at all proportionate to the

captiousness of his criticism, his book would easily take rank as a classic."<sup>23</sup>

Royce's interest in history was now too deep to be easily deflected. The rebukes he suffered from reviewers led to more activity, not less. He corrected a minor detail in the *California* by a letter to the editor of the *Overland*. He contributed a series of biographies on figures in California history to Appleton's *Cyclo-*

*paedia*. He edited lengthy documents and letters by George H. Fitch, William Coleman, William Tecumseh Sherman, John B. Montgomery, George Bancroft and James Buchanan in a series of contributions to *Century*. At the same time he wrote five lengthy reviews of the emerging Bancroft and Hittell volumes. In these he championed Bancroft's sound archival evidence and Hittell's readability while castigating Bancroft's failure to credit his co-authors and Hittell's failure to profit from Bancroft's documentary leadership.<sup>24</sup>

Royce was a fighter. His writings in this period took on the nature of an extended rebuttal to his critics, clarifying questions, and adding proofs. Frémont died in July 1890 and Royce was quick to assess the general's life and work in an *Atlantic* article. Royce pronounced Frémont a "faithful knight and hero" with "winning eyes and gentle voice," one who "possessed all the qualities of genius except ability." He was "a creature escaped from a book, wandering about in a real world when he was made for dreamland." Royce again charged Frémont with refusal to take the ordered and more desirable course of neutrality, conciliation, and ultimate annexation with less fighting and with fewer resentments. "General Frémont was simply *not* the conqueror of California. All that he did . . . was of no effect except to alienate its people."<sup>25</sup>

Although Frémont's death might have dashed the hope that the general would disclose anything more on the California conquest, a twelve-page, double-columned article appeared in the April 1891 *Century*, "edited" by Jessie Benton Frémont from the notes of her deceased husband. Here Frémont's military ac-

tions were justified by the threat of British occupation of California. The article contended that Frémont was given the power to act in his secret instructions for the 1845 scientific expedition. When Lt. Archibald Gillespie found him on the Oregon border, the messages showed that conciliation was "no longer practicable" and in any case would have been "in conflict with our own instructions." Frémont dismissed one part of Gillespie's dispatches (Buchanan's orders to Larkin) and concentrated on the other (the packet from Benton), "a trumpet," which "made me know distinctly that at last the time had come when England must not get a foothold; that we *must be first*. I was to *act*, discreetly but positively."<sup>26</sup> To support his position, Frémont submitted an 1886 memorandum from George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy in 1846, now retired. In it Bancroft denied that there had been much fear of England, but he admitted that if he had been in Frémont's place he would have felt bound to do what he could to promote the purpose of the President, the possession of California.

In the same issue following the Frémont article, the *Century* printed Secretary of State Buchanan's letter to Larkin (the Gillespie dispatch) with an editorial note by Royce. Royce pointed to this as the *only* official dispatch received by Frémont. Buchanan had indicated that, though the government wished no foreign control over California, still "this government has no ambitions to gratify and no desire to extend our federal system over more territory than we already possess; unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the independent people of adjoining territories."

The *Century* readers were wearying of the California controversy so Royce was forced to turn to the *Nation*, where in May 1891 (while completing a book on philosophy, contemplating six articles on Goethe, and considering an offer to move from Harvard to Stanford) he offered his final words on the subject. He protested that George Bancroft's comments did not change the picture; that every agent of the United States had orders to conciliate the Mexicans; that cooperation was thwarted by Frémont's false reports and irregular warfare; and that the retired Bancroft's letter was sprinkled with errors in memory. For further evidence Royce quoted verbatim the dispatch of Bancroft to Commodore Sloat, once more ordering conciliation. The truth was that Frémont, "lawlessly thwarted [orders] for his own glory." "I should myself never think of attacking the Frémont legend so often, were it not so unsubstantially immortal. I shall rejoice indeed, if ever the pale ghost ceases to walk in broad daylight. The twilight regions of our historical consciousness in this country will probably never be rid of it."<sup>27</sup> And with these words he closed his public comment on John Charles Frémont and the history of California.

Royce's preoccupation with the role of Frémont in the conquest had lasted for six years. In his letters during the period he vacillated between giving Frémont the benefit of the doubt and, at the other extreme, applying the "thumb-screws" to "the deceiver."<sup>28</sup> Something inexplicable seems to motivate Royce in his unwillingness at least to assume Frémont's good intentions, even if he were thoroughly mistaken. Why did Royce not understand, to use his



own later words, "the art of honoring your opponent's loyalty"?<sup>29</sup> Perhaps it is enough to know that throughout his life he loved to explore differences and heartily championed the clash of minds. Even in his childhood he enjoyed frequent philosophical wranglings with his sister.<sup>30</sup> And his later life would see gargantuan debates with his Harvard colleagues, Francis Abbott and William James.

In spite of its cool welcome, *California* was in its first century reprinted twice. In 1948 during the Gold Rush centennial, Alfred Knopf commissioned Robert Glass Cleland for an introduction, kept the new edition in print till 1961, and sold 3,000 copies (about average among its historical re-issues of that day).<sup>31</sup> The reviewers this time were far more positive than the first ones had been. True, George R. Stewart and Joseph Henry Jackson cautiously reiterated the concern with balance. But Rodman Paul praised the excellence of the research and the way Royce probed ultimate significance, and Charles Barker complimented the author on his condemnation of Frémont, respect for Larkin, technological insights, and recognition of place in law and religion.<sup>32</sup>

In 1970 Gibbs M. Smith chose Royce's *California* as one of the first four books published by his new Peregrine Press in Santa Barbara. Since he considered it "the most insightful history of California ever written," he was disappointed that it had sold only 3,000 copies and had gone out of print long before one of the companion volumes, *The Shirley Letters*. This time Earl Pomeroy wrote the introduction, a splendid assessment of Royce as historian. Reviewers unanimously praised Pomeroy's contribution, and the book was gen-

erally accepted as a classic in the Zamorano 80 tradition.<sup>33</sup>

Judged by the standards of his day or by the basic canons of scholarship, Royce as historian of California comes off rather well. For errors of detail his *California* is occasionally vulnerable, especially in the introduction on pre-American California, the section in which he was little concerned and for which he claimed no scholarship. In it he underestimated Indian uprisings against the missions, underplayed the Monterey stay of Commodore ap Catesby Jones in 1846, and had the Donner Party's Reed banished on foot rather than horseback. He confused the number and nature of the prisoners taken by the Bear Flaggers.<sup>34</sup> And he wholeheartedly accepted J. Tyrwhitt Brooks ("a perfectly trustworthy observer") as a prime source for life in the mines. We now know that Brooks's journal was a hoax, revealed fifty years afterward by its author (Henry Vize-telly), but, of course, the entire historical profession believed Brooks in Royce's day.<sup>35</sup>

Against these details must be placed the body of the work. Over and over Royce's reverence for documentation shone clearly. "The purpose has been throughout to write from the sources,"<sup>36</sup> and by sources he meant a range of newspapers, letters, and diaries. The importance of detail even led him to construct a statistical table for the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1849 showing nativity, length of residence, occupation, and age. He called his historical bent "my respect for thoroughness," and this lay behind his enthusiasm for

Bancroft's work.<sup>37</sup> Like Bancroft, Royce, too, realized the significance of oral testimony to corroborate the detail. Hence his decision to take oral histories from John and Jessie Frémont. He conducted the interviews in a highly professional manner, allowing the subjects a chance to amend, read the proofs, and offer their rebuttal.<sup>38</sup> As he was writing his *California* he expressed to Henry Oak the anguish of the careful documentary historian: "It is fearfully hard to tell the truth in these things. Again and again I write what I think I have just learned from a document or book, and, looking again at my source, have to tear up my MS. in disgust."<sup>39</sup>

As for style, he dreamed of brevity, but, alas, often sank into verbosity. The year before his death, looking backward, he bemoaned his own profuseness by extolling a friend's finished self control and brevity of style.<sup>40</sup> The lament was astute self-criticism. In both the history and the novel Royce wrote countless sentences of twelve to fifteen lines, many of which would be infinitely clearer were they shorter. His paragraphs were sometimes interminable. Wordiness occasionally veered into pedantry; a few times he even described the provenance of a source in the text.<sup>41</sup> He could be sarcastic: "Providence, again, is known to be opposed to every form of oppression; and grabbing eleven leagues of land is a great oppression. And so the worthlessness of Mexican land-titles is evident."<sup>42</sup> He could argue from analogy: "If we desired to steal our neighbor's fine horse, why should we first coax him into confinement and then scourge him with whips in his stall, to make him break his bones?"<sup>43</sup> His metaphors could

General and Mrs. Frémont and their daughter in Santa Cruz. In attacking Frémont—who had become a legendary figure in his own lifetime, Royce was confronting a persistent American mythology of expansion led by heroic individuals unfettered by social or legal conventions.

be overdrawn: "The devil's instrument it actually proved to be, . . . and we have got our full share of the devil's wages for our use of it [Land Act of 1851]."<sup>44</sup> He could editorialize and personalize his arguments in ways the modern historian might envy but never dream of doing.<sup>45</sup>

Yet the final stylistic impact is one of grandness, of an exciting mind caught up in the joy of intellectual pursuit. His phrasing betrays that exhilaration: "April and May are the spendthrift months of wealthy nature." 1849 is "the boyish year of California." Speculative investors "will be destroyed like flies in the autumn."<sup>46</sup> When not overdrawn, his similes were apt: "California would have been ready to drop into our basket like a mellow apple."<sup>47</sup> His literary allusions revealed a thoughtful breadth. The Bible was ever ready. From it he viewed the Mexican War through the Old Testament story of Ahab coveting Naboth's vineyard. Again, the population "was full of Jonahs, . . . fleeing over seas and deserts." Elsewhere were scattered wild grapes and manna and ravens in the wilderness. Thucydides and Aristotle were also there. And so were Jonathan Swift and Lewis Carroll (no less than the Boojum from *The Hunting of the Snark*). In all, Royce was a writer of literary merit. He was, as the Princeton critic Vincent Buranelli has written, "an artist capable of rising into great prose."<sup>48</sup>

Still, a hundred years have passed, and we should ask whether Royce, beyond what he meant to his own time, speaks to us now. How does he relate to more

recent currents of intellectual inquiry? To begin with, his stated purpose sounds surprisingly like a dictum from the new social history: "The social condition has been throughout of more interest than the individual men, and the men themselves of more interest than their fortunes. . . ."<sup>49</sup> Thus he wrote no biography of Frémont but a critique of how Frémont's actions muddled future racial relations; he related little of the life of James King of William but explored at length how King's death changed the reform consciousness of San Francisco.

Royce was an ecologist in that he conceived of life as interacting with an environment. In an address to the National Geographic Society in 1898, "A Psychological Study of the Relations of Climate and Civilization," he continued an interest, first explored in his *California*, in "how the physical features of the Pacific Coast may be expected to mould our national type." In part, he said, the mild climate leads to an intimacy with nature and ultimately to a habit of personal independence.<sup>50</sup> It was the land and its resources, not simply political decisions, that determined patterns of legal title and settlement. Land was the base of his article on the Sacramento squatter riots and it lay at the heart of *The Feud*. But land for Royce went beyond a question of possession; it should lead ultimately to a developed sense of place. Thus geography fed psychology. True, in his own life he abandoned his place, his West, for the East, as Bernard de Voto would do later, rather than addressing the East from a base in the West, like Vernon Louis Parrington or Charles Shinn. But as Kevin Starr has observed, Royce, whatever his

personal hegira, always understood the fundamental importance of place and rootedness in a well-ordered community.<sup>51</sup>

As a sociologist Royce recognized racial issues. His sympathetic treatment of Mexican society is not unlike that in Leonard Pitt's *Decline of the Californios* (although when Royce described that society as free, careless, and charming, he sounded more like the generation of Robert Glass Cleland). In the description of the Mexican lineage of Tom in *The Feud* Royce pursued his racial generalization into a strain of elitism which had also emerged in the history, as when he called "the better families" of the community "superior to the average Mexicans."<sup>52</sup> But his enlightened attitudes on race were reflected later in his life when, against a tide of national nativism, he publicly supported free immigration.<sup>53</sup>

"Every man looked out for himself in those days," wrote Royce about the mining camps, voicing his refrain on the kind of individualism which had proved so destructive to society.<sup>54</sup> Given the importance of individuality, how could one hope for community? The problem was intrinsically American, having first been formulated by de Tocqueville half a century before. Royce like de Tocqueville worried about the leveling "tendency to crush the individual."<sup>55</sup> This intricate tension between the individual and the group would intrigue Royce for the remainder of his life, flowering at the turn of the century in *The World and the Individual*. But always for him the universal came first, as it does for the child beginning with an undifferentiated world and then only slowly recognizing the specifics of





individualized milk and mother. Ultimately, however, the individual must return to the realization that he is grounded in the universal, in the one reality.<sup>56</sup> For example, Royce sees the mining camps composed of atomized individuals at the child's stage of milk and mother who must someday grope for social cohesion. Such a concept thus foreshadowed his ultimate philosophy.

He likewise understood, like Robert Bellah in our day, how tricky is the concept of individualism, how important it is to isolate its elements. Bellah recognizes two aspects, the expressive and the utilitarian. Royce saw a moral and an immoral side to individualism, depending on whether it led to a strengthening or a weakening of the society.<sup>57</sup> He could embrace some forms of individualism while remaining devoted to the ultimate community. The values and joys of individualism produced a tension, but finally there should come a release from that tension which would be found in social cohesion. Later in his life he claimed to be a pragmatist while refusing to

give up the antithetical position of absolutism. It was as if he accepted, even courted, ambiguity as a proper ingredient in human affairs, and so he would not worry at appearing to be both individualistic and communitarian.

Knowing both a dominant mother and a talented wife, Royce was never ambiguous about the importance of women. In *The Feud* he created a woman of great strength, Margaret, whose complexity went far beyond any narrowly Victorian concept of womankind. She was fallible, struggling with moral problems such as her love for a married man, and she earned her goodness, unlike the men of the story for whom moral dilemmas were given and clear cut. It is Margaret who questions the stereotype of women as creatures of feeling and concludes, "men are the least rational beings on earth." In the history Royce clearly saw women—the catalysts of family, church, school, and local interest—as a strong counterweight to social disruption and mob disorder.<sup>58</sup>

In the process of examining do-

mestic life, marital relations, and the behavior of women, Royce thought to ask his own mother, Sarah Bayliss Royce, to write her memoirs. She responded in a book-length account of her months on the trail in 1849 and her years in Weaverville, Sacramento, and San Francisco. The manuscript illustrated for Royce how a religious steadfastness could be intensified on the plains journey, how a few lonesome families could forge a community, and how vital a role religion played in early San Francisco life.<sup>59</sup> Royce, who owed so much to her, gratefully dedicated his history "To my mother, a California pioneer of 1849."

A major strain of modern sociological history is built on Max Weber's work on collective consciousness (the collective mores of Protestantism, for example, support the presuppositions of capitalism)—what the more recent historian calls mentalities. In such thinking biography is eschewed in favor of a more embracing social

Royce submitted his notes from their interviews to the Frémonts for comment in a methodology that is now required of collectors of oral history. Royce's notes are at the top of the page. At the bottom is Jessie Benton Frémont's reiterated challenge to the idea that California could have been acquired by peaceful means.

entity, and Royce was on an early version of that track. He saw the struggle for order transcending the conflicting and confused voices of individuals. Vigilante justice was more than meetings and hangings; it was no less than "the confession of the past sin of the whole community"<sup>60</sup> and as such held communal meaning. In *The Feud* it was the collective cause, the fight of Escott's neighbors in the land dispute, that finally brought changes in individual consciousness.

Like the modern cultural anthropologist, Royce was concerned with the sources of order and disorder. Perhaps his emphasis on social order is not surprising, since he came to maturity in the 1880s, the period in which the modern historian Robert Wiebe found America's self-directed communities faltering before centralized government and the tendency to separate by occupation rather than by community. In Royce's mind early Californians were creating the very forms that Royce's own society was losing, and he might in consequence have championed the founders of community in California more than he did the perpetuators of self-reliance. The builders of the commonwealth for Royce were not the entrepreneurs and businessmen, as important as they were to him, but the men and women who were bringing traditional forms to a raw, unkempt life. The new society Royce championed was a renewal not a denial of the old; ontogeny recapitulated phylogeny. And that society of close-knit community had been undermined by the frontier and was now under attack again by the modern marketplace, factory, and city.

This is not to say that Royce accepted uncritically all forms of tradi-

tional community. Groups, like individuals, could act immorally. The vigilance committee of 1856, for example, for all of its beneficial social effects, was itself no more than a "businessman's revolution," a group of entrepreneurs furthering its own economic interests. This hard-headed concept of the vigilance committee has taken a firm hold on subsequent historical interpretation.<sup>61</sup>

As a part of culture Royce saw religion as a keystone. In the 1850s San Francisco viewed through the eyes of his mother included "a very goodly array of pioneer churches, supported by active and not poverty-stricken societies." In so balancing the stereotype of the wild and licentious society, he foreshadowed the later writings of John Caughey and Kevin Starr, to name only two.<sup>62</sup> Religion was not just social cement; it was society's affirmation of the universal, the door through which individuals could exercise expressive differences while conforming to the unity of tradition.

And, worthy of the modern French *Annales* school of historians, Royce foresaw the modern carry-over from technology to culture, notably in underlining the social effects of mining techniques. The shovel and the pan allowed pure individualism; they precluded "secure progress in the organized life of the camps." The cradle was an agent of social change, creating "a collection of mutually more or less independent, but inwardly united bands." Later mining techniques "acted indirectly on society, as a check to the confusion and disorder . . .," finally bringing men together in companies and more complex social relations. The sluice thus became "the basis for the social life of a civilized community."<sup>63</sup>

Politics as politicians and parties did not much interest Royce. He confined that kind of California activity to a scant six pages at the end of his history. Instead he frequently delved into political theory as, for example, in extolling the political bent of the typical American or evaluating the forces at the constitutional convention.<sup>64</sup> In his interpretive stance, however, he did not embrace the theoretical radicalism of his own time. He was aware of it, had once in a lecture appeared as an idealistic socialist, and in his history threw side glances at Henry George and the Populists (though never at Karl Marx). The ideas of his fellow Californian, Henry George, certainly lay behind his concerns for "the unfortunate concentration of the land in a comparatively few hands," and it is hardly accidental that Escott in *The Feud* was a closet follower of *Progress and Poverty*.<sup>65</sup>

In the arena of the newer intellectual history Royce might today face the largest number of raised eyebrows. Royce wrote in the history of ideas tradition best exemplified by Perry Miller in his monumental efforts to evoke the New England mind. It is the lumping together of such aggregates that most bothers the recent intellectual historian. He or she is leery of treatises on the national mind or even on the regional mind, preferring to examine groups like the genteel or particular phenomena like the Edenic image, regeneration, or "the hegemonic function of the jeremiad." Historians now typically use individuals in their work as avenues to concepts like antimodernism rather than as insights into something as amorphous as the national character. As a consequence, the new history



(12)  
 acquisition of California, and <sup>he was also informed</sup> of Pitt's  
 account of the action in the north, before  
 the taking of Monterrey, as a "blunder of Fre-  
 mont and the Bear Flag Party", interfering  
<sup>that still calls</sup>  
 with the well-prepared plan of Ashmun for  
 acquisition of Cal. by peaceful means. This  
 interpretation of the matter both General  
 and Mrs. Fremont declared to be entirely  
 a mistake, but a mistake that must be utterly  
 unforgotten <sup>and material</sup> in fact. Mrs. Fremont, etc.

After nonsense about "blunder" and "Bear Flag Party" and  
 "peaceful means" of the California, had been telling of the  
 more not.

tends to fragment the past, dissecting classes and separating currents of ideas, which Royce did only on the path to synthesis. Modernists are often more concerned with conflict, as between elites and the common man; when they synthesize, they walk closer to Royce's footsteps. But he attempted more than a simple synthesis; rather he searched for the essential consensus at the heart of all experience.

Perhaps one best grasps large national dimensions from a marginal locus. California was hardly a center of power, but Americans in action there may have come closer to essentially American traits than the people of Washington or New York. Royce understood the importance of the local as an avenue to the universal. The idea would flower in his *Philosophy of Loyalty* (1908): "... if you want a great people to be strong, you must depend upon provincial loyalties to mediate between the people and their nation."<sup>66</sup> Thus diversity could embrace unity; California could prefigure the nation.

Josiah Royce loved his native California for what its story said about American values. Physically he had to leave it; intellectually he embraced its message throughout his life. How could a homeland he was so anxious to leave become so soon extolled and revered? Of course, it has been argued that Royce had to transcend California in order to become an intellectual, that he was in no sense a California philosopher, but rather a German Idealist, and that all of his significant ideas germinated elsewhere.<sup>67</sup> Such a view can at best be defined as narrow. Any life is the intersection between the direction it faces and the experiences that intersect that bearing. Royce's course was determined in California; the rest was elaboration, though admittedly extensive. All great men must intellectually outgrow the society in which they were born. Royce's birthplace gave him an experience with a very young, immature community, an experience which he focussed and expanded in his history and novel. He came to feel that the rest of his life was a

resonance from those beginnings.

As a budding philosopher Royce saw history and literature on a grand scale. Beyond his facts lay an overarching world of meaning. Even his obsession with Frémont's role in the conquest was in the end a matter of authority and damaged race relations; the gold rush society was an early study in the search for what he would later call the beloved community. Still, through his philosophy emerged remarkable premonitions of a social science history whose canons would not capture most historians for generations. He saw mining camps as societies wrestling with technological change. He realized the importance of a sense of place, of technology as a factor in social change, of collective consciousness, of the limitations on individualism. "I have learned, as I have toiled for a while over the sources, to see in these days a process of divinely moral significance," he wrote.<sup>68</sup> Divine or otherwise, the significance he saw still speaks to those who yearn for community. ■

See notes beginning on page 153.

# P R O G R E



Very great progress," wrote Superintendent of Schools Albert Shiels in March, 1917, "has been made in the education of our immigrant population so that they may not be a menace to the city of Los Angeles."<sup>1</sup> Shiels sought to assure the members of the Board of Education that intensive mechanisms to "Americanize" immigrants were in place. Conscious of the growing ethnic diversity in the schools, Shiels and his native-born, white board feared the potential impact of unassimilated immigrants upon the city's cultural

homogeneity. Shiels's letter, in effect, told the board that assimilation had become the cornerstone of school policy in dealing with immigrants prior to the United States' entrance into World War I.

This article focuses on how reformers and educators in Los Angeles city schools orchestrated early Americanization programs to meet the narrow aims of cultural hegemony and the broader needs of immigrant communities, and on the reaction of immigrant groups to the organized campaigns at conformity. By assessing the development of three programs—penny lunches, after-hour playgrounds, and home teachers—and by analyzing the conflict among volunteers, school officials, and the immigrant communities, we may gain not only a clearer picture of early educational reform and pro-

fessionalization, but also a clearer understanding of both the negative and the positive motives of Progressive social control.

When Shiels wrote his letter to the board, he saw a community in transition. The city's population pushed upward toward a half million, nearly a quarter of whom were foreign born; a majority lived in an area of the city referred to as the "foreign district." The rapid rise from a small city of 50,000 in 1890 to 300,000 in 1910 turned Los Angeles into a major city; by 1930, it became the fourth largest city in the nation. In a highly charged atmosphere of change and expectation, the city's leaders hoped to turn Los Angeles into a model community. Its leaders epitomized Progressivism: by 1903 they had reorganized municipal government to include the initiative, the recall,

*The Penny Lunchroom at Castelar Street Elementary School around 1913. Conceived as a charity measure staffed by volunteers to provide low-cost meals to poor children, the penny lunchrooms eventually evolved into school cafeterias with exclusive rights to sell food on school grounds.*

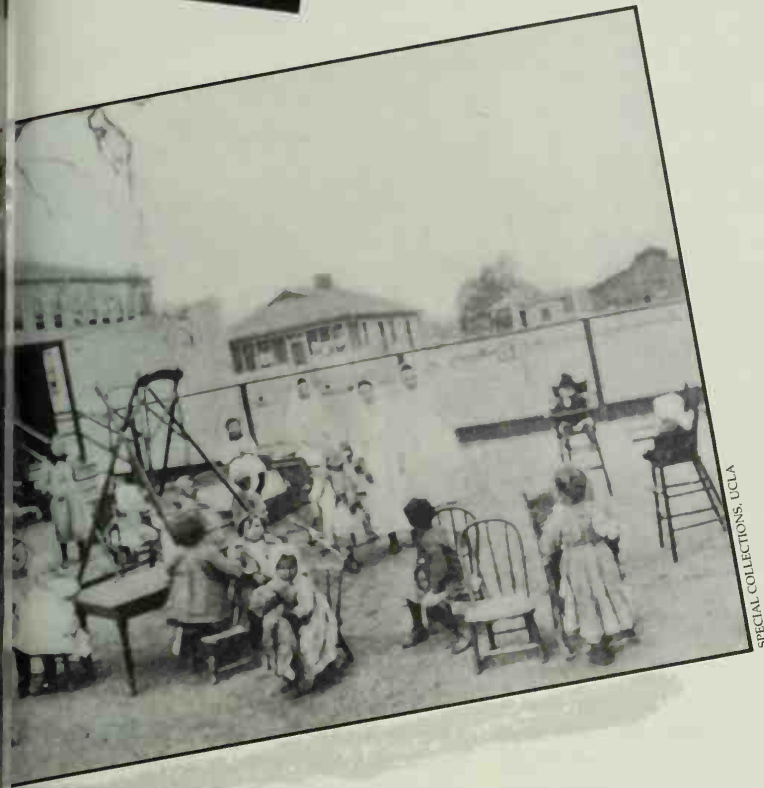


# S S I V I S M

## MOVES INTO THE SCHOOLS

Los Angeles, 1905–1918

*Judith Raftery*



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and the referendum, and by 1911 they took pride in six settlement houses and a successful campaign for women's suffrage.

School leaders also demonstrated the Progressive impulse. An important part of school reform centered on social-welfare services initiated by volunteers who took up the cause of public education in Los Angeles and became the backbone of the welfare programs. Before professionalization changed the nature of volunteerism, it was the volunteers' persistence and refusal to accept conditions as they were that changed the course of educational policy. Responding to the challenge of a large impoverished immigrant student body, volunteers intended their services to meliorate some of the harsher conditions of urban life, uplift both the spirits and bodies of the

students, and at the same time, rid immigrants of their foreignness.

The experience of one immigrant group, the Russian Molokans at Utah Street School, illustrates the manner in which the schools responded to a foreign population, and the reaction of an immigrant community to progressive methods of social control.

The Molokans, a pietistic Protestant sect caught in the web of social change, had immigrated from the Transcaucasus region of Russia in 1905. By 1910 almost 5,000 of them lived in Los Angeles. Somewhat like Eastern European Jews who fled from religious and cultural persecution, Molokans came to the United States in family groups with intentions of staying, but unlike Jews, Molokans had no secular literary tradition, and instead relied almost entirely on the scriptures for their

teaching. Moreover, except for a limited reading of the Bible, they embraced oral traditions. The Molokans were pacifists. Their departure from Russia coincided with the Russo-Japanese war, when they faced conscription and harassment by Czarist officials. With no clerical hierarchy—they elected elders from the community and built no churches—their meetings or *sobranes* resembled Quaker meetings. Molokan communal life centered around their *sobranes* and ignored the general community, except when necessary. They had no foreign language press, and only a few of them were literate.<sup>2</sup>

*The Utah Street Day Nursery around 1913. Progressive reformers used schools to offer a whole array of services which were intended to hasten the Americanization of immigrants. Note the two girls in traditional Molokan shawls; older girls in regular classes were not allowed to wear them.*

The Molokans picked Los Angeles because the climate reminded them of their homeland. They congregated on the west side of the Los Angeles river, near lumber yards and industrial plants where they worked. Most of the men sought jobs as unskilled laborers, and those women who worked outside their homes took jobs as domestics. They lived in crowded conditions; many families shared one house. Families pooled their incomes, however, and within a few years many moved across the river, to the "flats" adjacent to Boyle Heights. Married children lived with the man's family, and the new daughter was expected to contribute to the family's income.

The Molokans' foreignness had a considerable impact on their neighborhood. Most Americans who encountered them probably saw them as "strange . . . Russian peasants . . . industrious, dignified, preoccupied with their own affairs."<sup>3</sup> Their attire attracted attention in a district full of unusual dress. The men wore suits over their Russian shirts. Women and girls wore dresses with very full, long skirts, shawls covered their heads, and married women wore skull caps under their shawls. Most of the men wore beards.

The Molokan migration followed the new state compulsory education laws of 1903. A fear of the truant officer and a desire for some proficiency in English compelled Molokans to register their children at Utah Street School. The four-room schoolhouse in "the flats" had been built in 1904, about a year before the migration began. The job of teaching

American speech and customs fell on the shoulders of principal Alice Cushing and her teachers. By the late teen years, there were over a thousand students of whom forty percent were Molokans.<sup>4</sup>

**T**he Molokans' entrance into American society coincided with the practice of institutionalizing services. Taking volunteer-initiated programs out of the hands of the volunteers and putting professionals in charge represented the quintessence of the Progressives' propensity for order. Generally middle-class, white, native-born Americans, the volunteers established programs that reflected their class and racial concerns. They viewed immigrants paternalistically, as people needing assistance in assimilating into American culture. They discouraged any tradition that might hinder or interfere with assimilation. Molokan traditions were often suspect. The girls' shawls, for example, a symbol of purity within the Russian community, seemed a health menace. More concerned with an active louse population than with old world customs, school and city health officials viewed the shawls as parasitic incubators and dictated that the girls take them off at school.<sup>5</sup>

One of the earliest and most successful volunteer-initiated services, the cafeteria system, began as penny lunches. Settlement houses had provided soup kitchens along with child care facilities, and to many it seemed a natural step to bring food to needy students in the schools. Prompted by the influx of poor, immigrant children like the Molokans into the schools, teachers complained that

many children went all day without nourishment and that it was difficult to teach undernourished children. Moreover, by the 1890s nutritional research in academia had supplied new information on the relationship of diet and health.<sup>6</sup>

The Civic Association assumed the responsibility of feeding hungry school children with the Board of Education's support. Joseph Scott, one of the Civic Association's leading members, also served on the board. In 1906, the Child Study Circle and teachers at Custer Avenue School requested that the board allow them to serve lunches to their students. They also asked that the board outfit the school with a stove, a sink with running water, pots, pans, and knives. Presumably, the dishes and eating utensils had come from another source.<sup>7</sup> In February, 1909, Mrs. Carrie Bryant, secretary of the School Lunch Committee of the Civic Association, requested that the board experiment with a penny lunch program at Ann Street School. She promised no further expense to the board.<sup>8</sup> Nine months later, in November, the association asked the board to pay the salaries of matrons who helped with the lunches while the association continued to pay for the other services.<sup>9</sup> The following year, Superintendent John H. Francis recommended that the lunch equipment at Ann Street be moved to Castelar Street with Bryant and her committee continuing to administer the lunches. No explanation exists as to why the principal at Ann Street wished to discontinue the program while the principal at Castelar Street favored it.<sup>10</sup> Thirteen months later, however, the lunch program reopened at Ann Street along with one at Macy Street.

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The "direct method of learning English." This class for adults at the Macy Street Elementary School emphasized competence in real-life situations.

The penny lunches provided a hot midday meal to needy children at the cost of one cent, but children who could not afford the penny received a lunch anyway. According to Mrs. Etta Flagg, Superintendent Francis did not favor the program in 1909, but by 1914 when penny lunches were established at the Utah Street School, he agreed to manage them. Perhaps his newly found interest reflected a fear that the board intended to replace him with someone more sympathetic to social-welfare programs, rather than a genuine change of heart. By then seven schools had hot lunch programs. The cost for each school was about \$80 per month, the schools supplying \$20 and the Civic Association making up the difference.<sup>11</sup>

Superintendent Francis, in his 1914 *Annual Report*, written in part to justify his position and to counter charges made by three of the seven board members who threatened to launch a recall drive against him, proudly acknowledged that the schools expected to have nine lunch

centers in operation by the end of 1915. The lunch program served the poor children who lived in the foreign district of the city. Each principal decided which children could not pay. In late 1916 the Law and Rules Committee reported raising the price to five cents or ten cents a dish and suggested that the board adopt a general policy on the sale of food on school grounds. Apparently the service had become so popular that schools located in other sections of the city wanted to participate and had requested assistance. Without a policy the board had no control over who sold food or the quality of food served.<sup>12</sup>

There is no indication that either the Civic Association or the board asked the people in each school what they thought constituted a proper lunch for their children. For instance, Molokans and Orthodox Jews kept strict dietary laws based on the Old Testament, and there is no record that the organizers of the penny lunch concerned themselves over such matters. Mexican families may

have been more satisfied with the tamales sold by local vendors whose carts stood just outside the school yard than with the school lunches.

Street vendors were a colorful addition to the city's foreign community. Harry Maidenberrg reminded his classmates from Amelia Street School of Nicholas Martinez, featured in an 1895 photograph with a tub of ice cream on his head. The "old timer . . . yelling 'Hot tamal-ee-ee,' and in the summer the same old man with 'Ic-ee-ee Cre-ee-am,' you could hear him for blocks." Other vendors sold hot waffles. Maidenberrg fondly remembered "the Hot Waffle Seller in his canopy buggy, selling his waffles as he sang arias from Grand Operas. He was an inspiration to the youth of that day who wondered what Grand Opera was."<sup>13</sup>

No one has accused the penny lunches of adding color to Los Angeles, but they were successful. They offered nourishing food at reasonable prices, and gradually convenience and economics persuaded the communities to accept them.



*A class of immigrant mothers and their teacher. Ethnic and cultural diversity and the obstacles it posed to communicating with each other may have added incentive to the English language program for both mothers and teachers.*

**I**n contrast to the role of the Civic Association in organizing the penny lunches, the vacation playgrounds had closer ties to the Los Angeles settlement houses. In 1910 six settlements operated in the foreign districts; four had religious affiliations, two did not. Together they provided residents with playgrounds, plunge baths, libraries, vocational shops, health care, day nurseries, night schools, and English language lessons.

The Molokans held their religious services in the Bethlehem Settlement, but far and away the most active settlement in the city was the College Settlement. Based on a Hull House model and founded in 1894 by the Los Angeles Branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, it maintained a residence in an ethnically diverse neighborhood. The director and the assistant lived on the premises in a manner similar to that of Jane Addams and her associates in Chicago's Hull House, and they too involved themselves not only in the problems of their com-

munity but also in issues affecting the entire city. The College Settlement's guiding light, Bessie D. Stoddard, worked for many social reforms. She solicited the city for a district nurse and in 1897 the city appointed the first one. Six years later, again under the persistent prodding of Stoddard, the Board of Education hired the first school nurse; and in 1906 Stoddard helped found the city's Housing Commission. Stoddard and her co-workers served on many civic commissions, including probation committees of the Juvenile Court, and the commissions for housing, and visiting nurses. In 1918, Stoddard herself became a member of the Board of Education.<sup>14</sup>

In 1909 Stoddard appeared before the Board of Education in her capacity as Secretary of the Playground Commission to ask for the use of school playgrounds during the summer. Volunteers hoped that vacation playgrounds might prevent children from engaging in delinquent acts by providing supervised activities. They also wanted acceptable recreation

opportunities for Los Angeles immigrant groups. Without playgrounds as alternatives, the working-class community might turn to pastimes that the new mass culture offered. To Progressives, supervised playgrounds offered the poor more acceptable activities than did nickelodeons and pool halls. Moreover, children used the facilities regardless of school policy, and unsupervised playgrounds seemed an open invitation to vandals. In 1914, in response to requests from residents near Bernardo school, outside the foreign district, Superintendent Francis recommended that a playground supervisor be appointed on weekends and evenings to relieve the "unsatisfactory conditions."<sup>15</sup>

For working parents the playgrounds represented a continuation of child-care services, but whether they retarded delinquency remains debatable.<sup>16</sup> The Russian colony favored them, and some years later they petitioned the city for a playground to keep their older children out of mischief. The petition poig-





COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

*The Home Teacher pays a visit to her pupils. The effort to involve immigrant mothers in the Americanization of their children required that the teachers go to the mothers. Perhaps, in working with their adult clients on such tasks as making beds, the teachers acquired some understanding of the cultures they were trying to displace.*

nantly describes their feelings as they saw their traditions eroding:

*We think that you Americans can understand us and understand how hard it is for us in some ways to adjust ourselves and our children in the life of nowadays, to keep the good that we have and to help increase both. Our children got into mischief and trouble on the street because they have no place to play. We beg you to have playgrounds open for our children. . . .*<sup>17</sup>

Unlike the penny lunch and the vacation playground, the Home Teacher program represented an all-out attempt at assimilation because it was aimed at cultural patterns at their source, in the home and with the mother.<sup>18</sup> The program was designed to establish non-traditional methods of teaching in order to attract foreign-born mothers into adult education classes. Classrooms were set up in immigrant homes, or in factories, or in railroad cars, or in

any place foreign women congregated. The idea was to bring American education to mothers, whether at home or at the work place. Mothers were the least likely members of the family to take advantage of formal night classes that the Los Angeles schools offered.

Assimilation came to immigrant groups at different stages depending on the goals of the immigrants, the cohesiveness of their community, the length of time spent in the country, and the vigor of American society to acculturate them. Los Angeles teachers and nurses had been visiting immigrants in their homes and instructing foreign women in rudimentary English before a formal program was established. But as the foreign population increased in Los Angeles and throughout the state, Governor Hiram Johnson in 1913 established a Commission of Immigration and Housing to study the matter. The commission, a part of the state's newly instituted Progressive reform program, had been asked by Johnson to find out the distribution

of immigrants; to make inquiries into industrial opportunities available for them; to investigate their housing conditions; and to find ways to assimilate them.

Two of the commissioners had direct connections with Los Angeles: Reverend Dana Bartlett of the Bethlehem Church and Settlement and Mary S. Gibson, a former teacher. Bartlett, through his church and settlement work, had been appointed a representative to the 1912 Tacoma Conference and to the Pacific Coast Congress the following year in San Francisco. The Young Men's Christian Association sponsored both Pacific slope conferences to further the discussion of mutual interest, additional immigration. Gibson, a former teacher and the widow of a Board of Education member, had campaigned tirelessly for women's suffrage and earned a national reputation as a Progressive reformer and clubwoman. As a major author of the commission's first Report in 1915, Gibson and Amanda M. Chase of the College Settlement became the

leading proponents of legislation for Home Teachers.<sup>19</sup>

Assimilation of immigrant mothers seemed to the reformers to pose an urgent problem, because they saw foreign women losing control of their English-speaking children. Reformers interpreted the presence of juvenile halls full of immigrant children as evidence of the breakdown of family structure. For the mother to be restored to her rightful position, she must become Americanized. Simply learning English was not enough; she must also learn American customs and habits to keep up with the changes taking place within her family. For instance, learning middle-class patterns of setting a proper tea table and employing standards of cleanliness became synonymous with Americanization.<sup>20</sup>

Immigrants, however, did not always welcome the idea of an American tea table into their homes, and their perceptions often clashed with those of the Americanizers. A tea table in a Molokan home, for example, must have caused quite a bit of confusion since Molokans served their tea from samovars and not tea pots. Moreover, they ate their meals out of communal bowls and used wooden spoons; and the women ate after the men and children had finished. Although immigrants wanted their children to learn English to survive in the United States, they did not want them to become so Americanized that they surrendered their ethnic heritage.

So far as advocates for Home Teachers were concerned, the cultural clash was a problem to overcome. Gibson, who spearheaded the drive to secure legislation for Home Teachers, proposed that the qualifications of the teachers parallel those

of regular certified teachers. In addition, they were required to have some knowledge of household duties and child care.<sup>21</sup> She also suggested that the Home Teachers be well versed in the principles of government and the responsibilities of citizenship. In 1916 *The Home Teacher*, an educational magazine, presented a working plan for teaching rudimentary English and American-style homemaking. The simplistic level at which the teachers were expected to instruct can be seen by the phrases they used: "We sew, We cook, You iron, You mop" in lesson two; "I take off the dirty sheets, I put on the clean pillowcases" in lesson eight. By the final lesson the women were shown how to "attractively set a tea table" and taught the words and music to the patriotic song, "America."<sup>22</sup>

The Home Teacher Act of 1915 tried to increase the status of the mothers within the immigrant family by restoring to them the task of controlling their children. Reformers reasoned that the children would no longer be ashamed of their mother's foreignness, and, therefore, mothers would regain the respect of their Americanized offspring. In short, foreign mothers could mold their children into model American citizens and prevent them from committing delinquent acts.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps unwittingly, these reformers tried to lessen the responsibilities of the fathers, who usually worked away from the home and had less contact with the children anyway. In addition, the reformers, particularly the females, may have had more difficulty in working with the fathers. This gender expectation singled out women to carry the burden of assimilation within the home. Consciously or unconsciously, the reformers

tried to expand the role of foreign-born females as conveyers of the new culture.

The emphasis on women as conveyers of culture has a long history in the United States. Beginning with the American Revolution, and under the rubric of Republican Motherhood, middle-class American women had assumed the responsibility of moral teachers. First, within the private sphere of their families and later, in the public sphere as schoolteachers, the cult of domesticity had given women the obligation to act as instructors of culture. By placing foreign-born women in the position of carriers of American culture, Mary Gibson and other like-minded reformers endowed these immigrant women with the same obligations and responsibilities as middle-class, native-born American mothers. In this way, reformers acted in the most egalitarian manner. They assumed that poor, immigrant women had the desire to absorb and retain American culture and the capability of transmitting it to their children, a role carefully defined and expected of middle-class American women.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, and in not such an egalitarian manner, Gibson and her fellow California reformers were imposing their views of Republican Motherhood onto immigrant mothers.

The Home Teacher Act was an extension of the earlier assimilation work in the city's foreign community, and by 1927 Los Angeles public schools employed sixty-three home teachers. It is not clear how many Molokan mothers the teachers actually reached. Nevertheless, Gibson and the reformers toiled ardently to incorporate their welfare programs into the schools. By





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*Energetic reformers carried Americanization programs wherever there were potential clients. Patients at the Los Angeles General Hospital may have been a captive audience but the outdoor setting made English lessons a pleasant pastime.*

the time the United States entered World War I, the Molokan and other immigrant children at Utah Street could expect to find a day nursery fully equipped to take care of their preschool siblings, a kindergarten, a penny lunch program, medical care with a visiting nurse and a consulting doctor, a medical and dental clinic supported by the Parent Teacher Association, transportation to the clinic paid for by the board when needed, bath tubs if their homes had none, a Model Cottage where girls were taught American domestic arts, an after-hours playground, an Evening School where working adults and teenagers had an opportunity to learn English and citizenship, and vocational training. If their mothers could not attend the Evening School, a Home Teacher program would arrange a time and place to suit their convenience. Besides these organized programs, the schools were available for community functions. Ethnic groups petitioned to use the schools for a multitude of purposes that ranged from

musical entertainments to political meetings. In 1918 the Russian colony requested the use of Utah Street's facilities when Alexander Kerensky's secretary came to inform them about the current state of the Russian Revolution.<sup>25</sup>

Not all ethnics responded favorably to the schools and their expanded services. Clashes occurred when parents saw the programs as attempts to drive a wedge between themselves and their children. This was true of the Molokans who put little emphasis on formal education. Book learning had no apparent value and schools held no specific position in their culture, because they based their teachings on the scriptures and oral traditions. In fact, the best intentions of the reformers played havoc within the family tradition and economy. Compulsory education laws meant that boys could not help in the family's support, and

older female children were not available to care for their younger siblings when their mothers took jobs outside the home.

Ethnic groups had learned valuable lessons from reformers in ways to use schools to their advantage. They began to organize campaigns for schoolrooms to maintain their cultural hegemony. Molokan elders and parents called a meeting in 1908 and decided to petition the Board of Education to open a room at Utah Street School every afternoon for Russian language instruction from a teacher they had engaged. The sessions appeared successful, because eight months later they requested the use of another room. The classes continued and in 1912 the community thanked the board for its support.<sup>26</sup>

The Molokans' petition appears to be one of the earliest, but it was by no means the only one. During the pre-war period, many ethnic groups petitioned the board for the use of school facilities, and most of these requests were granted. The Dante

Alighieri Society asked to use rooms at several schools to teach Italian language and culture.<sup>27</sup> The Alliance Française requested rooms to teach French;<sup>28</sup> rabbis asked for rooms to teach Hebrew and Yiddish.<sup>29</sup> The Jewish Radical Club wanted rooms at Custer Street and at Cornwell to teach Jewish culture.<sup>30</sup> Some groups joined forces: French, German, and Italian residents petitioned for a Cosmopolitan School to teach their languages and for a short time the Cosmopolitan School combined teaching in foreign tongues as well as in English.<sup>31</sup> Armenians held evening classes at First Street School,<sup>32</sup> and the Croats requested rooms at Castelar.<sup>33</sup> Some requests were denied. A Swedish group proposed using rooms at Grant Avenue School but was turned down because the board felt the meeting had too many religious overtones. The schools could not be used for religious purposes.<sup>34</sup>

Private organizations, aware of the city's growing non-English speaking population, approached the board to counteract the trend of reinforcing native languages. Volunteers requested facilities for a specific group, as the Y.M.C.A. did in 1914 to teach English to Japanese immigrants at Boyd Street School.<sup>35</sup> Later the same group asked for accommodations to teach Armenians.<sup>36</sup> Typically, an organization would ask the board's permission to establish an evening class within a school. The Friday Morning Club, the largest women's club in Los Angeles with a membership of several thousand, requested night and home teachers;<sup>37</sup> the Y.M.C.A. wanted rooms at Macy Street;<sup>38</sup> the Daughters of the American Revolution requested to use Utah Street.<sup>39</sup> Residents themselves

asked for special classes, such as those from Belvedere who petitioned for an evening school.<sup>40</sup> Some requests came from English-speaking citizens; black Americans wanted an evening school set up at Rosemont School.<sup>41</sup>

The many requests indicated that school officials had not met the needs of the foreign population—or at least not according to the petitioners. Schools had been delinquent in providing enough English classes. Alerted to the omission, Superintendent Francis decided to expand the Elementary Evening Schools, and between 1911 and 1915 their enrollments increased 287 percent. By 1916, fourteen schools offered classes in Americanization, and Los Angeles became the first city to have its Evening Schools' work accepted in the courts in lieu of an examination for citizenship.<sup>42</sup>

**I**n March, 1917, when newly appointed Superintendent Albert Shiels wrote his letter to the board he knew full well the Americanization programs were well established. He had already reorganized the evening schools and appointed a supervisor for immigrant education. Shiels noted that although "excellent philanthropic motives" lay behind the many volunteer initiatives to teach foreigners, professionals really knew what best suited students.<sup>43</sup>

As schools began to take over the functions of private organizations, their importance in the community grew. Francis recognized this and wanted the schools to become indispensable centers in their neighborhoods. "During stringent times," he

wrote, "their people came for help securing employment, for food and clothing, for advice on personal affairs and when in trouble with the officers of the law."<sup>44</sup>

Francis's assessment was accurate. Los Angeles schools became one of the most important American institutions for immigrants. The schools taught American values along with American culture, and many immigrant children soon learned that if they aspired to get ahead in America they would have to discard their family's traditions when these traditions conflicted with values taught in the schools. Reformers responded to what they perceived as the needs of the foreign-born, and by doing so they hastened the process of assimilation. By weaning immigrant children away from their traditions, they created a generational fissure within families that became difficult to bridge. Molokan parents summed up their experiences in Los Angeles this way:

*It seems that in the city we don't have much voice over our children. . . . We recognize the value of an education but also see its evils when . . . [o]ur children have not learned respect for God, for home, for elders. They have gained a little knowledge, but they have no fear of God in their hearts. They have no conscience. We can't appeal to them anymore<sup>45</sup>*

The total population in Los Angeles continued to grow in the following years and the percentage of immigrants increased,<sup>46</sup> but no new wave of Molokans arrived in Los Angeles to reinforce the traditions of the original settlers. Within the next decades, educators worked to absorb the Molokans into their new homeland. They and their children adapted more and more to their





An Evening High School class at the Utah Street School in the 1920s. By this time the Molokans had virtually disappeared from the Utah Street attendance area to be replaced by Mexicans, but the school continued to serve as an Americanization institution for its changing population.

host culture and in time moved away from Utah Street.<sup>47</sup>

The Molokan experiences illustrate the complex interaction between efforts at social control and assimilation of immigrant culture. Reformers had made deliberate attempts to modify immigrant social behavior, and they carried out their plans through the public schools. The Molokans were not an exception in Los Angeles; in different ways each immigrant group became involved with public schools. Sometimes the ideas of immigrants clashed with those of reformers, and at other times immigrants and educators worked together. A complete picture does not depict immigrants as passive foreign-speaking people or reformers as ruthless manipulators. In this story there are no heroes, no villains, just people making trade-offs and accommodating each other.

The importance of schools in the community grew as they assumed the successful functions of private organizations. An institution such as the public school could supply the

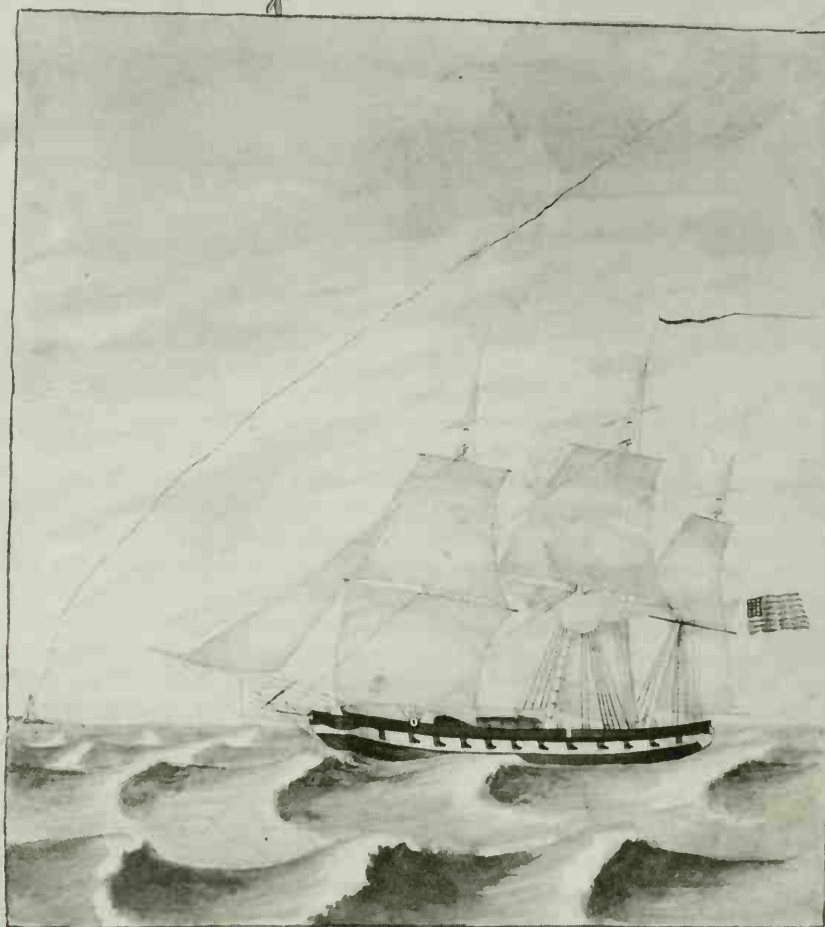
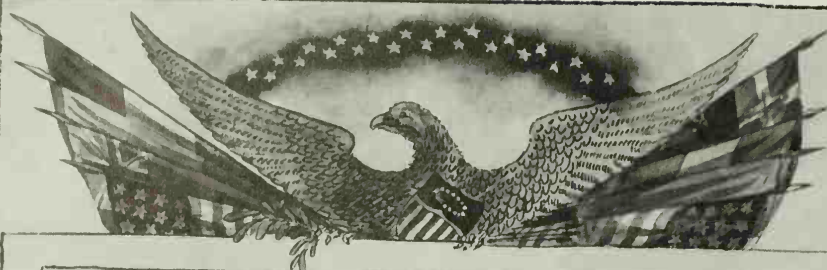
money and the influence to keep the programs running. The Los Angeles experience mirrored a national trend in the aggressive expansion of the role of schools. In 1920 John Daniels, a sociologist, noted that nine out of ten immigrants felt the most important American institution effective "in making the immigrant part and parcel of American life" was the public school.<sup>48</sup>

Professionalism reshaped Americanization programs. The school, with its burgeoning pool of trained staff, could administer programs grown too massive for the volunteers to operate. Volunteers had initiated many of the welfare programs to make the transition from immigrant to citizen easier on everyone concerned. As the programs gained community acceptance and grew too large for volunteers to manage, they called upon the schools to step in and take over. By the beginning of the 1920s, most of the volunteer-initiated programs had been incorporated by the Board of Education, with the result that Americanization

became a part of public education. Furthermore, as the schools became more bureaucratized, the service changed from programs administered by volunteers to services administered by professionals. Schools sought more responsibility for the education as well as the welfare of their students and the students' families, and the importance of the schools' personnel also rose, from the superintendent on down.

There is a postscript to this story. Immigrants accepted Americanization only so far; they would allow their children to learn English yet at the same time they insisted that they retain their native languages. The schools acquiesced, and by the mid-1930s after-hour language classes had been institutionalized and included on the Master Calendar. Japanese, Greek, German, Armenian, Croatian, and Italian groups, among others, no longer needed to petition the Board of Education each new term to use school facilities for their language classes.<sup>49</sup> ■

See notes beginning on page 153.



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# THE WAR THAT WASN'T

## THOMAS ap CATESBY JONES'S SEIZURE OF MONTEREY

Gene A. Smith



During the 1840s, the United States acquired as much territory as in any other period in its history, yet discussion of that process generally centers not around the act of extension itself but around the concept of "destiny." The idea was widely accepted that Providence had destined the United States to continued growth and that expansion was a civilizing process based on moral progress rather than military might. However, the "natural right" of expansion unquestionably lay in the power to conquer. What ultimately made expansion not only possible but apparently inevitable was not some transcendent destiny but rather the absence of a powerful

neighbor to check its progress.<sup>1</sup>

American interest in the Pacific Coast had begun by the end of the eighteenth century when New England merchantmen discovered the Pacific route to China. Treaties and tariff regulations in the first decades of the nineteenth century encouraged the Yankee traders to think of the Pacific routes as theirs. As early as 1823, John Quincy Adams wrote to the American minister at London, Richard Rush, "It is not imaginable . . . that *any* European Nation should entertain the project of settling a *Colony* on the Northwest Coast of America. . . . That the United States should . . . is pointed out by the finger of Nature, and has been for years a subject of serious deliberation in Congress."<sup>2</sup> By the 1840s, the issue was more than a matter of rhetoric. The United States had a small naval fleet stationed in the

Pacific, and the slowly increasing ranks of American settlers in California were beginning to think in terms of when rather than whether California would be annexed to the United States.

Geography, or more precisely, distance presented one of the few disadvantages the Americans faced in pursuing their goals. In 1842, with tensions high between the United States and Mexico over California, it could take months for a naval commander to send and receive a dispatch instructing him how to act in a particular situation. But few issues could wait so long for resolution. England, France, and the United States were all eyeing California and calculating their chances of seizing the prize when it dropped from the tiring hand of Mexico. Under these circumstances, the United States attempted to station competent naval

*The Cyane at sea. William H. Meyers illustrated his journal of the 1842 voyage which included the capture of Monterey with watercolors of ships, flags, and sights in the many ports along the route.*



*The Pacific Squadron.*

officers at the remote posts on the Pacific. These men were expected to be able, on the basis of their own character and sense of duty, to make responsible decisions without consultation or authorization from Washington, although these decisions might affect the remainder of their careers. One man who had to make such a decision was Thomas ap Catesby Jones. His choice to seize Monterey in the fall of 1842 severely strained relations between the United States and Mexico and delayed for several years the U.S. acquisition of California by disrupting negotiations for its possible purchase.

Thomas ap Catesby Jones, a Virginian of Welsh descent, had gained a reputation as a man of unquestioned ability. In thirty-seven years of naval experience he had seen action along the Gulf Coast during the War of 1812, served in the Pacific during the 1820s, and commanded a ship in the 1836 Pacific Exploring Expedition under the direction of Charles Wilkes. Jones was a popular commander with his men, but his impulsive and dogmatic style combined with a personal vendetta against rum and dueling brought criticism from his officers. His strong sense of duty toward his country may explain his intense patriotism and the personal pride that was misconstrued by so many of his fellow officers.<sup>3</sup>

In late 1841 Jones gained the command he had so long awaited, the Pacific squadron consisting of the flagship *United States* (dating back to the 1790s), sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, *Cyane*, *Dale*, and *Yorktown*, the schooner *Shark*, and the storeship *Relief*.

In all, the ships carried 116 guns.<sup>4</sup> The boundaries of the Pacific station were defined as "all the west coast of America, and westward from the meridian of Cape Horn to the 180th degree of longitude; and southward between those meridians to the South Pole,"<sup>5</sup> an area, Jones believed, far too large to patrol adequately with such a small force. Jones drew up plans which would enlarge his squadron and require a minimum of seven ships, exclusive of the flagship and her tender. His aim was to station these ships off the coasts of Chile, Panama, Mexico, California, the Northwest coast, and two among the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>6</sup> The plan was never approved, however, and even after the loss of one of his sloops (*St. Louis*), Jones's plea went unheard.<sup>7</sup>

Because he had such a small force, his orders were simple: to protect American commerce, to improve the discipline of his men, and to gain useful information.<sup>8</sup> These orders reflect the uncertainty surrounding the Pacific area in 1841. The Oregon question was still unsettled, U.S. relations with Mexico were tense, and rumor had it that Great Britain was about to acquire California from Mexico, perhaps in settlement of

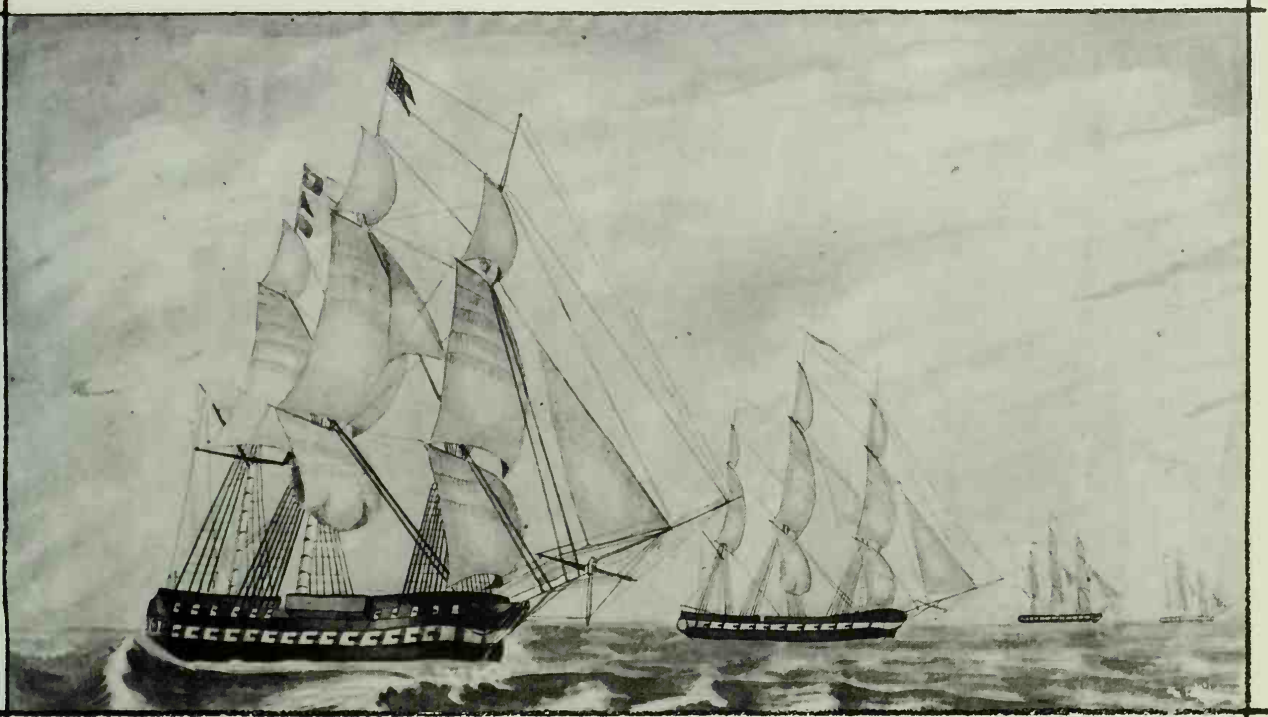
Mexico's 1.5-million-pound debt to the British. This possibility lent urgency to the U.S. view that California belonged by some natural right to the Union and created an atmosphere favorable to preemptive action. Uppermost in Jones's mind as he took up his new command was the idea that he should not risk allowing the British to take control of California.<sup>9</sup>

When Jones arrived in the Pacific in May, 1842, and took his station at Callao he learned that a French squadron had departed from Valparaiso, Chile, two months before for an unknown destination. Jones believed, as did the British, that it was headed for California on a venture of colonization. Any European colonization would, according to Jones, "... be disastrous to our whale fisheries and commercial interest in these seas..." and make it impossible for the United States to protect these enterprises. But in Jones's opinion, California was secondary in importance to the primary U.S. concern in the Pacific—the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.<sup>10</sup> A flurry of activity in early September heightened the tension and became the precipitating cause for Jones's landing in Monterey.

On September 5 a mail steamer arrived at Callao from Panama, and the *HMS Dublin*, flagship of British Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, weighed anchor with sealed orders. The steamer also brought information which led Jones and other observers to believe that Mexico and the United States were at war.<sup>11</sup> Troubled by the news and by the hasty departure of the British ships, Jones hurried the eight miles to Lima

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to confer with the American chargé d'affaires J.C. Pickett over the role his squadron would play in the upcoming events. While he was meeting with Pickett, dispatches from John Parrott, U.S. consul at Mazatlan, arrived to add to Jones's conviction that war had begun.<sup>12</sup> Enclosed with the dispatches were two newspapers. A copy of the Mexican *El Cosmopolito* dated June 4, 1842, contained correspondence between the Mexican government and Waddy Thompson, U.S. minister to Mexico, on the subject of Texas. The tone of the letters and Parrott's suggestion that they would cause the recall of the American minister confirmed Jones's belief that war was inevitable. Another paper, published at Boston, carried an article from the New Orleans *Advertiser* which stated that "... according to authentic information, ... Mexico has ceded

the Californias to Great Britain for seven millions of dollars!"<sup>13</sup> After careful deliberation, Jones and Pickett concluded that the reports could be accepted at face value, and Jones returned to Callao to ready his ships for sea.<sup>14</sup> If hostilities with Mexico had indeed broken out, Jones and Pickett considered that the United States would be justified in forestalling British possession of California by occupying what was now enemy territory.

Jones intended to keep his plans secret, but his unusual activities and the secretive departure of the British squadron aroused the curiosity of his fellow Americans. In addition, the *Cyane's* load of trade goods—14 dozen spades, 32 axes, 1 hoe, 1 pickax, 1 dozen hatchets, and 1045 pounds of bar iron—unusual for a naval vessel, raised questions about the upcoming mission.<sup>15</sup> A lack of

wind delayed the fleet's departure until the afternoon of September 7 and gave the British a two-day head start.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, Jones planned to crowd sail and reach California before the British, land a force, build batteries on shore, and prevent their landing. The Americans pressed forward with all possible speed, ignorant of the true British destination, the Mosquito Islands off the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua.<sup>17</sup>

Jones got under way while the *Yorktown* was out on a cruise to the south, so he left a letter for Lieutenant Commander John S. Nicholas explaining the intentions of his mission. One day out the ships backed main topsails long enough for the commanders to board the flagship.<sup>18</sup> Captain James Armstrong of the *United States*, Commander Cornelius K. Stribling of the *Cyane*, and Commander Thomas A. Dornin of the

*Dale* were presented with the evidence that had brought the ships to sea. Jones then posed two questions: "Is the rumor of war between the United States and Mexico . . . and the cessation of the Californias . . . to Great Britain, sufficiently probable to justify the withdrawal . . . of our naval force from the coast of Peru and Chile, to send . . . to California?" To this question they answered, "Yes, without doubt. . . ." The second question Jones posed was "Under what circumstances, if any, would it be proper for us to anticipate Great Britain in her contemplated military occupation of California?" The officers concluded that "in case the United States and Mexico are at war, it would be our bounden duty to possess ourselves of every point and port in California that we could take and defend . . . , and if the views of the late President Monroe . . . are still received as the avowed and fixed policy of our country . . . , we should consider the military occupation of the Californias by any European Power, . . . as a measure so decidedly hostile to the true interest of the United States as not only to warrant but to make it our duty to forestall the design of . . . the British."<sup>19</sup> About a week after these decisions had been made, the *Dale* left the squadron and headed for Panama with dispatches for Washington, while the *United States* and *Cyane* proceeded to the coast of California to act as circumstances prescribed.<sup>20</sup>

On the cruise to California the *Cyane* and the *United States* parted company and did not rejoin until they reached the vicinity of Monterey on October 16. Jones noted that on his journey to California not a "single strange sail" was seen



*Map of the Pacific Squadron's route  
as drawn by William H. Meyers.*

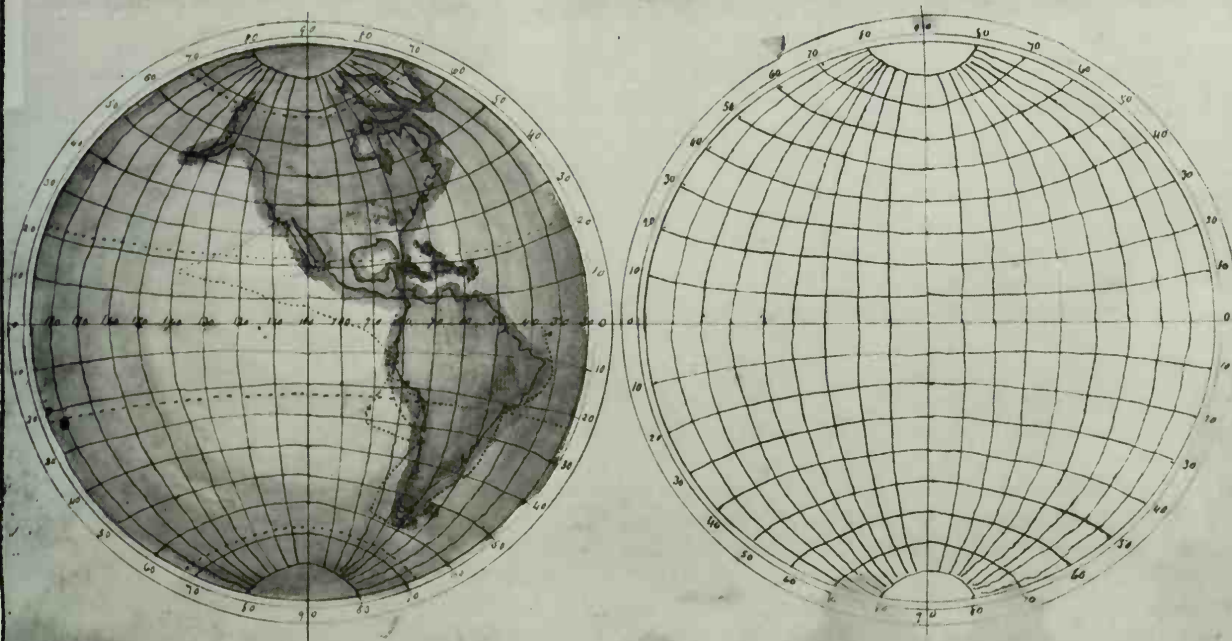
north of the equator,<sup>21</sup> yet it apparently did not occur to him that this fact should cause him to question the rumor that war had begun. Passage was unusually slow due to obstinate head winds which forced the ships to sail west after crossing the equator almost to the Sandwich Islands before they could put about and sail to the northeast.<sup>22</sup> The prolonged journey worked to the advantage of Jones and his crew, since it allowed time for gunnery training and small arms practice, which, according to one report, continued both day and night. Alonzo C. Jackson of the *United States* wrote in a letter to a relative that on every calm day the crew transported a barrel two miles out to be used for target practice. During the practice, he noted, a whole broadside, consisting of twenty-six guns, would be fired simultaneously. He added that this was "a thing that is very seldom done."<sup>23</sup> Another account claimed that a company of one hundred men chosen to drill daily with muskets sharpened their cutlasses to a razor-fine edge and improved their marksmanship by firing at a bag suspended from the foremast.<sup>24</sup> This display of firepower and drill made a vivid impression on all present and would

provide the backbone for any decision to be enforced by Jones and his squadron.

On October 18, a few hours out of Monterey, Jones issued a grandiose order informing his command, "We are now approaching the shore of California, the territory of Mexico, the enemy of our country, whose flag it is our duty to strike, and hoist in its place our own." California, Jones told his men, "is not only our duty to take. . . , but we must keep it afterwards, at all hazards." He continued, "this may or may not be an easy task; we are prepared for the worst, . . . in a few hours we shall be in possession of Monterey." Jones then noted "the soldiers of Mexico we know how to take care of" but that innocent civilians must be reconciled to change and, if possible, brought to the aid of the United States. In pursuit of this goal, Jones maintained that the United States must be the "protectors of all, and not the oppressor of any," and he established regulations which prohibited maltreatment of the inhabitants and above all forbade plundering of any kind.<sup>25</sup> With these orders, selections were made for landing parties to go ashore and take possession of Monterey.<sup>26</sup>

On the morning of the nineteenth, a day with light pleasant winds from the northwest,<sup>27</sup> the *United States* and the *Cyane*, flying the British flag, rounded Point Pinos (the southern tip of the bay) and sighted the Mexican barque *Joven Guipuzcoana*.<sup>28</sup> A chase ensued, and the *United States* fired a shot across the bow of the Mexican vessel, convincing the frightened commander to talk. Cap-





tain Joseph F. Snook, the English commander of the *Joven Guipuzcoana*,<sup>29</sup> claimed that he was involved only in the coastal trade and knew nothing of the diplomatic situation. Jones disregarded Snook's plea to be released and ordered the *Cyane* to take his prize to Monterey.<sup>30</sup>

Now flying the Stars and Stripes, the *United States* proceeded alone and at 2:45 in the afternoon dropped anchor outside the castle of Monterey, "a dilapidated work mounting eleven guns." Jones waited several hours for a visit by some American or neutral from whom he might obtain some "disinterested information," but no one came. At last a boat flying the Mexican colors approached Jones's flagship. However, nothing could be gained from its officers on the situation, "except that they had never heard of any difficulties between Mexico and the

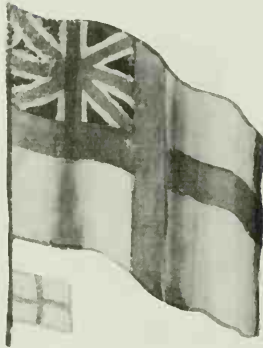
United States, and knew nothing of war; . . ." Not satisfied with this news, Jones summoned the mate of the merchant ship *Fame*, who relayed the story that the *Fame* had been delayed for a week in the Sandwich Islands on account of war rumors. But since its arrival in Monterey nothing new had occurred except a report that the British were to take possession of Upper California and guarantee Mexico's possession of Lower California. This report confirmed what Jones had heard in Callao. Since no American had come aboard, Jones believed "the time for action had now arrived. . . ." Reasoning that "Mexico is the aggressor, and as such is responsible for all evils and consequences . . . in which she placed herself . . .," he began the act which would gain him a place in the annals of expansionist history.<sup>31</sup>

At four in the afternoon, Jones sent Captain Armstrong of the *United States* ashore under a flag of truce to demand the surrender of Monterey. Papers for this purpose were apparently prepared in advance, because there were copies in both English and Spanish. Additionally the date, place, and signature were left blank so they could be used in different towns if necessary.<sup>32</sup> This may have reflected Jones's wish to save time and gain control of the town before the British arrived. Although the terms of capitulation were straightforward and simple, Jones gave Juan Bautista Alvarado, acting governor of Monterey, eighteen hours to make his decision. Alvarado was initially willing to surrender the port without question, but in a letter sent to Jones later that afternoon, he equivocated, "it would not be becoming that I should

make a capitulation in the name of the Mexican nation, when my authority does not . . . reach beyond the limits of Monterey. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

With this statement, Alvarado turned the problem over to Don Mariano Silva, military commandant of Monterey. Silva quickly concluded that the city's defenses of twenty-nine regular soldiers, eleven pieces of artillery, and a castle in serious disrepair were no match for the Americans and that the only sensible thing to do was to surrender.<sup>34</sup> Two Mexican ministers then boarded the *United States* to "treat for the surrender of Monterey"; they agreed to sign the articles and change flags at 9:30 on the morning of the twentieth.<sup>35</sup> Accompanying the Mexican commission as interpreter was Thomas Oliver Larkin, an Anglo-American merchant from Monterey. Larkin asked which side had declared war and was told that the declaration was conditional and on the part of Mexico. Surprised, he informed Jones that there were papers of "late dates" on shore that made no mention of strife between the two countries. Rather than doubting his own assumptions, however, Jones suspected that Larkin was attempting some kind of subterfuge—the idea grew stronger when Larkin failed to produce the papers—and concluded that the need for action was even more urgent than he had thought.

The Mexican commissioners, appearing impatient to surrender, boarded the *United States* at 7:30 instead of 9:30 to sign the articles by which the United States forces would land and take possession of Monterey. The landing party, composed of 150 seamen (stormers) and marines proceeded ashore under the



*Meyers was present at the capture of Monterey but treated it as a minor incident on the long voyage.*

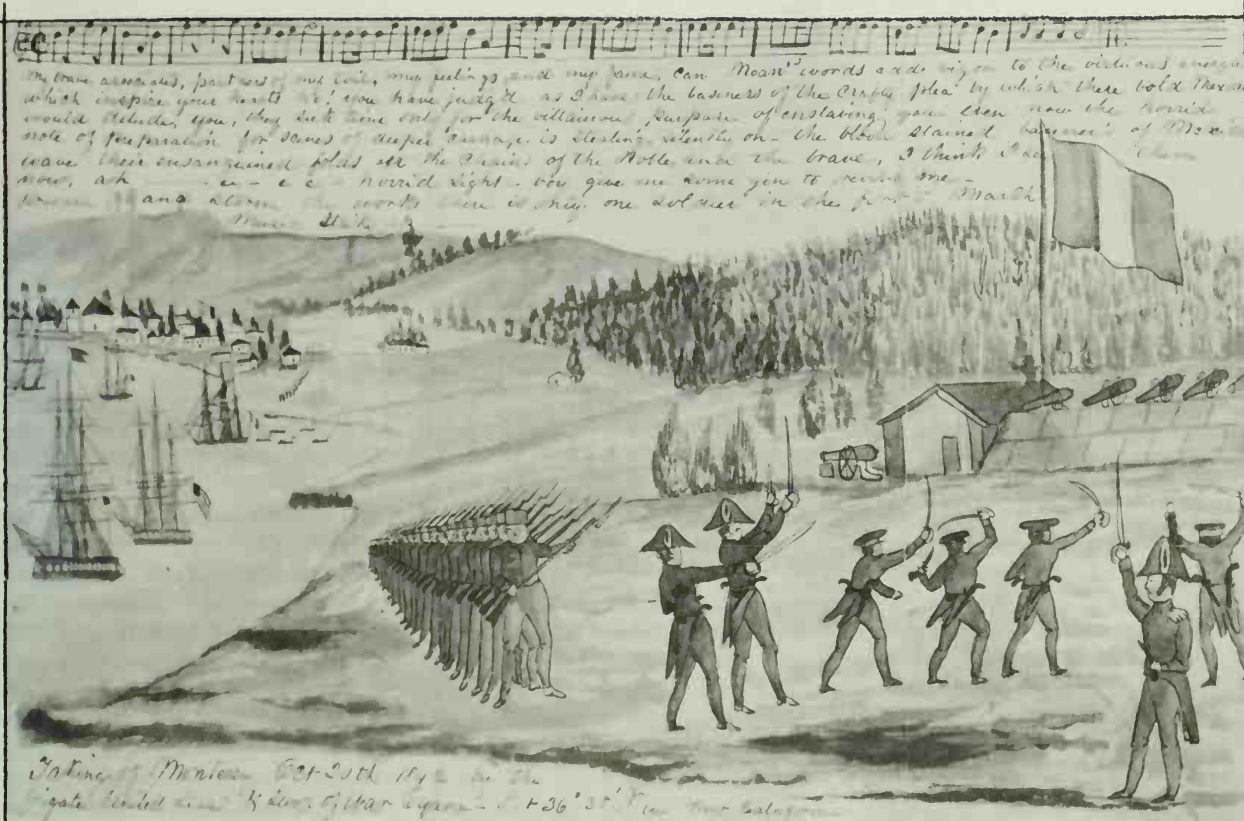
immediate leadership of Lieutenant G. W. Robinson with Cornelius K. Stribling of the *Cyane* in overall command of the operation.<sup>36</sup> The marines were assigned to receive the arms and take the barracks of the Mexican troops while the stormers were to take the castle that overlooked the harbor. Fearing a Mexican trick, the members of the landing party were heavily armed, each carrying a musket, a cutlass, and a brace of pistols, but they accomplished their mission without incident and without firing a single shot. The situation could have been very different. The stormers had been landed at the foot of a narrow ravine, twelve feet wide and four hundred yards long, which led to the fort. They marched six abreast to the top. There they discovered nine additional cannon which commanded the entire ravine and were camouflaged, loaded, and ready for action with burning matches nearby. The Mexicans honored their surrender, however, and there was no attempt to fire the guns. It was all over then except the shouting, the cheers and the music that accompanied the raising of Old Glory in place of the Mexican flag, and a twenty-six-gun salute.<sup>37</sup> It was a con-

quest, as Jones concluded, that had been "conducted in a most orderly manner."<sup>38</sup>

The afternoon and night of the twentieth passed without incident as all but one division of marines returned to the ships. On the morning of October 21, Commodore Jones went ashore to inspect the town and fort that were now under the Stars and Stripes. There the pomp and ceremony halted. Jones's private secretary H. LaReintrie had found the papers Larkin had referred to on the previous day. Dated as late as August 22, they mentioned nothing of hostilities between the United States and Mexico or the cession of California to Great Britain. Jones at this point realized his mistake and called an immediate conference with Captain Armstrong and Commander Stribling.<sup>39</sup> They agreed that the only thing to do was to restore Mexican authority and try to mend relations. At 4:00 that afternoon the American flag was lowered and, with as much pomp as had accompanied its raising the day before, the Mexican flag was rehoisted.<sup>40</sup> The troops were reembarked, property that had been seized was returned, and normal relations were resumed.

Meanwhile, in San Diego, Captain William D. Phelps of the American merchant ship *Alert* had captured the local fort, using the threat of his two four-pounders to cow any would-be opposition. Phelps's actions were attributed to the inspiration of Jones's action, a rumor that soldiers were coming to seize his ship, and the arrival of a group of Americans seeking his protection from the Mexicans. He held the fort





for three days until he heard that Monterey had been evacuated and that the rumor of war was false.<sup>41</sup>

The reaction of Monterey's inhabitants to Jones's assault varied, mainly because they were a diverse group which included Anglo-Americans, Mexicans, foreigners, and native Californians. At first many of them were frightened, but with Jones's proclamation that there would be neither looting nor violence and that native rights would be respected, fear gave way to admiration for the Yankee invaders.<sup>42</sup> As Larkin recounted in 1844, "the fear and apprehension of the lower class of People here was at its height, drawing their recollections [sic] from the horrible atrocities committed [sic] by the Spaniards [sic] . . ." and "they expected to see the same enacted here."<sup>43</sup> Many of the public officials at Monterey found them-

selves suddenly summoned away on urgent business when they heard the news of the invasion, although they returned as hastily upon hearing the Americans "... did not shoot at sight, then scalp their victims with a great knife, as many . . . believed was the habit of the fighting Yanquis."<sup>44</sup> As a result of the orderly landing, Larkin reported, "... the people are not afraid of the next squadron, perhaps many are anxiously waiting its arrival . . ."<sup>45</sup> More importantly, since there was no incident of questionable conduct during the occupation, a view of the marines became prevalent, that they were "a fine body of Young men" whose departure would leave a void along the coast of California.<sup>46</sup>

Several incidents raised the prestige of the bluejackets in the eyes of the Californians. When one marine made a purchase and then borrowed

a pitcher to obtain water, he actually returned the pitcher and paid for what he acquired—in contrast, according to Larkin, to Mexican troops who rarely paid for anything.<sup>47</sup> While the ships remained in Monterey the men mingled with the inhabitants ashore. Larkin claimed they were either "hunting wild Deer or dancing with the tame Dear, both being plenty in and about Monterey." The flagship had an excellent band which provided the impetus for a number of balls, and some sailors who had never danced before learned to on this occasion.<sup>48</sup> Larkin called attention to the fine discipline of the men and to the speed and precision of the American ships during an emergency. This impressed the male population, he said, while it took only the young men in uniform to entice the females.<sup>49</sup> He also pointed out to the locals that there

had never been better order.<sup>50</sup>

One story neither Larkin nor Jones recounted, however. Jones's son Meriwether Paterson Jones, a midshipman aboard the *Cyane*, was sent ashore for the lowering of the American flag and the rehoisting of the Mexican flag. Dramatically exclaiming that he could not strike the American flag, he proceeded to get so drunk that he rolled down a cliff. Although he was not injured, he did avoid hauling down the American flag.<sup>51</sup>

Jones and Larkin tried to conceal their embarrassment over the premature seizure of Monterey by concluding the incident with many banquets and dances.<sup>52</sup> Larkin's primary fear, that the landing would stir up hostile feelings toward the United States among the natives and foreigners of California, proved to be unfounded, and he was relieved to find that it had just the opposite effect.<sup>53</sup>

The Californians, as distinguished from the Mexicans, "... showed a very imperfect sense of how much they had been injured by this insult offered to Mexico." Subsequent relations with Americans on the coast were no less cordial than before, and the incident passed without further consequence.<sup>54</sup> Larkin still feared that if the U.S. Navy did not leave a ship, General Jose Manuel Micheltorena would "let loose, his army of Cut throats and robbers, (in retaliation for the insult this territory has received) to plunder the property. . . ." <sup>55</sup> To prevent this, he petitioned Commodore Jones to station a ship off the coast to protect the innocent. Though no incident occurred to justify this precaution, Larkin felt much more at ease with his plea for help.



*Mexican pamphlet narrating the "invasion of California at the port of Monterey by Thomas 'ape' Jones."*

Anglo-Americans in California were delighted with the landing, seeing it as the harbinger of a more stable government that would protect the citizens instead of oppressing them. Some even suggested that the landing had "taught them [Mexicans] the propriety of respecting the rights of foreigners."<sup>56</sup> The Mexicans, however, were outraged by this violation of their national honor, and their attitude could be summed up by one general remark, "Why, we are going to cut the throats of *all* you Yankees."<sup>57</sup> Yet except for lasting anger toward Governor Micheltorena, who retreated with his army to Los Angeles instead of advancing upon the enemy, they did not appear to harbor a grudge for long.

On the national level, the affair had serious repercussions. The government in Mexico, with the help of the Mexican press "made much of the barbarity of Thomas 'ape' Catesby Jones,"<sup>58</sup> creating an atmosphere in which the Tyler Administration was forced to suspend negotiations for the purchase of California.<sup>59</sup> Some Mexicans suggested that the incident could be

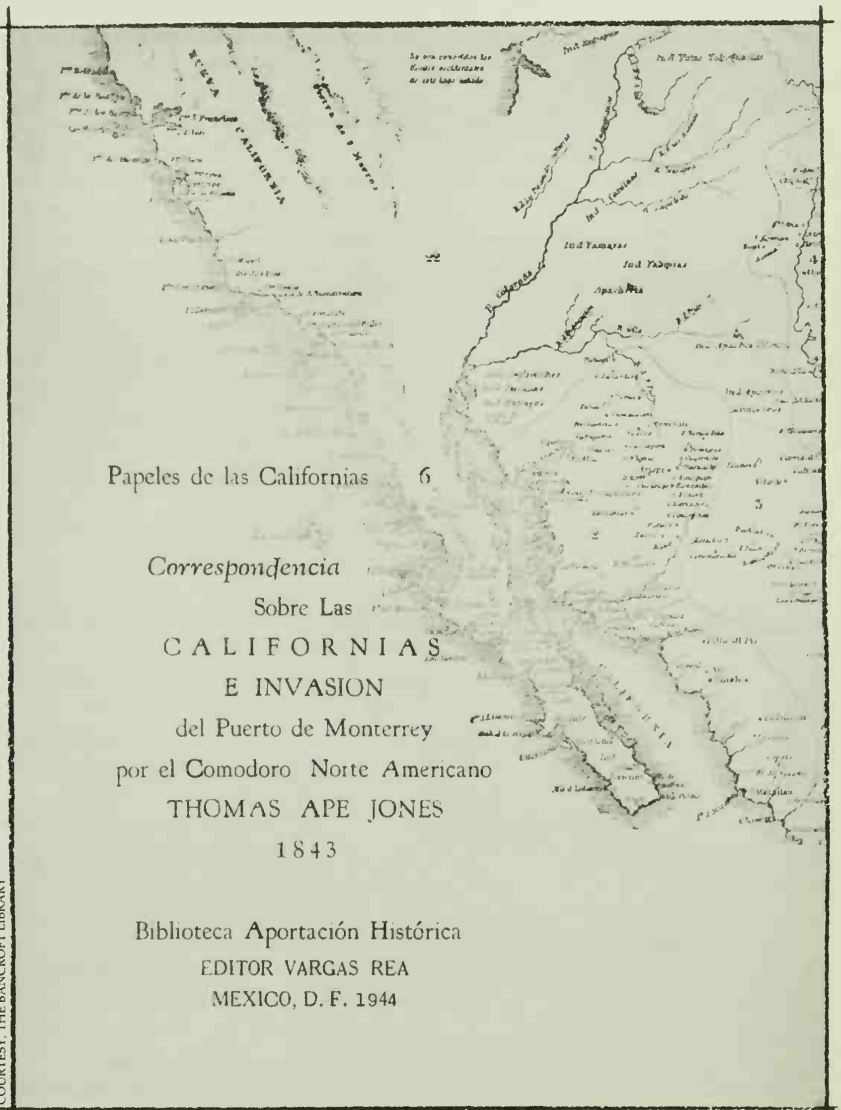
invoked to legitimize the cancellation of all U.S. claims against Mexico, but cooler heads prevailed. A faction led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Jose Maria Bocanegra considered the act "sufficient to put an end to the bonds uniting the two republics" and an outrage to Mexican honor. Waddy Thompson, U.S. minister to Mexico, asserted in response that it was no dishonor to surrender to a superior force and argued that since no public or private property had been damaged relations could be normalized. Any claims that did arise would be paid in full by the American government, he pledged. In Washington, Secretary of State Daniel Webster and Mexican Minister to the United States General Juan N. Almonte also engaged in an exchange of sharp notes. After much discussion, all diplomatic parties involved agreed that Jones was to be recalled and publicly reprimanded for his actions.<sup>60</sup>

Although Secretary of the Navy Abel P. Upshur agreed to recall Jones, he made it clear to Webster and President Tyler that he would not jeopardize morale in the Navy by humiliating "an able and well-intentioned commander."<sup>61</sup> With Upshur's defense of Jones and Webster's apology in the name of the president to the Mexican minister in Washington, the incident was closed.<sup>62</sup> Jones was not reprimanded even though the House Committee on Foreign Affairs conducted an investigation which concluded that the taking of Monterey "was entirely of his [Jones's] own authority, and not in consequence of any orders or instructions given to him by the Government of the United States."<sup>63</sup> Upshur in fact considered himself



partially responsible for the affair and attempted to guard against similar incidents by giving careful instructions for future commanders to avoid giving offense to other governments.<sup>64</sup> Jones was replaced as commander of the Pacific squadron by Commodore Alexander Dallas and "punished" by being given command of the ship-of-the-line *Ohio*. Jones would have a Pacific command again during the Mexican War, however.

Was Jones's landing in October 1842 a product of Manifest Destiny or did it have a strictly military connotation? Only Jones himself could answer this question, but it seems evident that he believed he was acting in the best interests of his country, which in his mind presumed a U.S. right to California important enough to justify conquest if purchase was not possible. By basing their decision to act on the Monroe Doctrine, Jones and his officers appeared to indicate that they thought in terms of national policy rather than limited military tactics. Although it temporarily damaged U.S. relations with Mexico, the seizure of Monterey cooled French and British interest in California and brought it one step closer to union with the United States. Even though British interest in the area was subsiding, some Americans still believed that if "John Bull" gained a foothold he would secure a monopoly on the Pacific and undermine American commerce to the point that the Stars and Stripes would not fly on the coast.<sup>65</sup> In fact, infiltration of Yankees in the early 1840s strengthened the position of the American merchants who had become established in the preceding two decades and gave the United States an edge it



would not relinquish.<sup>66</sup> Jones's action also indicated that the United States would have little problem taking California when and if hostilities did commence, thus adding force to the expansionist movement under the concept of Manifest Destiny.

Finally, Jones's landing gave the Anglo-American public an idea of where and what California was, as Larkin wrote to James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*,

"I imagine you have never had a correspondent from the 'Far West.' . . . In fact you have not found out as yet where the Far famed 'Far West' is. You now know and so does Com[modore] Thomas ap C. Jones, and the officers of his squadron, . . ."<sup>67</sup> From this time forward, Anglo-Americans in general would also know where the "Far West" was. ■

See notes beginning on page 155.

*It was spring cleaning time at the 125-year-old red-brick farmhouse on the Cacapon River in West Virginia. The house is owned and used as a retreat center by Christ Congregational Church of Silver Spring, Maryland, and a work committee was busy cleaning up and throwing out when all activity was brought to a halt by a voice asking, "Hey, everybody! What do we do with this big, old, dirty whatever-it-is, a picture of something or other?"*

*The most frequently voiced suggestion was to toss it on the fire, but some of us insisted, "We can't do that. Let's at least take it out into the sun and look at it." A close scrutiny in better light revealed a signature and date in the lower-right-hand corner, V. Williams, 1870. The signature made us think we were looking at an original oil painting.*

*Several months later, one of our group showed the painting to William Truettner, Curator of Painting and Sculpture at the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution. He suggested that we have the painting restored and appraised and then return. Some time later we took the painting to Robert Scott Wiles, Conservator at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. for his advice on its proper care. Restoration revealed the painting to be Mt. Katahdin from the West Branch of the Penobscot River, Baxter State Park, Maine by Virgil Macey Williams.<sup>1</sup> Whether it was because of my involvement in its discovery or because of the glowing colors revealed in the restoration, the painting caught my imagination and started me on a search for information about the artist's life.<sup>2</sup> Today it hangs in the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution to be enjoyed by the public.*

Virgil Macey Williams, an American landscapist who recorded many of the nineteenth-century landmarks and natural wonders of California, began life as a New Englander by birth as well as ancestry.<sup>3</sup> He studied art in Italy, however, and spent most of his adult years painting and developing the arts community in California. He was a gifted and fortunate man who was encour-

aged and supported in his artistic career right from the start.

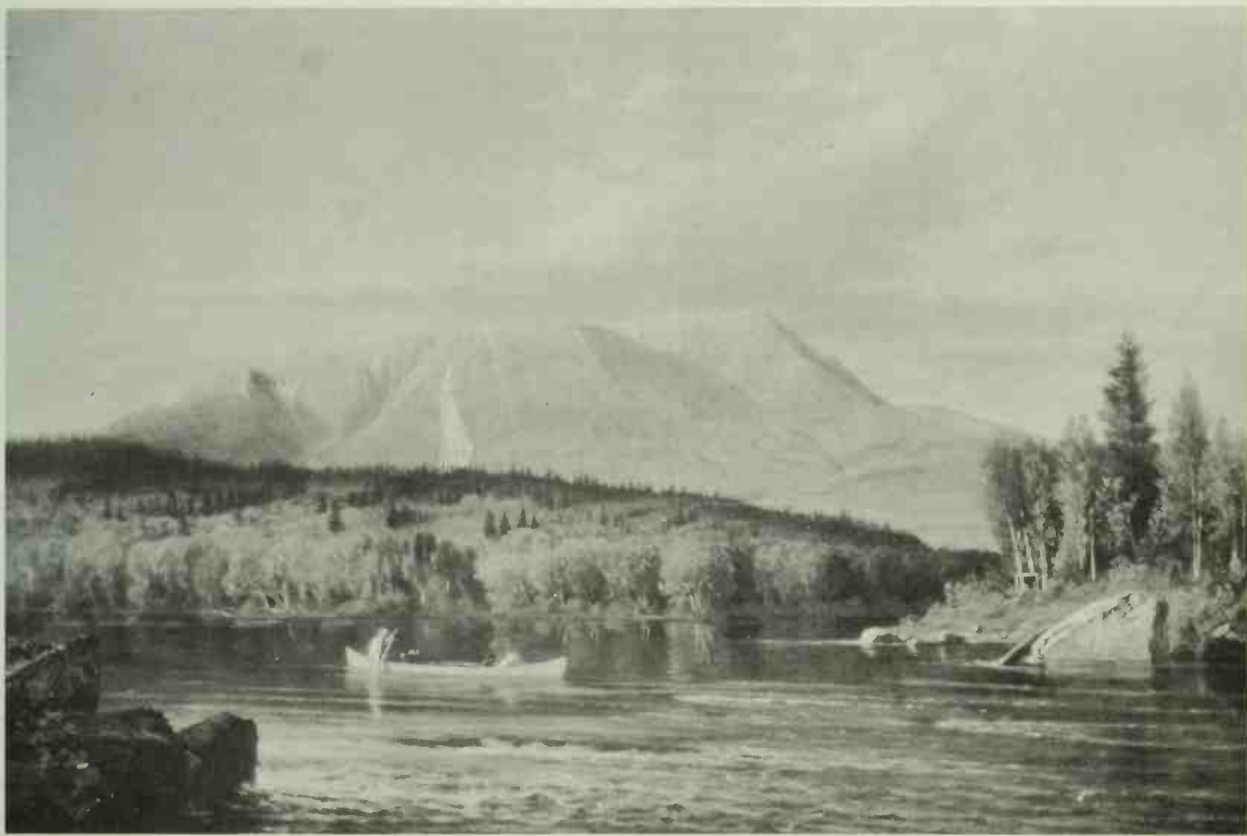
Williams was born at Dixfield, Maine on October 29, 1830; he was raised at Taunton, Massachusetts. As a student at Brown University, where he enrolled August 28, 1847, Williams's talent was recognized and encouraged. As the story goes,<sup>4</sup> President Francis Wayland called young Virgil to his office. Williams fully expected to be reprimanded for a caricature he had drawn of the rather staid gentleman; instead he was complimented. Furthermore, the university president suggested to James M. Williams that he arrange for his talented son to receive a thorough training in art. When he left Brown University at the end of his junior year, Virgil Williams studied under Daniel Huntington, an instructor at the New York Academy of Design,<sup>5</sup> and in 1853 he set off for Italy with his father's blessing and financial support. For approximately eight-and-one-half years he immersed himself in the art, history, and culture of Italy; he became fluent in the language and felt completely at home in this new environment.

Italy was the ideal place for a young American artist at that time. Many prosperous Americans, while taking the Grand Tour of Europe, were drawn to Italy by the beautiful scenery and warm climate; some of the travelers not only purchased paintings but also commissioned works. While in Rome, Virgil Williams studied under the well-known American expatriate, William Page (1811–1885), who had been a leading portrait painter in Boston before going to Italy. Williams became adept in Page's method of painting, which was greatly admired in Europe: instead of mixing colors, each was put on in a separate manner; scumbles and glazes were used to modify a tone or to soften a line or color.<sup>6</sup>

In 1857 or early 1858 Williams married Mary Page, daughter of his master, and could almost immediately count among his close associates such artists, writers, and journalists as

Mt. Katahdin, from the West Branch of the Penobscot River. This painting, found by members of Christ Congregational Church in Silver Spring, Maryland, in the course of a spring cleaning project, now hangs in the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution.





# THE CALIFORNIA YEARS OF VIRGIL MACEY WILLIAMS

*Ruth N. Post*

Enoch Wood Perry (1831–1915), Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–1880), Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), and Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who at one time lived in the same building as the Page family.<sup>7</sup>

Williams began to be noticed: "Mr. Williams, a son-in-law of Mr. Page, is rapidly making a reputation for himself as a landscapist. He paints with great feeling and freedom. He has several small Campagna views which possess marked merit,"<sup>8</sup> noted a Boston reporter in 1859. And again: "All lovers of the beautiful will be gratified at visiting the studio of Williams. In the combination of landscape and figures, I consider him unsurpassed. It gives me pleasure to know that some of the wealthy citizens of Chicago, who were in Rome last winter, have given him liberal commissions. He is now sketching amidst the lovely scenery of the Island of Capri."<sup>9</sup>

In Rome in the winter of 1857, Williams met artists Albert Bierstadt and Enoch Wood Perry,<sup>10</sup> whom he was to work with later in California. Williams, Perry, Bierstadt, Gifford, and Whittredge could often be seen with other artists painting or sketching around the Eternal City or on side trips to Florence, Venice, Naples, or Capri. Williams spent long evenings at such gathering places as locales on the Via Condotti like Trattoria Lepri or the Caffé Greco, the latter still a meeting place for artists. This mingling with kindred souls played a great part in shaping Williams's love for people and in nurturing the compassion and understanding that were to make him a dedicated teacher and friend.

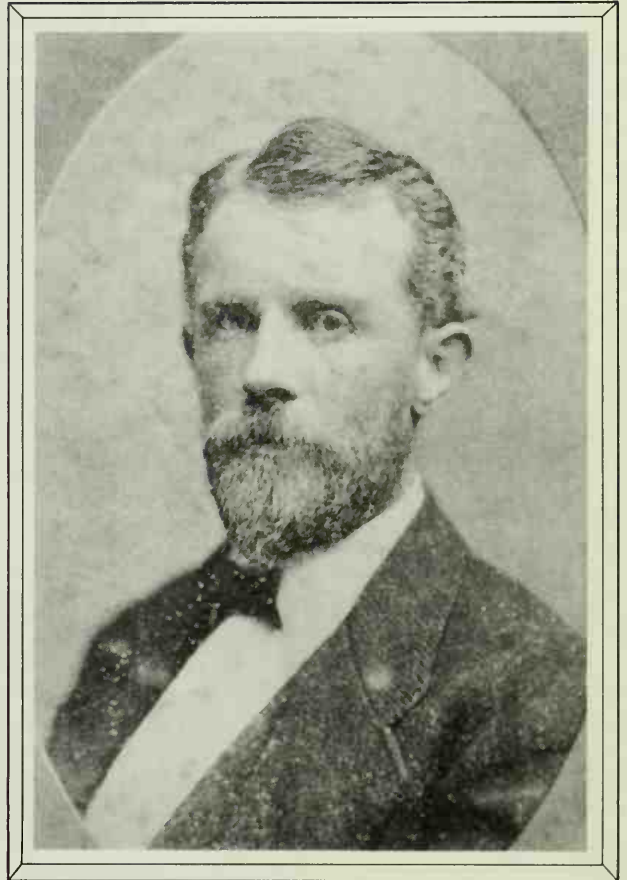
While he was in Florence, Williams made another contact which was to have a lasting effect on his life and on the development of the California art community. He met Robert B. Woodward (1814–1879), an art lover and self-made American man of wealth. Apparently

Woodward visited Williams's studio in Rome and, liking what he saw there, commissioned him to make copies of some of the Old Masters. These were later hung in Woodward's newly built home in San Francisco. This was only the beginning of the relationship, however. In 1861, shortly after Williams returned from Italy and set up his studio in Boston, Woodward visited him again and was so impressed with the works he saw that he purchased the entire lot, and persuaded Williams to come to San Francisco to plan and design an art gallery for his new home.<sup>11</sup> Under contract to Woodward, Williams left his successful studio and moved to San Francisco, arriving on April 5, 1862, after an arduous and awe-inspiring journey.

Williams designed and set up the art gallery in the Woodward home and helped lay out plans for its park-like gardens, complete with fountains and an artificial lake.<sup>12</sup> In 1866 this park, on Mission Street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, was opened to the public as the famous Woodward's Gardens and Amusement Park. Woodward even started a horse-drawn tram to provide rapid transit along Mission Street so that families could enjoy his gardens. One of the finest privately owned parks of its kind, it became known in both Europe and America as the Central Park of the Pacific;<sup>13</sup> it prospered until the later nineteenth century when the people of San Francisco found a new love in Golden Gate Park. The partnership between these two men, begun when Woodward visited Williams' Italian studio, became a key to the widening influence of the artist and the growing philanthropy of the businessman who was the first real patron of the arts in San Francisco.

After completing his work for Woodward, Williams devoted his time to exploring the teeming city of San Francisco, the meeting place of not only American adventurers and entrepreneurs but also those from Europe, Hawaii, Australia, China, and from other Asian countries. During this





*Dora Norton Williams.*

*Virgil Macey Williams.*

SILVERADO MUSEUM

period Williams became acquainted with many artists, among them William Keith and Thomas Hill. Hill, who had come with his family to the West Coast in 1861 in search of a climate that would be better for his ailing health, had taken a studio in the Mercantile Library Building. Keith had already established his reputation as a fine engraver and was beginning to paint landscapes.<sup>14</sup> Williams, Hill, and Keith spent much time together. They sketched, visited the studios of other artists, or attended art exhibits, some of them in the What Cheer House, a temperance establishment founded in 1856 by Robert B. Woodward. Keith's biographer, Brother Cornelius says of the three artist friends:

*They took long walks or would ride out to visit Woodward's Gardens, the newly laid out amusement park which Williams had helped to design and lay-out, especially the art center. He (Williams) interested them, he had traveled abroad, and studied in Italy with William Page. His training, ideas and methods which he brought back gave him prestige and vogue. There seemed to be a lack of artistic jealousies among them but a sense of learning and sharing their ideas and giving their critiques openly.*<sup>15</sup>

On July 17, 1863 Albert Bierstadt, Williams's old friend from days in Rome, and the journalist Fitz Hugh Ludlow arrived in San Francisco by stagecoach and stayed at the Occidental Hotel.<sup>16</sup> Dr. John Hewston, a scientific metallurgist and physicist, met with Bierstadt, Ludlow, Enoch Wood Perry—another friend from the Italian years, and Williams to plan a camping expedition to the Yosemite Valley. Leaving on August 2 on horseback, their pack mules laden with supplies, they traveled via the old Mariposa Trail. They would, of course, hunt and fish, but time was planned so that the men could sketch, paint, explore, or write, each according to his own interests and competence. After seven weeks in this magnificent wonderland, they returned to San Francisco.<sup>17</sup>

Another important friend of Wil-

liams at this time was Carleton E. Watkins, whose outstanding early photography of Yosemite had helped persuade Congress to place the area under government protection. Watkins was asked by Frederick Law Olmsted, chairman of the California Geological Survey and famed as the "Father of American Landscape Design," to propose the best way to preserve and enhance the beauty of the valley. Watkins asked Virgil Williams and Thomas Hill to accompany him on this study. The two painters must have truly enjoyed this venture and their association with Watkins; the sketches and paintings produced during this time laid the groundwork for many future paintings. An added benefit for Williams of his association with the Watkins trip was the kindling of his curiosity about and interest in photography; in time he became a proficient photographer.<sup>18</sup>

Mary Page Williams did not go west with her husband. She stayed in Cambridge for a time, visiting friends and relatives there and in other areas. In 1864, she wrote a touching letter to her father, then in New York, asking him to send her trunk to Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, where she was staying with Virgil's father and sister Ella, and added, "he is very anxious to have Virg home, so that he may have all his children together for the first time in twelve years."<sup>19</sup> However, Virgil did not return to the Boston area until April 25, 1866. Again he opened a studio in Boston, and Mary wrote to her sister Emma on May 17 that "He [Virgil] has several students and in addition is teaching classes in freehand drawing at Harvard University and Design at the Boston School of Technology."<sup>20</sup> The *Boston Evening Transcript* reported, "Virgil Williams, after residence of some years in Italy, and more recently in California, has taken a studio in Boston, with a well-filled folio of sketches from these opposite points of interest."<sup>21</sup>

Late in 1867, Williams's painting *The*





View South from the Sonoma Hills

MONTGOMERY GALLERY, SAN FRANCISCO

*Capri Boat* attracted much interest. Among the comments it elicited was the *Boston Evening Transcript's* note, "His views and accuracy of Italian scenery is noteworthy in the beauty, light, and placement of gaily dressed people—it is a fete day, it catches the eye and holds one in admiration."<sup>22</sup>

By 1868 Thomas Hill had also returned to Boston and set up his studio on the same floor as Williams's in the Studio Building. The old friendship between the two artists grew, and soon both were exhibiting at the Boston Athenaeum, Boston Art Club, and various galleries. A newspaper article in 1868 noted that "Virgil Williams is working on a landscape of Sommer Sound on Mt. Desert and has finished three Italian street scenes and always pleases with bright colors, correct drawing and graceful drapery. Evidently he paints as tho [sic] he loves his work and scenes."<sup>23</sup> These were good times for the arts and for Virgil Williams.

However, as Williams's reputation as an artist grew, his marriage to Mary Page deteriorated. His long absences from home (in addition to the four years in California, he traveled to Mount Desert Isle, Nova Scotia, and to Maine), Mary's frequent bouts of illness through the years, and her unhappiness at being so far away from her close-knit family proved more than the relationship could bear. In 1869 Mary left Virgil as she had done once before, and this time the marriage ended.<sup>24</sup> In a June 2, 1871, letter to her father from New Harmony, Indiana, Mary wrote of her marriage to a Mr. Hinckley, "a merchant in this town and we are very happy . . . I never doubted the wisdom of the change I made more than two years ago, and I am thankful every day that I had the strength and courage to take the steps I did."<sup>25</sup>

The change was evidently a wise one for both Virgil and Mary Page Williams. Before long, a promising watercolorist in Williams's studio art class found favor with her teacher, and late in 1870 or early 1871 Virgil and Dora

(Deborah) Norton (1829–1915) were married.<sup>26</sup> Once more California beckoned. Early in 1871 Thomas Hill left Boston to return to San Francisco. Williams looked forward to renewing his association with artists and intellectuals he had met during his stay in the West, and he and Dora began making their own plans. On August 15, 1871, they arrived in San Francisco from Boston aboard the ship *Sacramento*.<sup>27</sup> The city was again in the throes of a boom as a result of the recent opening of the cross-country rail system and the improved roads and stage coach lines had swelled the population to well over 200,000. At the same time the vast outpourings from the Comstock Lode, discovered in 1859, were bringing tremendous wealth to the city. The newly rich were building large homes on Nob Hill and buying or commissioning landscapes, genre, and marine paintings, and portraits of their homes as well as of themselves and their families.<sup>28</sup>

In March, 1871, an energetic group of artists, journalists, and intellectuals had met at the home of the English-born artist Juan Buckingham Wandesforde<sup>29</sup> to found the San Francisco Art Association. Among those at the meeting were: William Alvord, mayor of San Francisco; Benjamin Parke Avery, journalist; Edward Bosqui, printer; Samuel Marsden Brookes, portrait and still-life artist; and the painters Gideon Jacques Denny, Thomas Hill, William Keith, and Ernest Narjot.<sup>30</sup> who painted the portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson that now hangs in the Silverado Museum at St. Helena in the Napa Valley. This group organized receptions, exhibits, and social gatherings which did much to nourish the growing taste for fine arts among the people of San Francisco.

Soon after their arrival in San Francisco, Virgil Williams and his wife were included in the membership of the fledgling art association, which established an art school in 1874 that still exists today after many changes of locale and name as the San Francisco Art Institute at 800 Chestnut





Hunting Scene with Wild Ducks.

*Williams did an extended series of hunting and country scenes  
in black crayon between 1870 and 1872.*

COURTESY OF VICTOR D. SPARK

Street and which still offers a scholarship given in the name of Virgil Williams by his wife Dora.<sup>31</sup> When the San Francisco Art Association completed plans to open their first academy—the School of Design—Virgil Williams, now acknowledged as a gifted artist and intellectual, was chosen as the first director and as teacher.<sup>32</sup> This was to become his life's most important work.

Williams was an outstanding teacher who often developed lasting friendships with his students. Through the school he nurtured the talent of many early painting students, some of whom went on to study abroad and to become fine artists; some became very well known, and all extolled the ability and dedication of their teacher and friend.<sup>33</sup> One of the forty-member, February 1874, first class at the School of Design was Christian A. Jorgensen (originally Jörgensen).<sup>34</sup> Williams had discovered Jorgensen as a child of twelve sketching on the stoops of San Francisco and was so impressed by his drawings that he arranged for Jorgensen to become the first free student admitted to the school. Jorgensen later became an instructor in sketching and watercolor at the school. Among Jorgensen's students was young Angela Ghirardelli, who in 1887 became his wife. The couple named their first child after Virgil Williams.

Williams did not limit his teaching to one phase of art; he lectured on the history of art and the lives of great artists. He gave unstintingly of his time and talent and was always accessible to students, giving them encouragement, cautioning, sometimes scolding, never flattering, honest almost to the point of harshness. "It is by constant practice and study that power is obtained. There will always be difficulty, no matter how much you know, so accept criticism as coming from one whose only motive is to make you improve."<sup>35</sup>

Much information about Williams's methods and philosophy of teaching

has come to us through one of his remarkable students, Theophilus d'Estrella, a gifted artist and deaf mute who was admitted to the school in 1879.<sup>36</sup> Since Williams did not know sign language, he and d'Estrella communicated through pen and paper. d'Estrella saved the scraps of paper on which Williams wrote notes to him, for example:

*The very beginner needs to first learn something of the technique, to handle his materials, learn certain canons of beauty and proportion. One is never born with a thorough knowledge of technique. It has to be acquired like carpentry. Art is to a great extent mechanical. No matter how high, delicate or refined your impressions of nature, you cannot express them without great command over your materials, so it is necessary to get practice and acquire dexterity.*<sup>37</sup>

Once, when d'Estrella complained to Williams about what he thought was a very harsh criticism of his work, he received this reply:

*I am severe sometimes on purpose—to check a growing satisfaction with your own work—that is in your own mind. There can exist in the road of a young artist no obstacle so great as 'the big head'—meaning of course, excessive conceit. That you shall feel greatly discouraged sometimes is to be expected. No one with an artistic temperament but experiences periods of great dejection and corresponding elation. We must take the bitter with the sweet.*<sup>38</sup>

In addition to his work as director and teacher at the San Francisco School of Design, Williams was also involved in another phase of the city's cultural development. He was among the founders of the Bohemian Club, which was organized in 1872 "for the association of gentlemen connected with the intellectual and liberal professions and numbers among its members nearly all the prominent men in San Francisco." Williams was president of the club in 1875–76, but he felt that he could not continue in that capacity because of his commitment to the School of Design.<sup>39</sup>





*Dora Williams first met her husband as his art student, and  
this 1882 watercolor reflects her talent.*

SILVERADO MUSEUM

Williams bought a small ranch in a remote canyon of the Sugarloaf, on the Knights Valley side of Mount St. Helena. Thomas Hill and William Keith, among other artist friends, were often visitors to the ranch; they spent their days in sketching, painting, and walking and horseback excursions into the surrounding areas, and their evenings in lively conversation. What a contemporary observer described as "the natural beauties of a landscape so rich in towering peak and green enameled vale, sinuous creek and open bay, russet-brown hillside and grain-veneered field" inspired paintings which "form most pleasing gems of some of our best art collection."<sup>40</sup>

Some time after Christmas in 1879 Williams met the Scotsman Robert Louis Stevenson and began what was to be a long-lasting friendship.<sup>41</sup> Stevenson was in love with Fanny Osbourne, a student of Williams and a friend of both Dora and Virgil, and he had followed her from Europe to America and across the country by emigrant train to California. Fanny and her daughter Isobel would often take the ferry from their home in Oakland to visit and attend classes at the San Francisco School of Design. One day Fanny called upon an ailing Dora Williams in her home on Taylor Street and brought Stevenson with her. The next day he returned for something he had left, and, as related by Dora Williams: "finding me better he remained awhile and we entered into conversation, and I may add, a life-long friendship. While we were talking, my husband came in and glanced at him very curiously. I hastened to introduce them to each other. From that hour, however, they became fast friends."

The friendship, with its opportunities for intelligent and stimulating exchange of ideas, became a haven for Stevenson. Because he was somewhat older and because he remembered the trials of his own first marriage, Williams could take the role of "elder brother," lending emotional support to both Stevenson and Fanny

Osbourne as they sought her freedom from an unhappy marriage. Superior Court Judge Timothy H. Reardon was instrumental in helping Fanny secure her divorce. When Fanny found herself unable to pay his \$100 fee, she offered him a painting she had done in Grez, France in 1876, the year she had met Stevenson. On her return to San Francisco she had shown the painting to Williams, and he, feeling that it needed some human interest, had added four small figures. Reardon accepted the painting as payment, and it has been in his family ever since; it is now on loan to the Silverado Museum in St. Helena.<sup>43</sup>

Fanny Osbourne and Robert Louis Stevenson were married on Wednesday, May 19, 1880, and a week later they ventured forth to seek a home away from the San Francisco fogs, which were adding to Stevenson's health problems. Their funds were dwindling, and Williams helped them find shelter near his ranch in the old abandoned mining area of the Silverado Western Mines. Here the clean, brisk air, Fanny's excellent cooking, and moderate exercise soon restored Stevenson's good health.<sup>44</sup>

Notes recording the sights and sounds of these days, jotted in Stevenson's ever-handly penny notebooks, resulted in *Silverado Squatters*,<sup>45</sup> a book he dedicated to Virgil and Dora Williams. Later Dora was to say: "one of my dearest possessions was the handwritten dedication poem" Stevenson had inscribed in the gift copy he sent her when the book was published.<sup>46</sup>

On December 18, 1886, Williams went on a hunting-and-sketching trip. When he returned he told Dora that he was suffering chest pains and confessed that he was not up to the rigors of climbing the hills he so enjoyed. He retired at about 10 p.m. expecting to leave early the next morning to see his physician, Dr. Chismore, in San Francisco, but at about midnight Williams awakened with excruciating pains. He died at about 2 a.m.<sup>47</sup>

On December 21, 1886, at 1 p.m. funeral services were conducted by





*Watercolor by Dora Williams, 1882.*

SILVERADO MUSEUM

the San Francisco Art Association and the Bohemian Club. The large number of students, friends, and contemporaries who attended the service testify to the respect and love which Virgil Macey Williams had inspired. The Directors of the San Francisco Art Association adopted a lengthy Memorial Resolution which included the following tribute:

*Virgil Williams's work as an artist now belongs to history, and his rank will be determined by those of his own profession who are most competent to judge of it. It is enough for us that it will be such as his friends may recall with pride. As to his position as a teacher of art, we have the right to speak, for we have had the means of judging. It was his favorite work, and one to which he gladly devoted his life, and here in the city and school where he labored and loved to labor his skill and success will stand pre-eminent forever.<sup>48</sup>*

At the January, 1887, meeting of the Pacific Coast Amateur Photographic Association, Archibald J. Treat, a close friend of Virgil Williams, praised his contributions to the art of photography and his generosity as a teacher. He also spoke of the admirable personal qualities which must have been the ultimate secret of Virgil Williams's success as a painter, teacher, organizer of arts projects, school director, and friend of many great and influential people:

*In calling myself his friend I am glad to say I am only one of many, for he possessed the peculiar gift of magnetism which attracted people to him, and when they learned his character they could not help becoming his true friend. He had traveled so extensively and seen so much, read so wisely and remembered so well, that he was the prince of companions, and those who knew him loved him.<sup>49</sup> ■*

#### **Checklist of Paintings by Virgil Macey Williams, 1830–1886**

The forty-four works listed below have been located and currently belong to the collections indicated. Works

in the hands of owners who wish to remain anonymous are listed with permission.

Each entry includes the following parts where available: Title. Medium. Dimensions in inches, height before width. Signature information. Date. Name of institution or individual in possession of the work.

**Man in Red Jacket.** Oil on panel: 9¼ × 8. Ca. 1862. *California Historical Society, on permanent loan from the San Francisco Art Institute.*

**Port Sorrento.** Oil on canvas: 38½ × 49½. Undated. *California Historical Society.*

**Yosemite.** Oil on academy board: 10¾ × 18¾. Ca. 1886. *California Historical Society.*

**Along the Mariposa Trail.** Oil on canvas: 42 × 36. Signed. 1863–1865. *California Historical Society, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alan K. Browne.*

**Woodland and Animal Scenes.** Portfolio containing one charcoal drawing and 12 mammoth plate photographs of charcoal drawings. Portfolio is inscribed: To Mr. Josiah Hasbrooks with regards of the artist Virgil Williams. Drawing signed lower right: VW 72. Four plates signed lower left: VW 70. Two plates signed lower right: VW 70. Three plates signed lower left: VW 71. Two plates signed lower right: VW 71. One plate unsigned. *California Historical Society Library.*

**Mountain Home on Slopes of Mt. St. Helena.** Oil on canvas: 27 × 41½. Signed lower left. *Bancroft Library.*

**Mt. St. Helena from Knights Valley.** Oil on canvas: 26 × 41½. Signed lower left. *Oakland Museum, Kahn collection.*

**Untitled landscape.** *Oakland Museum, on loan from private collector.*

**Yosemite Valley.** Oil on canvas: 29¾ × 50. *Oakland Museum, on loan from Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.*

**Peasant.** Oil on board: 9¼ × 7¾. *Oakland Museum, on loan from Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.*

**Boy's Head.** Oil on board: 11 × 12.





Roman Campagna.

*Throughout his career, Williams used scenes he had observed  
during his 1850s stay in Italy as subjects for his paintings.*

ZANKEL & WEST COLLECTION, SAN FRANCISCO

*M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, gift of Alexander Heyman.*

**Robert B. Woodward.** Oil on canvas: 56 × 36. *The Society of California Pioneers, on loan from Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.*

**Untitled landscape.** Oil on canvas: 15 × 9½. Signed lower left. *Silverado Museum, St. Helena.*

**Untitled landscape.** Oil on canvas: 17 × 14. *Silverado Museum.*

**Untitled landscape.** Oil on canvas: 17 × 13½. *Silverado Museum.*

**Road from Knights Valley to Great Western Mine.** Etching: 10¾ × 7¼. Signed. 1880. *Silverado Museum.*

**Near Mt. St. Helena.** Etching: 11 × 7¼. Signed. 1880. *Silverado Museum.*

**Indian Cradle.** Oil on canvas: 15¼ × 19¾. Signed lower right. 1885. *The Haggin Museum, Stockton, gift of Mary Culbertson.*

**Mt. Katahdin from West Branch of the Penobscot River, Baxter State Park, Maine.** Oil on canvas: 26 × 40. Signed lower right. 1870. *National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, courtesy of Christ Congregational Church, Silver Spring, Maryland.*

**Italian Peasant Woman.** Oil on canvas: 12 × 6½. Signed lower right. *Stanford University Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Frank Buck in memory of J. Henry Meyer.*

**Farmyard Scene.** Oil on canvas: 10 × 20. Signed lower right. 1885. *Kerwin Galleries, Burlingame, California.*

**View South from Sonoma Hills.** Oil on canvas: 30 × 46. Signed. 1864. *Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco.*

**Quail.** Oil on canvas: 18 × 24. Signed. 1873. *Locust Grove—Young-Morse Historic Site.*

**Napa Valley Landscape.** Oil on canvas: 25 × 48. Signed. 1875. *Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth E. Hasbrouck.*

**Yosemite.** Oil on academy board: 10¾ × 18¾. Ca. 1886. *California Historical Society.*

**Cattle Drive in the Foothills.** Oil on canvas: 26 × 42. Signed lower right. 1885. *George N. Keyston, Jr.*

**Landscape with Indians.** Oil on canvas: 18 × 30. Signed. *Merrill Gross.*

**Horsemen Herding Five Oxen.** Oil: 21 × 14. *Austen E. Warburton.*

**Sonoma Woods.** Oil on canvas: 13½ × 17½. Signed. 1873. *Katherine M. Littell.*

**Calistoga Barnyard.** Oil on canvas: 11 × 15½. Signed lower right. *Katherine M. Littell.*

**At the Well.** Oil on canvas: 21 × 15½. Signed lower right. 1875. *Katherine M. Littell.*

**Fisherman of Capri.** Oil on canvas: 7 × 9. Signed lower right. *Katherine M. Littell.*

**Italian Hill Town.** Oil on canvas: 8½ × 13½. Signed lower right. *Katherine M. Littell.*

**Hunting Scene, Wild Ducks.** Charcoal and china white: 13 × 18. Signed. 1871. *Victor Sparks.*

**The Roman Campagna.** Oil on canvas: 26 × 42. Signed. 1872. *Zankel-West Collection, San Francisco.*

The following items belong to anonymous owners.

**Landscape and Girl with Hayfork.** 5½ × 3. Signed. 1870.

**Shepherd Boy in Italian Landscape.** Oil on canvas. Signed lower right. 1865.

**Fruit Vendor, Italian.** Oil on canvas: 14 × 11½. Signed lower right. 1886.

**Vernal Falls, Yosemite.** Oil on canvas: 24 × 6. Signed lower right. 1875.

**Saddling the Horse.** Oil on canvas: 15 × 30. Signed lower left. 1883.

**Peasant Girl Drawing Thread.** Oil on canvas: 40 × 26. Signed lower left. 1870.

**Landscape with Children Playing.** Shadow box, oil on canvas: 6 × 8½. Signed lower right.

**Farm Scene.** Oil on canvas: 11 × 14. Signed lower right.

**Woodland Scene (near Russian River).** Oil on canvas: 18 × 13. Signed lower left. 1879.

**Cerrara.** Oil on canvas: 14½ × 8½. Titled and signed lower left.

*See notes beginning on page 157.*





Road from Knights Valley to Great Western Mine.  
*This etching is one of many works depicting the area around  
the Williamses' country home near Mt. St. Helena.*

SILVERADO MUSEUM



PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

# TO SAVE THE REPUBLIC

# THE CALIFORNIA WORKINGMEN'S PARTY IN HUMBOLDT COUNTY

Daniel Cornford

Viewed from San Francisco, as it usually is, the California Workingmen's party appears as a reactive formation organized in response to the depression of the 1870s and the flood of Chinese immigrants released into the labor market by the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad.<sup>1</sup> Yet Workingmen's parties were founded in forty of California's fifty-two counties, and within less than a decade labor tickets or parties would appear in one hundred and eighty-nine towns and cities in thirty-four states.<sup>2</sup> Relatively little attention has been paid to dissenting third-party movements in the small towns and rural areas of Gilded Age America, although until 1900 two-thirds of the population lived in such places.<sup>3</sup> Historians of nineteenth-century radicalism have concentrated instead on events in major metropolitan areas. Furthermore, to the extent that the third-party insurgencies of the late 1870s and 1880s have been examined, their ideological and institutional antecedents have often been neglected.

In far northern California's Humboldt County, a radical democratic-republican tradition sustained a succession of dissenting third-party political and social movements, including the California Workingmen's party, the Greenback Labor party, the International Workingmen's Association, the Knights of Labor, and

*The mammoth scale of the redwoods became the stuff of community mythology and gave the loggers a Paul Bunyan-esque stature which reinforced their pride in themselves as workers.*

the Populists. Although none lasted more than a few years, the persistent reappearance of such movements indicates the vitality of the critical perspective which spawned them. In newspaper editorials, letters to the local press, diaries, sermons, correspondence to regional and national labor leaders, and in party platforms, Humboldt dissidents, from a wide variety of callings, clearly articulated an ideology shaped by the more radical elements of the values and rhetoric of the American Revolution and Jacksonian democracy.

The radical democratic-republican ideology drew on a cluster of ideas that embraced the notion of "equal rights" and the labor theory of value.<sup>4</sup> This progressive antebellum ideological legacy was sustained and reinforced by the acrimonious Civil War debates in which Union supporters characterized the conflict as one between the noble free laborer of the North and an autocratic slaveryocracy in the South. Embodied in the free-labor ideology was a deep faith that under a government founded and maintained on true democratic-republican principles the workingman could rapidly ascend the social ladder. A *Humboldt Times* editorial in 1864 argued that "if there is one thing in our government which more than commends it to the people it is the fact that the gate of honor is open to the poor and rich alike."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, any government that deprived a worker of the full product of his labor was guilty of "class legislation" and of

fostering the interests of "monopolies" at the expense of the honest toiler. A government that adhered to true republican principles would result in a society in which, according to Humboldt pioneer James Beith, "none are very rich and none very poor."<sup>6</sup> While even the most radical upholders of the democratic-republican tradition did not believe in the feasibility or desirability of absolute social equality, nevertheless, as Beith put it, the principal aim of government should be "how to promote best the true social equality."<sup>7</sup>

As they scrutinized Gilded Age America, Humboldt County radicals were greatly alarmed by what they saw. They were convinced that economic power was becoming increasingly and dangerously concentrated and that the once pristine American political system was suffering from a serious affliction evidenced by a series of charges and revelations of corruption in local, state, and national government. Moreover, to the extent that the pioneers of Humboldt and other California counties expected to find a land of boundless opportunity and rough social equality in the Golden State, they were to be sorely disappointed. Within a decade of the Gold Rush, disparities of wealth were as marked as in many of the eastern communities from which the pioneers had come.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike the Eastern urban artisans who have been the focus of most of the important studies of nineteenth-century working-class radicalism, Humboldt's dissenters were not being "deskilled" or seriously af-



*Main Street, Rohnerville, 1878. Agriculture and lumber were the twin pillars of the Humboldt County economy, with stock-and-dairy farming becoming increasingly prominent in agriculture.*



fectured by the advent of industrialization.<sup>9</sup> Twenty-five years after the Gold Rush had lured the first white settlers to Humboldt County, its economy was based primarily on lumber and agriculture. Humboldt County was on the verge of establishing itself as the heartland of the Redwood Empire's lumber industry. By 1876 there were twenty mills in the county and overall the county's lumber industry employed at least a thousand workers. At this time the lumber industry was centered primarily in Eureka and the vicinity of Arcata. Eureka was the county's "metropolis"; the city and its environs contained approximately a third of the county's 15,000 inhabitants in 1880. Throughout the county, and especially in the fertile Eel River Valley, farming also flourished.<sup>10</sup> The dissenters in Humboldt County comprised a broad coalition of lumber workers, farmers, artisans, and professionals.

Until the end of the Civil War,

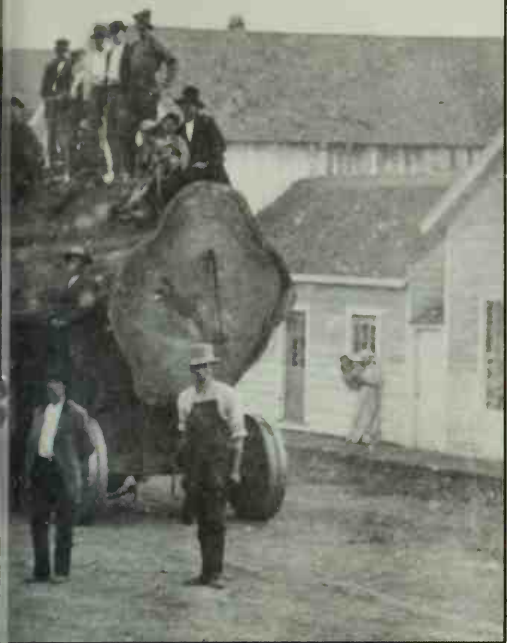
politics in Humboldt County was dominated by national issues. The county conventions and platforms of the major political parties hardly addressed local issues, and there is little evidence of divisiveness over them. The protracted sectional crisis probably helped subsume tensions, but there were other reasons for the consensus in local politics. Humboldt's pioneers were united by a desire to promote their community to outsiders. Highly conscious of their geographical isolation, they realized the need to attract outside capital and a larger population if the county was to become a viable economic entity. Accordingly, there was a widespread recognition of the need to use county revenues to lay the foundation of a basic economic infrastructure. At the same time, the possibility of discord over appropriations and expenditures was limited by their small scale. In addition, the transience of many early pioneers lessened the chances of polarization over local issues.

**I**n the late 1860s, with the sectional conflict no longer the preeminent issue and with the county population growing and becoming more settled, important questions arose concerning county revenues that brought the consen-

sus to an abrupt end. An increasing number of citizens began to feel that the county was going too deeply into debt to fund internal improvements and that the burden of taxation was falling disproportionately on small farmers and workers. A proposal in 1867 to build a hundred-mile road to link Humboldt County with the state road system raised a storm of protest amid charges of corruption and incompetence in the county government.<sup>11</sup> The bond issue to finance the project was defeated by a vote of 1,038 to 134 in the 1868 election.<sup>12</sup> In 1870, a bitter debate erupted over the extent of the county's indebtedness for expenditures financed by county warrants which no longer sold at anything like their par value. A year later, a plan to build a railroad from Eureka to the Eel River Valley encountered fierce opposition; voters repudiated a proposed \$100,000 bond issue 899 to 143.<sup>13</sup>

The Republican party retained its ascendancy over the Democrats in Humboldt County for the immediate postbellum years, but its image was tainted and its support eroded by charges of corruption. A series of letters in the *Northern Independent* alleged that Republican candidate for the state Assembly J. De Haven paid almost no local taxes and that the taxes paid by everyone on the 1869

*Daniel Cornford holds a doctorate in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara. This article is a revised and condensed version of the second chapter of his forthcoming *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*, ©1987 by Temple University Press. An earlier version of the book manuscript was the winner of the Turlock Centennial Foundation's California History and Culture Award for 1986.*



PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

To many Humboldt County residents it seemed that a serious malaise afflicted the American body politic.

Republican ticket amounted to "a mere pittance."<sup>14</sup> At the same time, H. L. Knight, the future secretary of the California Workingmen's party, charged that the vote at the Republican party convention had been blatantly manipulated to secure the renomination of Humboldt County sheriff W. S. Barnum and that Barnum was guilty of various forms of tax evasion.<sup>15</sup> Barnum's rebuttal was not convincing, and the *Humboldt Times*, which had supported the Republican party since the Civil War, endorsed several "independent" candidates while refraining from disputing the charges. At the election, the Republican party's traditional large majority was severely pruned, and Sheriff Barnum was not reelected.

Increasingly, the issues of taxation, public indebtedness, corruption, and political cliques became linked in the minds of many Humboldt County residents, a perception that was reinforced by their view of developments in state and national politics. To a growing number of people it seemed that, whether the symptom was a corrupt local sheriff or a national Crédit Mobilier scandal, a serious malaise had begun to afflict the American body politic. Numerous instances of actual or alleged corruption at all levels of government in the late

1860s and early 1870s shook people's faith in their political institutions. In Humboldt County, the Republican party had emerged from the Civil War with a large reservoir of moral and political credit that enabled it to buck the trend toward the Democratic party that occurred throughout most of California. But by the early 1870s, many Humboldters felt that the Republicans had exhausted their credit.

In 1871, Louis Tower, who had been an ardent supporter of the Republican party in the 1860s, eloquently expressed the growing sense of foreboding and disenchantment of many Humboldters in a series of articles entitled the "Next Irrepressible Conflict." Tower stated that it was his duty to "call the attention of my fellow laborers—the producers of wealth—to the consideration of our interests as treated in the policies and practices of our government." He asserted that "the tendency of our legislatures both national and state . . . is drifting in favor of capital" and mentioned specifically the growing wealth and power of corporations and railroads; the pervasiveness of corruption in politics; and the "absorption" of the public domain "into the hands of capitalists through Congressional action," which threatened the free laborer with "the fate that has befall-

en the workers of the older more densely populated countries." Tower spoke of the Republican party in its early days as representing "the rise, progress and culmination of the principle that labor should be free and that the soil, the great bank of labor exchange, should be free also." But, he argued, the conflict between labor and capital was not inevitable, and the "producers of wealth" should form a new party that would elect men of integrity.<sup>16</sup>

The *Humboldt Times* sensed the growing disaffection and entreated the "laboring classes" to retain their loyalty to the Republican party. The newspaper reminded readers that the Democratic party had supported slavery, "the very bane of free labor," had opposed the income tax, and had failed to provide public education in many states; the Republican party, in contrast, had abolished slavery, had thrown open the public lands to settlement, and had established a public educational system in many states.<sup>17</sup> Despite such pleas, disillusionment with the Republicans in Humboldt County mounted. In 1873, when Henry McGowan announced his candidacy for the state assembly as an independent, he expressed many of the same sentiments as Tower. He praised the Republicans for seeing the nation through the ordeal of the Civil War, but, he



*Newspapers were self-appointed voices and often consciences for their communities. The Humboldt Standard "staff and typographical force" in 1890 is shown here. Signed editorials, news reports of political activities and speeches, and letters to the editor were all important factors in expressing and influencing political opinion.*

*First Street looking east from E Street, Eureka, 1864. By the end of the decade, Humboldt County towns were losing their frontier quality, and social and economic distinctions were increasing. Photo probably by Hugh Anderson.*



said, the party "has unfortunately allowed itself to be led by corrupt and designing men into a state of political depravity."<sup>18</sup>

On August 2, 1873, at a mass meeting at Ryan's Hall in Eureka, a Tax-Payer party was formed. The party's formation paralleled but apparently had no direct links with a Tax-Payer Independent party that was beginning to pick up momentum in California under Newton Booth.<sup>19</sup> Booth, the Republican governor of California, had been elected in 1871 with the strong support of the Grange, running on a platform that stressed opposition to railroad subsidies. In Humboldt County, many of the leading figures in the new party were former Republicans. The most notable among them was W. J. Sweasey, who had been chairman of the county's Republican party since the Civil War. Sweasey was elected president of the new party, and a full slate of candidates was chosen for upcoming elections. First among a long list of party resolutions was an expression of strong opposition to "giving lands or money or loaning the National credit to corporations or other persons, for the purposes of creating dangerous monopolies to oppress the people." Another resolution denounced corruption "whether by means of 'Credit Mobilier Frauds' in the East" or "Contract and

Finance Companies in California." The Tax-Payer party declared its support for "equality of taxation, so that the burden of maintaining the government shall be borne by the rich in proportion to their wealth." Finally, it endorsed a measure to regulate "the carrying business of the country" by controlling railroad freight rates.<sup>20</sup>

The ensuing campaign was one of the most heated in the county's history. The Tax-Payer party faced difficulties from the outset. The Republican platform, although not quite as populist in tone, was almost indistinguishable from the Tax-Payer program in its planks on taxation, corruption, and monopoly. Several Republican candidates openly acknowledged that corruption and monopoly were serious problems. The Tax-Payer party also had to face the opposition of the county press and repeated allegations that party members were a group of "sore heads and broken down political hacks" who had been shunned by the Republican party, notwithstanding the fact that the Tax-Payer party held its convention before the Republicans.<sup>21</sup>

The Republicans fretted, in particular, about the allegiance of Humboldt's farmers. In 1872 and 1873, there were growing manifestations of their discontent. Farmers in vari-

ous locales throughout the county began forming Farmers' Protective Unions in 1872 "for the purposes of reflecting the best interests of the farming community of the county and deriving some plan of action for mutual benefit."<sup>22</sup> In 1873, Humboldt County farmers affiliated with the California Grange.<sup>23</sup> While the Humboldt Grange did not make political endorsements, there can be no doubt that the organization reflected deep-seated discontents. Farmers complained repeatedly to the county press about low prices, and the *Humboldt Times* reported that for "several years" local farmers "have received but indifferent rewards for their labor" and that "in some instances it has taken nearly all . . . to pay commission and expenses of transportation."<sup>24</sup>

The overall performance of the Tax-Payer party was impressive. It succeeded in electing its candidate to the state assembly and lost most of the county contests by narrow margins. The extent of the county farmers' disaffection showed in the strong support the Tax-Payer party received in most rural precincts, equivalent to its showings in Eureka and Arcata.<sup>25</sup> The 1873 election was the first electoral expression of a rising tide of dissent in Humboldt County. Rumblings of discontent had been growing louder since the Civil





PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

War and were finally crystallizing into a coherent political movement. Several leading political figures in Humboldt County permanently severed their connections with the Republican and, to a lesser extent, Democratic parties. Sweasey emerged as the leading dissident in the county—a position he occupied for the next decade and that culminated in his nomination for the lieutenant governorship of California on the Greenback Labor party ticket in 1882. No one else in the county expressed with such lucidity and forcefulness the profound sense of disillusionment felt by many people.

Sweasey was born in London, England, in 1805. At age twenty-one, he captained a sea vessel engaged in trade with the West Indies. In 1837, he left "'perfidious Albion' to set out for the land of the free," and, shortly after arriving in America, he and his family joined Robert Owen's communitarian settlement in New Harmony, Indiana. For several years he was a "near neighbor" and employee of Owen, whom he described as "an old and valued friend." In the 1840s, Sweasey became involved with the Young America movement before taking the overland route to California in 1850. Soon after his arrival, he became a champion of settlers' rights in their battle with the Spanish land

grant holders. He became known as the "Squatter King," and he lived on a ranch near Redwood City until he was evicted. He joined the Democratic party and in 1853 was elected to the California Assembly as a representative from San Francisco. In 1855 he moved to Hydesville, in southern Humboldt County, where he engaged in dairy farming. Within a year, he was chairman of the Humboldt County Democratic party, but shortly after the election of James Buchanan in 1856, he left the party. He helped found the county's Republican party and was its chairman from its inception until 1872.

Sweasey moved with his family to Eureka in 1862 and established a successful general store there.<sup>26</sup> By 1867, in spite of his prominent position in the county's Republican party, Sweasey had become highly critical of the Republican-dominated county administration. Just before the 1873 elections, he severed his ties with the party. He wrote frequent letters to the local press voicing his profound concern at the direction in which he believed America was heading, the most eloquent of which appeared a few months after the 1873 election.

*Look at the corruption and venality exposed in our late national councils. Look at the profligate disposal of our public*

*domain, the noblest inheritance ever bequeathed to a people. Look at our swindling financial system, made and perpetuated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Look at the mass of misery and crime in our great cities; near 1,500 homicides in the city of New York alone in one year; thousands thrown houseless, breadless on the street. Why? Are they idle, unwilling to work? Has nature refused her support? Neither. Our harvests were never more bountiful. . . . A century ago honesty and ability guided our national councils. Today can we say so? A few years more of this misrule of the weak minded and where will be the superiority of the condition of our people over the condition of the people of the monarchical governments of Europe? Already our taxes are greater than the taxes of any other people or nation. Our lands are held in quantities larger than German principalities; not by aristocracies of birth, but by aristocracies of wealth, by corporations who have no souls, who never die, who control the weak minded men, who fill our legislative halls, both National and State, while thousands upon thousands are suffering for food, shelter and the commonest necessities of life.<sup>27</sup>*

**T**he depression of the late 1870s reinforced the fears of men like Sweasey and led to a revival of organized dissenting political activity. The dissidents were struck

Although their dress set tannery owners Pete and John Sass (front row center) off from their employees, their place in this portrait suggests that they knew the feel and smell of a hide and could probably step in for an absent worker in an emergency. Such relationships reinforced the dream of upward mobility and blurred class distinctions.

Photo by Adam W. Gilfillan.

No owner joined these mill workers for their group portrait. Larger establishments with corporate or absentee owners became more common in Humboldt County in the 1880s, but the trend away from family businesses was already apparent in the 1870s.



both by the social and political turmoil at state and national levels and by unprecedented social and economic dislocations in their own community. The destitution caused by the depression hit Humboldt County as early as January 1877. The *Humboldt Times* complained about the "insufferable nuisance" caused by the "professional beggar."<sup>28</sup> A few weeks later, the *Times* stated that "there seems to be a regularly organized band of ruffians in this city. Scarcely a day passes but what we hear of an assault being made upon some of our citizens."<sup>29</sup>

The depression severely affected the Humboldt County lumber industry as the price of redwood lumber plummeted. In 1876, prices stood at an all-time high of \$30 per thousand board feet for clear lumber; by 1879, it had slumped to \$18 per thousand feet.<sup>30</sup> Lumber workers' wages were cut by \$5 to \$25 a month in February, 1877, a move that reportedly gave rise to "considerable complaint."<sup>31</sup> After the July 4 holiday that year, lumber employers closed their mills indefinitely. Hundreds of lumber workers lost their jobs, and there were grave predictions about the repercussions on the local economy.<sup>32</sup> Few mills resumed operations in 1877, and poverty and unemployment were widespread. The local press reported that many families were in dire straits. There were re-

current complaints about tramps and incidents of alleged arson.<sup>33</sup>

The press received a stream of anonymous letters that were indicative of growing social tensions. The *Democratic Standard*, which in 1877 came under the auspices of Greenback Labor party supporter William Ayres, provided a fresh outlet for expressions of discontent. In November 1877, it published a strongly worded letter from "Argonaut," insisting that a man had the right to work and warning that, while people prefer legal remedies, "men cannot be patient when they are hungry." He compared the plight of labor to a turtle "upon which the elephants of capital stand."<sup>34</sup> The *Humboldt Times* received an equally strongly worded communication from "Justice":

*Dissensions, like contagions, seem to spread over the country. Even the little Hamlet of Arcata is not an exception. She has a few pioneers who have been fortunate enough to make a little money out of the Indians, the soldiers and the later immigrants, until they have acquired a few town lots and some tenantable housing. Not unlike the railroad kings they are the self-constituted aristocrats who claim the right to extort by law . . . all the blood money possible from the poorer classes.*<sup>35</sup>

Another theme expressed in critical letters to the editor was suspicion that public land laws were being vio-

lated. One writer charged the county surveyor with long delays in filing plats for preemption claims and suggested that the delays were a conspiracy to aid the "land grabbers."<sup>36</sup> In fact, it was a common practice for large Humboldt County landholders to circumvent the 160-acre homestead limit by paying another person a fee to file the initial claim with the understanding that the land title would soon be transferred to the sponsoring landholder.<sup>37</sup>

Land fraud and the growing concentration of land ownership received considerable attention in the state press. Thus, in 1873 the *Sacramento Daily Record* published articles based on data from the State Board of Equalization which revealed that land distribution had become very skewed in many California counties. These findings were reported in many California newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Humboldt Times*.<sup>38</sup> In Humboldt, forty individuals or businesses owned over a thousand acres in 1873, and five owned more than five thousand. One individual owned 23,169 acres.<sup>39</sup> By the late 1870s, letters to the county press on the land question were frequent enough to suggest that sentiment on this issue contributed significantly to the discontent.

In the debates surrounding the election of delegates to the California





PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

constitutional convention in 1878, land monopoly and fraud were the most frequently discussed issues.<sup>40</sup> Sweasey wrote several long, impassioned letters on the subject. He asserted that unless reforms were undertaken to ensure a more equitable distribution of land, the result would be "serfdom and slavery or a bloody revolution."<sup>41</sup> He pointed to the turmoil in Ireland as proof of his argument and added that "what was done in Ireland by war and conquest was more successfully done in California by fraud under the pretense of law."<sup>42</sup> Sweasey described in great detail the fraudulent means by which much of California's land was acquired shortly after the Mexican-American War. He insisted that similar frauds were being used to obtain land in parts of California not covered by the Spanish land grants and alluded to one scheme to aggrandize "thirty square leagues, north of Cape Mendocino."<sup>43</sup> In another letter, Sweasey spoke of land monopoly as the "greatest evil," and recalled the day he had witnessed eighty families being evicted from their land under the English enclosure laws to make way for a deer park.<sup>44</sup> At the Franklin Society Debating Club in Eureka in 1878, a schoolteacher, George Sarvis, echoed many of Sweasey's arguments. Sarvis spoke in favor of a motion to limit the amount of land an individual

or corporation might own on the grounds that "the holding of large and unlimited quantities of land by one individual or an association of individuals disturbs the unalienable right of each citizen and when carried out, destroys popular government."<sup>45</sup>

Humboldt County farmers were not immediately hit by the depression of the late 1870s. Harvests in 1877 and 1878 were bountiful, and prices for most crops held constant, although they began to fall slightly in 1879. Nevertheless, the county's Grange did not hesitate to join other dissidents in calling for far-reaching reforms. The Grange had become a strong force in the social and political life of the county by the late 1870s. There were at least six branches of the Grange in 1877. Complete lists of branches and membership figures are unfortunately hard to obtain, but the fact that the Ferndale Grange boasted a membership of 150 in 1877 (up from 90 in 1874) suggests that the Humboldt County Grange was flourishing.<sup>46</sup> The Grange performed important social and economic functions. The Table Bluff Grange built its own hall,<sup>47</sup> and all the Granges frequently held dances and other events. The Table Bluff Grange (and perhaps others) also established cooperative retail facilities.<sup>48</sup> In the political realm, Humboldt Grangers stressed the need for a stable and expanded money supply based on

silver and greenbacks. And, in general, their prognosis for the American body politic was gloomy. In March 1878, the Ferndale Grange passed the following resolution:

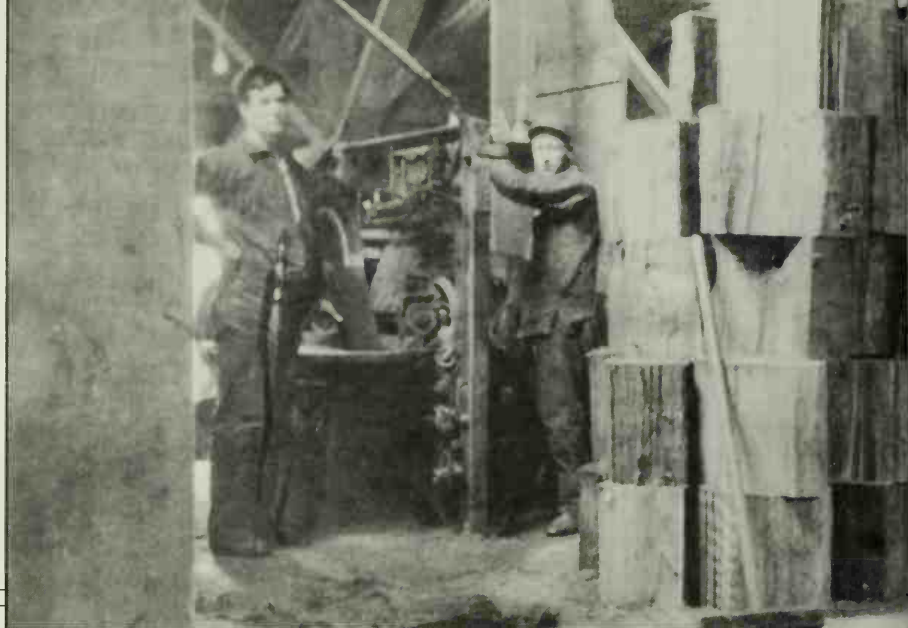
*Whereas, a people view with alarm the growing tendency (by legislation) of a bourbon aristocracy, a system of landlordism such as exists in Germany, England and throughout Europe, and which if not checked soon will finally reduce the working classes of America to mere slaves and vassals. . . . The toiling masses of this country are today to the banks and corporations what the peons of Mexico are to the aristocracy of that so called Republic.*

*Resolved, that we look upon this bourbon element with suspicion and distrust in their efforts to subvert that form of government bequeathed to us by our fathers, and to erect instead a semi-despotic government, controlled by a centralized aristocracy.*<sup>49</sup>

A host of grievances that had been simmering for a decade surfaced in 1877–1878 in the context of the depression and the debate over the need for a new state constitution. Complaints included the costs of state government, inequitable tax laws, corruption in government at all levels, and the political power of the railroads in California and nationwide. This conjuncture of events and discontents led to the formation of a California



*Dolbeer-Carson shingle mill, Samoa, ca. 1890. Industrialization in the lumber industry created new jobs requiring skill and endurance in dangerous conditions—in contrast to Eastern factories which often reduced skilled artisans to laborers. Photo by G. W. Miller.*



Workingmen's party in Humboldt and thirty-nine other California counties. Humboldt voters expressed their growing disquiet in September 1877 when a statewide referendum was held on whether to call a convention to rewrite the 1849 California Constitution. In general, Californians content with the status quo were opposed to a convention. Humboldt County voted in favor of a convention by a margin of 10–1 (2,552 votes to 258);<sup>50</sup> voters statewide approved the measure by less than a 2–1 majority (73,400 to 44,200).<sup>51</sup>

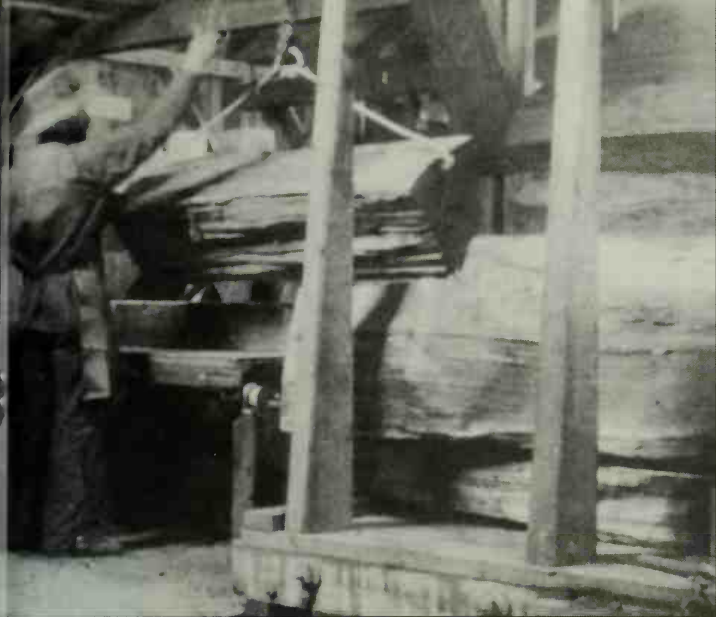
In San Francisco, another issue gained prominence at this time. Anti-Chinese sentiment reached new heights during the depression of the late 1870s, a fact that historians have viewed as the most important element in the birth of the Workingmen's party there. The Chinese population of Humboldt County also increased, from 38 in 1870 to 242 in 1880,<sup>52</sup> and by the late 1870s Eureka possessed a Chinatown of sorts.<sup>53</sup> The local press commented occasionally on the alleged existence of opium dens and brothels in Eureka's Chinatown, and several attacks on Chinese people, usually by Eureka youths, took place. Notwithstanding this, and the fact that in 1885 Eureka achieved the dubious distinction of being one of the first western communities to expel its Chinese population, Sinophobia was not a major

issue in county politics in the late 1870s for a number of reasons.<sup>54</sup> First, by 1880 the Chinese constituted only 1.5 percent of the county's population, whereas in San Francisco they made up 16.3 percent of the inhabitants, and they were 8.7 percent of the state population. Moreover, Humboldt's Chinese population was relatively dispersed. Eureka, with its so-called Chinatown, in 1880 contained only 101 Chinese people. Second, while competition from Chinese labor may have aroused some animosity, few Chinese were employed in the county's two principal industries, lumber and agriculture. Most worked as miners (66), laborers (62), cooks (37), and in the laundry business (23). Only 6 of the 228 Chinese employed in the county worked in the lumber industry.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the Chinese in Humboldt County did not threaten white labor as directly as they did in San Francisco and other parts of California. Significantly, when lumber employers tried to make more extensive use of Chinese labor in the early 1880s, anti-Chinese sentiment rose dramatically. Undoubtedly, most Humboldters favored Chinese exclusion by the late 1870s, but a host of other grievances were far more important in the formation of the California Workingmen's party.

The Humboldt County Workingmen's party was organized in May

1878 to participate in elections to choose delegates to the California constitutional convention. Sweasey, the party's first chairman, was the candidate for the county delegate seat. J. N. Barton, a farmer from Ferndale, received the senatorial nomination for the 27th District. The party's convention passed a string of resolutions: Public officers convicted of bribery should be liable to a twenty-year jail sentence; taxes should be levied only "to meet the expenses of government"; and "taxation should be equal, so that the burden of maintaining government be borne by the rich in proportion to their wealth." Also, railroads should be taxed in relation to their "actual cash value," while the large landholdings of corporations and wealthy individuals should be taxed at the same rate per acre as small landholders. All legal means should be used to halt the immigration of the Chinese "and other inferior races who cannot amalgamate with us."<sup>56</sup> A few days after the convention, the party founded a newspaper, the *Workingman*, edited by Sweasey and Barton.

The county Democratic and Republican organizations joined forces to elect delegates to the constitutional convention. County judge C. G. Stafford applauded this cooperation, for "as matters now stand it is possible for the Communists to get con-



PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

Humboldt County voters in the 1877 referendum favored a constitutional convention by a margin of 10 to 1; the statewide margin was 2 to 1.

trol of the Convention."<sup>57</sup> The fusion plan aroused the ire of the Workingmen's party. The *Democratic Standard* asserted that "the managers of the two parties, under the direction of the monopolists, have joined hands . . . against the 'common enemy,' that is, the workingman."<sup>58</sup>

At the June 19 election, the Humboldt County Workingmen's party triumphed over the "nonpartisan" party. Both Sweasey and Barton were elected delegates to the constitutional convention. On the whole, the votes for the two men were remarkably evenly distributed over the county, with both candidates picking up approximately the same levels of support in Eureka as they did in the rural precincts. In Eureka, Sweasey and Barton won fifty-six percent and sixty percent of the vote, respectively. Outside Eureka, Sweasey's share of the vote in all precincts combined was slightly lower (fifty percent) and Barton's somewhat higher (sixty-seven percent). The consistency of the two men's performance throughout the county's twenty-three precincts indicates the breadth of support for the Workingmen's party.<sup>59</sup>

Barton proved an especially effective spokesman at the constitutional convention. He spoke with particular stridency on the issue of "land grabbing," calling for a state investigation and the repossession of

fraudulently acquired lands. But he declared that he was pledged to no "agrarian measures" and that he was not at the convention "to disturb the rights of property." He advocated "equal taxation" as the best means to stop land grabbing. To this end, he introduced several resolutions calling for amendments to the state's tax system, including the adoption of a state income tax. He also spoke in favor of retrenchment in state expenditures and a reduction in the salaries of state officials.<sup>60</sup>

The Humboldt Workingmen's party was pleased with the outcome of the constitutional convention, unlike the San Francisco branch of the party, which split on the question of ratification. Within two weeks of the convention, the Humboldt party launched a vigorous campaign to ratify the new constitution, which promised strict regulation of railroads and other public utilities, a more equitable system of taxation, an eight-hour day on all public works projects, and a series of anti-Chinese provisions. The *Democratic Standard* was the only newspaper in the county to endorse ratification unequivocally. It denounced the California Democratic party for opposing ratification and accused the party of betraying "the true principles taught us by a Jefferson and a Jackson," and called on its readers to "remember General Jackson and

his war upon the privileged classes."<sup>61</sup> In the ratification referendum on May 7, 1879, California voters endorsed the new constitution by a relatively small margin of 77,959 to 67,134 votes; but in Humboldt County the ratification majority was much more decisive, with 1,714 votes in favor and 1,051 against.<sup>62</sup>

The Humboldt Workingmen's party perceived the ratification as a triumph for the workingman, and the party's success encouraged the belief that the time was ripe for a basic realignment of political forces to regenerate a corrupt and decadent American body politic. With remarkable frequency, letters to local newspapers harkened back nostalgically to the days of Jefferson and Jackson when the American republic supposedly had true Democrats at the helm. As one voter, "Jeffersonian," put it: "We are upon the eve of a reorganization of political forces. The two old parties have had their day." The Democratic party represented democracy in name only and had "drifted far from its moorings," while the Republican party was dominated by corporations and pro-Chinese sentiment. He concluded that the Workingmen's party was the only true standard-bearer of pure democratic principles.<sup>63</sup>

The profound concern expressed about the peril to American democracy cannot be dismissed as partisan



*These Ferndale men took self-conscious pride in their identity as craftsmen, wearing workclothes and carrying their tools for a studio portrait. Photo by Adam W. Gilfillan.*

*The prosperity of the growing dairy industry cushioned the Gilded Age depressions for Humboldt County farmers.*



political rhetoric. "Is this a Republic?" asked the *Democratic Standard* at the head of its editorial column immediately after the ratification election. It recounted how, just before the election, workers at one lumber mill had found a ticket under their dinner plates marked "Against the Constitution." The *Standard* commented: "When the daily laborer can be intimidated and forced to vote against his judgement what is he but a slave," and the editorial concluded that "if we are to be a republic let it be so in fact. Our sires laid down their lives to establish one. We should be prepared to maintain it, if needs be with our lives."<sup>64</sup> A month later, the *Standard* reported that some employers in the county had dismissed workers who had voted for the new constitution.<sup>65</sup> Events at the local, state, and national levels produced profound disquiet on the part of many Humboldters, who saw themselves as defending a sacred democratic-republican legacy. Not surprisingly, they invoked the figureheads, symbols, and rhetoric of a supposedly golden age.

The Humboldt Workingmen's party began taking steps in the spring of 1879 to consolidate its organization to contest the forthcoming statewide and county elections. In March, 1879, a convention was held to elect delegates to a state convention of the Workingmen's party and to encour-

age the establishment of workingmen's clubs. By June, 1879, clubs were mushrooming throughout the county.<sup>66</sup> In the same month, a convention nominated candidates and drew up a platform. The platform extolled the new constitution, stressing in particular how it would reduce the burden of taxation. But it reiterated that the resolute implementation of the new constitution depended on electing "faithful friends" to all branches of government.<sup>67</sup>

Who were the "faithful friends" nominated by the Workingmen's party?<sup>68</sup> Most of the candidates were in their forties or early fifties and had come to California in the 1850s. Almost all had resided in Humboldt County for at least ten years. A majority were natives of the New England and Middle Atlantic regions and came from relatively humble origins. Very few had held public office before, and only one had done so in Humboldt County. Two farmers, both Grangers, were on the ticket; one owned a "small farm" and the other a "comfortable farm." Thomas Cutler, the candidate for sheriff, was the only businessman on the ticket. He was, allegedly, one of only two merchants in Eureka who supported the Workingmen's party "against all the threats of the San Francisco wholesale merchants and railroad carriers." Two of the men on the ticket ran livery stables.

One was Pierce Ryan, the senatorial candidate for the state's 27th District; the other, John Carr, had spent most of his life as a miner and blacksmith. The nominee for county clerk was a carpenter, and the candidate for county treasurer had worked in the lumber mills for six years. Three professional people—two lawyers and a schoolteacher—rounded out the ticket. Their prospective offices of district attorney, superior court judge, and school administrator demanded at least a modicum of professional training and experience.

The Workingmen's party conducted a spirited campaign against the Republicans and Democrats in the county. Leaders of the new party berated the old-line forces for opposing ratification of the state constitution and portrayed themselves as the true standard-bearers of the American democratic tradition. J. D. H. Chamberlin, the Workingmen's party candidate for superior county judge, opened a speech at Ferndale by quoting at length from the Declaration of Independence.<sup>69</sup> The *Democratic Standard* warned that there are "vital principles involved in the election of the most unimportant officer. . . . The tory spirit has revived after 100 years of rest and today opposes the honest yeomanry of our country with all the oppressive bitterness that persecuted the heroes of American freedom."<sup>70</sup> On



PETER PALMQUIST COLLECTION

the evening before election day, the Workingmen's party staged a torch-light parade in Eureka that drew supporters from all over the county. The *Standard* described the procession as "composed entirely of farmers, laborers and mechanics."<sup>71</sup>

Although the Workingmen's party did not achieve the sweeping success it had in electing delegates to the constitutional convention, its performance was impressive. Every candidate for statewide office on the Workingmen's ticket got a majority of the vote in Humboldt County. Party candidates for the state senate and legislature were elected, and the party won half the county's executive positions, losing the remainder by only a few votes to the fusionist opposition. Precinct returns again indicated that the Workingmen's party received consistent support throughout the county, performing best in the burgeoning agricultural townships of Ferndale and Table Bluff. In most other rural precincts the party performed no better, and sometimes worse, than in Eureka, where it fell only a few votes short of a majority in almost all county and state contests. Statewide, the Workingmen elected the chief justice of the state supreme court, five of six associate justices, and sixteen assemblymen and eleven state senators. This result failed to give the party the hoped-for majority in the

state legislature and was somewhat disappointing in view of its strong showing in the 1878 constitutional convention elections.

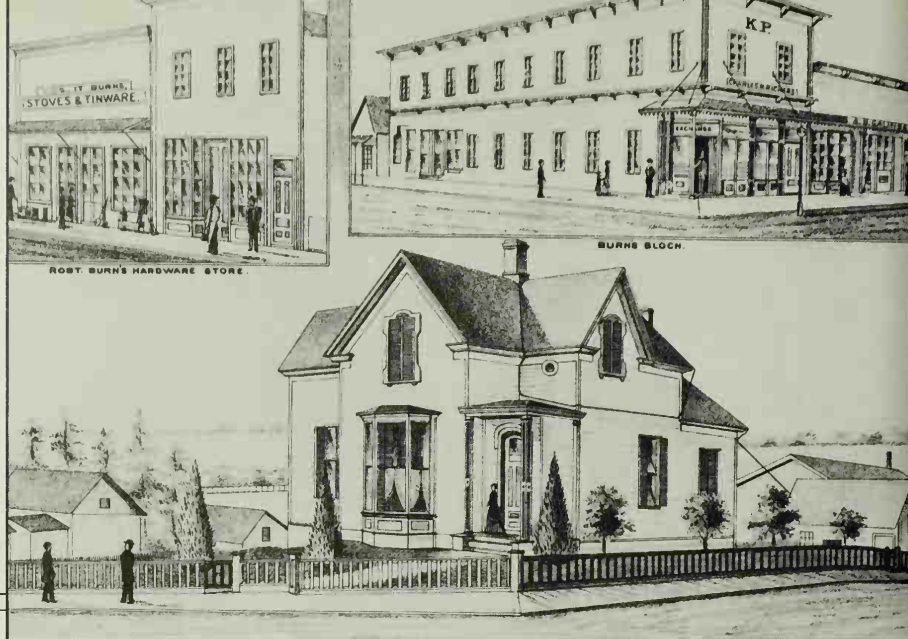
The ineffectual performance of many party representatives once in state and local office and persistent factionalism in the San Francisco branch led to a rapid decline of the party after the 1879 state elections. The gathering political momentum of the National Greenback party encouraged some members of the Workingmen's party, including Denis Kearney, leader of the San Francisco branch, to join the Greenbacks. In addition, the success of the Workingmen's party prompted California's Republican and Democratic parties (especially the latter) to become more responsive to the demands of the Workingmen's party on such issues as Chinese exclusion, land monopoly, and stricter regulation of railroads. Many Workingmen's representatives aligned with one of the two major parties, usually the Democrats, in a process that Alexander Saxton dubbed "the institutionalization of labor politics."<sup>72</sup>

The decline of the Workingmen's party in Humboldt County reflected its demise statewide. Supporters were discouraged by the overall performance of the party in the 1879 state elections and in municipal elections in Humboldt and other coun-

ties in early 1880. Throughout the 1879 campaign party leaders stressed that the new constitution was a dead letter unless the party obtained a majority in the state legislature. Thus, the Humboldt County Workingmen's party virtually turned the election into a referendum on the future of the party. Immediately after the election, the *Democratic Standard* declared that the new constitution had been "practically nullified." It lamented the well-publicized factionalism of the San Francisco branch and the fact that a considerable number of Workingmen's party representatives were moving into the old parties.<sup>73</sup> Humboldters who retained their faith in the new party after the elections became disillusioned with the performance of some representatives. In April 1880, the *Standard* reported "much talk of dissatisfaction among the workingmen of Eureka about the policy which some of the county officers elected on the Workingmen's ticket have chosen to pursue."<sup>74</sup> George Shaw, who had been elected county assessor on the party ticket, incurred the wrath of many people when he added an office clerk to his staff at a salary of \$135 per month and selected a long-time enemy of the Workingmen's party as his main adviser.<sup>75</sup> By April, 1880, Shaw was so unpopular that he required a bodyguard.<sup>76</sup>

Growing interest in the Greenback





*The 1888 Humboldt County history features a number of displays of the multiple properties of prominent citizens—concentrations of wealth that fueled the disquiet of the county's dissenters.*

Labor party hastened the dissolution of the Humboldt County Workingmen's party. Greenback clubs sprang up throughout the county between 1878 and 1880. In fact, remnants of the Workingmen's party reconstituted themselves as the Humboldt Greenback Labor party. The Greenbackers' panaceas had a much stronger appeal in Humboldt County than they did in San Francisco and many other California counties.

By the late 1870s, a coherent dissenting tradition had emerged in Humboldt County. The evolution of this tradition owed much to the persistence of values associated with an antebellum democratic-republican ideology that stressed the superiority of the American political system. Chauvinistic and almost millennial assumptions engendered a profound set of beliefs and expectations about the nature of the American political economy. In particular, the free-labor tenet and its corollary, the labor theory of value, stressing as they did the immense contribution of the free laborer to America's progress, heightened expectations about the future, reinforced the workingman's sense of his moral worth, and endowed him with a civic responsibility to scrutinize the destiny of the republic. Between 1866 and 1880, developments at the local, state, and national levels convinced many Humboldters that pernicious eco-

nomic and political events threatened the sanctity and purity of the American Republic and seriously threatened the free laborer's advancement.

Undeniably, contradictions and ambiguities existed in the democratic-republican legacy. Two contradictions, in particular, are worth noting. Both derived from a marked discrepancy between the dissenters' penetrating political analysis and their often superficial prescriptions. On the crucial question of land monopoly, for example, Sweasey took a radical stance in advocating a statutory limitation on the amount of land a person might own. Barton and the Ferndale Grange, for all their deeply felt anxieties about the concentration of land ownership and land fraud, could not countenance so direct an interference with the rights of private property.<sup>77</sup> Paradoxically, many dissenters railed against what they perceived as the dangers of unfettered capitalism but could not bring themselves to advocate far-reaching controls (with the possible exception of railroad regulation) over private property rights. This disparity between a keen perception of fundamental problems and a naïve faith in piecemeal solutions that ignored underlying structural problems stands out in the dissenters' faith that all could be rectified if only good, honest men were

elected. Even a man as disenchanted as Sweasey could in one breath speak of the gravity of social and economic trends and the threat to the republic and in the next proclaim his belief in the ability of the "best men" to correct the situation.

Notwithstanding its ambiguous features, the democratic-republican tradition provided Humboldt's dissenters with an arsenal of ideas. Increasingly, they would jettison many (but not all) of the contradictory strands of the tradition and embrace reforms that entailed at least a measure of state control over private property. The Humboldt Workingmen's party bequeathed to the county a dissenting ideological legacy that the Greenback Labor party, the International Workingmen's Association, and the Knights of Labor were able to draw on in the 1880s, and that the Humboldt Populists relied on heavily in the 1890s. Many leaders of the Humboldt Workingmen's party played important roles in these movements. In 1886, the *Arcata Union* commented with alarm and derision on the growing strength of the People's party, the political arm of the Humboldt Knights of Labor, describing its leadership as "in the main the same old political fossils . . . that have monopolized every reform movement from the days of Kearney."<sup>78</sup> ■

*See notes beginning on page 158.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

## *The Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California.*

By David Wyatt. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 272 pp., \$24.95)

Reviewed by David Robertson, Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Davis and author of *West of Eden: A History of Art and Literature of Yosemite*.

This is a book completely controlled by Western modes of thought. Fundamental for Wyatt are the Bible with its emphasis on history as the stage on which God and human beings act out their purposes, and the Romantic imagination's postulation of "a Paradise within." He believes that human beings have finally to create meaning in time, not space, and the locus of this meaning is inside the mind.

The writers to whom Wyatt turns again and again for help in understanding Californian authors are Milton, Blake, Wordsworth, Emerson, and Frost, the grand European-Eastern American tradition. These same writers provide a grid on which California writers can be mapped: for example, Jeffers is the California Milton, Kenneth Rexroth the California Marvell, William Everson its Blake, and Gary Snyder its Wordsworth.

Wyatt says he originally conceived his book as an "act of praise" of the California landscape, but that it turned into "an elegy for the belief that happiness can be founded in natural space." He found the story of each of the writers he considers in full detail (Richard Henry Dana, Zenas Leonard, John Charles Frémont, Clarence King, Mary Austin, Frank Norris, John Steinbeck, Raymond Chandler, Robinson Jeffers, and Gary Snyder) "a story of loss" (p.207). "Careers that began as celebrations of an outer world often ended by affirming the reality of an inner one" (p.208). He concludes that "space is the generous and enabling lie told by time" and that "writing about



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Writer Mary Austin

landscape carries us beyond the need for landscape" (p.210).

It is not surprising that his book turned into an elegy, given Wyatt's assumptions. If you presuppose that people are what really matter, not places, that the passage of time is what poses the greatest threat to human beings, and that consolation can be found only inside the mind, that is, if you presuppose human alienation from nature, then that is what you will find. The move from praise to elegy was also predisposed by his own experience. Wyatt's main theme is that the California land-

scape is an autobiographical stage on which writers act out their own psychodramas, and in the "Prologue" he tells us that the idyllic acre of Southern California real estate where he was raised now lies under the Long Beach Freeway.

The tenor of this review was also in large measure predetermined by my assumption that time is as fictive a creation as space, by my belief that we are not necessarily alienated from the ground of our being, and by my conviction that an adequate account of California literature cannot be given using only the cate-



gories of western culture. California is the place where West most significantly meets East. Its writers may stand in the Romantic tradition, but many of them have placed at least one foot on the Asian continent. Some have even put the other one squarely onto American Indian soil.

I found Wyatt's treatment of individual writers without exception to be insightful. His strength is correlating biography with literary output. In each chapter he probes biography until he discovers a centrally located psychological knot. Then he shows how the author in question projects that knot onto the landscape and tries to untie it by writing about it. In every case the effort fails, so that a sense of loss pervades the work.

Thus Mary Austin projected onto the land "the drama of nurturance being played out in her own life" (p.82). "It was his private failure to find ecstasy in his birthplace that most visibly troubled Steinbeck . . . his inability to cultivate happiness with a woman in California" (p.152). Consequently, his "best books try and usually fail to establish a place where ecstasy can be shared by the sexes" (p. 127). Chandler's "story is of a man in search of a hidden truth" (p. 163) just as he himself searched for the secret of his wife's age.

Wyatt always goes for what he takes as central to a writer's life and work. As a result he comes away with large and generalizable insights. He has something important to say about a writer. At the same time, of course, he omits the nuances that a fuller treatment might discover and ponder over. All in all I find that I like Wyatt's strategy. He gets right to the point. I am less happy about his presuppositions. ■

## *The Suburban Squeeze: Land Conversion and Regulation in the San Francisco Bay Area.*

By David E. Dowall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 248

pp., \$30.00 cloth).

*Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Professor of History at Vista College, Berkeley, and author of Golden Gate Metropolis.*

The San Francisco Bay area, the United States' fourth most populous metropolitan region, also has the nation's highest housing prices and its most active local environmental movement. The connection between these latter two phenomena—the extent to which land use policies favored by environmentalists have increased the cost of shelter—is the subject of David Dowall's *The Suburban Squeeze*. Bernard Frieden covered some of the same ground in *The Environmental Protection Hustle* (1979), but Dowall's work is a far more careful and scholarly effort.

Dowall admits that environmental measures are often necessary and beneficial, but his major point is that "highly restrictive controls on growth do harm communities, businesses, and individual citizens." He detects a "growing constituency for relaxed land use controls and more affordable housing" and intends to add his voice "to that rising chorus."

The author supports his argument with case studies of three pairs of Bay Area suburban communities—Santa Rosa and Napa, Concord and Fremont, and San Rafael and Novato. As a result of these studies, he concludes that land use restrictions directly add eighteen to thirty-four percent to the cost of new Bay Area housing. Indirect effects, such as spillover pressure on neighboring communities, create additional burdens that further increase the price of both existing and new homes. This adversely affects the entire regional economy and especially hurts the poor as well as young middle class families who are attempting to enter the housing market.

While Dowall's arguments are clear and well-crafted, they are unlikely to convince environmentalists. The book attempts to quantify in dollar terms only

the costs of environmental policies but not the benefits, which, as Dowall admits, are also substantial. And while the book discusses land use policies in some East Coast communities, it does not compare the Bay Area with perhaps its closest equivalent, the Los Angeles basin. Housing costs in that region are almost as high as those in the Bay Area, but land use policies do not seem to be as strict. The book also lacks historical perspective, particularly coverage of pre-war Bay Area settlement patterns and the development of the region's environmental consciousness. Finally, it is difficult to imagine widescale implementation of many of Dowall's recommendations, such as high density housing development, without some form of overall regional government or regional planning agency. Yet the book all but ignores that politically controversial subject.

Dowall's major miscalculation may be his conviction that there is substantial public support in favor of weakening strict land use policies. He contends that "issues of optimal city size are not very useful for formulating policy about housing . . ." "What is important," he argues, "is maintaining the constant ebb and flow of business firms to ensure economic viability. And growth is the only thing that can produce this ebb and flow." But a recent San Francisco *Chronicle* poll conducted by the Field Institute concluded that only twelve percent of Bay Area residents believed that economic growth was more important than environmental protection. Thus the popularity of land use constraints in individual suburban communities may not simply be a case of selfish local protectionism, but rather the harbinger of a broad-based movement to place limits on the growth in the Bay Area as a whole. For better or worse, the region may be breaking dramatic new ground in American urban policy and culture, challenging the basic assumption that limitless economic expansion and population growth are inevitable and desirable. ■

*An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles. 1781–1985.*

By Antonio Rios-Bustamente and Pedro Castillo. (University of California: Chicano Studies Research Center Publication, 1986, 196 pp., \$15.00 cloth).

Reviewed by Manuel G. Gonzales, Instructor of History at Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill, California.

There are over two million Mexicans living in the County of Los Angeles today; only Mexico City and Guadalajara have larger Mexican populations. In this brief history, the twelfth monograph published by the Chicano Studies Research Center at UCLA, the authors trace the trials and tribulations, as well as the successes, of these Mexican residents of the City of Angels from the pueblo's founding in 1781 to the present day. The text is complemented by over 100 illustrations, most of them photographs.

Organized in chronological fashion, the book's eight chapters describe the origins of El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles and relate the history of its Spanish-speaking inhabitants under Spanish, Mexican, and, after 1846, American rule. As the pueblo was rapidly transformed into a flourishing American metropolis in the late nineteenth century, Mexican Angelinos, now a racial minority, found themselves relegated to the status of second-class citizens. The twentieth century witnessed the dispersal of Mexicans from the city's central area, adjacent to the historic plaza, in all directions, especially eastward, and their gradual though incomplete absorption into the suburbs. Plagued by a multitude of problems, the Mexican community has continued to grow by leaps and bounds in recent years, while developing a unique culture that remains as vibrant today as at any time in the past.

The book is designed to appeal to both



*Los Angeles parade, ca. 1900.*

the general reader and the professional scholar, but the former will find it more informative than the latter. The text is a synthesis of work by Chicano and Anglo historians. Though the authors make good use of unpublished doctoral dissertations, primary sources are employed sparingly or not at all. One omission is particularly serious. The Report of Governor C.C. Young's Fact-Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California*, a well documented study published in 1930, focuses on Los Angeles County, yet absolutely no mention is made of this insightful document in "A Social Portrait, Circa 1930," a relatively lengthy section at the end of chapter six.

Given the vast scope of this work it is not surprising that many subjects (Catholicism is one) are accorded only

superficial treatment. Other topics, however, are neglected altogether. For example, MECHA, the foremost student organization of the Chicano movement, is not mentioned at all in the discussion on contemporary politics.

Still, these criticisms should not detract from a book with several outstanding features, the best of which is the excellent collection of photographs gathered from private as well as public archives, including those of the California Historical Society. The authors do a fine job of placing the settlement of southern California in the wider context of New Spain's northward expansion, and in the process they effectively counter the popular view that the *pobladores* were Spanish nobles; in fact, the first Angelinos were "a representative



cross-section of the laboring class population of Mexico's northern provinces" (p. 53). Another persisting myth laid to rest is that the Mexican community has been traditionally docile. This book makes it clear that in Los Angeles, as in other parts of the Southwest, Mexicans developed a variety of social, cultural, and even political organizations that helped them to adjust to American life beginning in the late nineteenth century.

In recent years a great deal of work has been done on ethnic communities of the American West. Chicano scholars have contributed significantly with important studies of Mexican barrios in El Paso, Tucson, Santa Barbara, and other Southwestern cities. *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles* is a valuable addition to this growing body of historical literature. ■

## James Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality.

By Richard Batman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, xiii + 378 pp., \$12.95 paper).

*Reviewed by John E. Baur, Professor of History, California State University, Northridge, author of four books on California and the West.*

Everyone familiar with the Mexican Era in California knows James Ohio Pattie's classic *Personal Narrative*. Since Timothy Flint published it in 1831 its reliability has been challenged. This book analyzes it and Pattie's dream of himself. Batman's endeavor to find his reality makes the subtitle as appropriate as the original title, *American Ecclesiastes*, for Pattie realized his struggles to gain a wilderness fortune had come to nothing.

Batman begins with Pattie's return to Kentucky, broke after five years' adventures in the Southwest. He then shows how the twenty-six-year-old was encouraged to write his story.

The *Personal Narrative* fascinates Batman as it has others through five later

editions, 1847–1962. Critics accused Flint of having written it; others called Pattie illiterate, but Batman convincingly demonstrates that Pattie had educated forebears and was in school before his trek. He believes that Flint's editing worsened a fast-moving account. Probably Pattie used a diary and perhaps his father's, too, to recall so many events and scenes. Following a painstaking mode of detection by internal evidence, Batman concludes that Pattie's writings show an unimpressive, easily forgettable youth who revered VIPs and authority even in the wilderness, while making most ordinary acquaintances anonymous. He nearly worshipped his father Sylvester, who died in a California jail. James's words reveal that he had led no rugged frontier childhood, had never hunted before, and was a poor businessman. In sum, Batman evaluates these memoirs as offering some new facts about an area and era little reported at the time, and the reactions of a youth to strange lands and ways. Nevertheless, Batman does not take Pattie's words as Gospel and does a fine job showing why he cannot. Anyone using the *Narrative* ought to keep beside it Batman's cautious "guidebook." Often Pattie observed with care, and did not invent stories, but was frequently "between truth and fiction," using overheard stories slightly changed to make himself the hero or his father the leader of men. His reported dramatic rescue of a New Mexican governor's daughter probably was not James's doing, nor did he actually accept a *Californio* rebel's surrender. As a prisoner, his bitterness against Governor José María Echeandía is understandable, but too strong to be accurate, according to other gringos' accounts. At first Pattie gives accurate geographical descriptions, but later these become vague and erroneous. Batman believes that he probably never visited the northern California missions. His famous account of vaccinating 22,000 Californians not only is statistically impossible—as long known—but probably never occurred. Californians had long known of vaccine, had

some, and did not need his amateurish "skills."

Throughout the *Narrative* is a dismal tale of Pattie's heroics and hard work, others' betrayals of him, losses of valuable furs, and his vain seeking of damages in Mexico.

Batman's checking continues beyond the *Narrative's* chronology, as he tries to trace Pattie's later years. After an 1833 tax record in Kentucky, there is no reliable trail. Three vague, shaky reports of his being in California in 1849 are shown to be unacceptable. Yet, Pattie probably did not become a hermit or outcast, Batman believes. In a well-documented account of a cholera epidemic which hit Pattie's home town, Augusta, Kentucky, in 1833, Batman speculates that he may have died then and there when records were hectic or absent. Perhaps so.

In tracing family and associates and illustrating life and landscape in areas associated with our "hero," Batman adds many extensive "asides." They show excellent research and provide so much assistance to readers wanting to immerse themselves in the adventures, that they seldom divert concentration. ■

## Museum Builders in the West: The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art 1870–1906.

By Carol M. Osborne, with essays by Paul Venable Turner and Anita Ventura Mozley and a note by Mary Lou Zimmerman Munn. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1986, 138 pp., \$14.95).

*Reviewed by KD Kurutz, Curator of Education, Crocker Art Museum.*

*Museum Builders of the West* is an elaborate tribute to the development of American art museums as we know them today. As stated in the opening chapter, "This book attempts to reconstruct the Museum's original makeup—

both the architectural achievement it represents and its broad holdings—as well as to study the art patronage of its founders in the context of the American Renaissance.”

This story is divided into five sections; the first two sections—“The Stanford Family Collection” and “The Leland Stanford Junior Museum”—are written by Carol M. Osborne, Associate Director and Curator of Collections for Stanford University Museum of Art. Divided into several subtopics, these two extensive essays present an informative context for appreciating both the Stanford family history and collecting habits as well as presenting a colorful picture of America’s “Gilded Age.” Anecdotes and fascinatingly detailed insights are drawn from family papers, contemporary newspaper accounts, and a vast array of other primary and secondary sources. The footnote section and index are very helpful. Museum visitors and history students, especially, will find these two sections entertaining—even if abundantly detailed—reading.

The remaining sections of the book cover three subjects—architectural significance of the buildings, the photography collection, and the Cesnola collection of Cupriot antiquities. Each subject is handled by knowledgeable experts and incorporates a great deal of technical information and scholarly insight. In some cases, information which was introduced in the two earlier sections is repeated unnecessarily in these sections. However, this point illustrates the great challenge undertaken by these authors. In order to address the acquisition of the museum’s broad, eclectic holdings during the lifetimes of Leland and Jane Stanford, they must give up the effort to relate the story in a clear, chronological format. As well, the individual intentions of a variety of collectors and their respective influences have to be acknowledged. In addition to the interests of Leland, Jane, and Leland Junior in American and European paintings, Oriental artifacts, Mediterranean antiquities, and photography, the con-

tributions of Anna Maria Lathrop Hewes (Jane’s sister), Thomas Welton Stanford (Leland’s brother), and Timothy Hopkins—to name a few—have also to be considered. Having noted these considerations, the reader should be prepared for a narrative style that lunges forward and retraces time periods, repeats information and introduces a multitude of characters.

The strong, independent personalities of both Leland and Jane Stanford are revealed throughout the collected essays. Leland’s well-known struggles with the painter Thomas Hill over the “Driving of the Last Spike” and with photographer Eadweard Muybridge, over “The Attitudes of Animals in Motion,” are both included. Jane is credited with significant control over collection development as well as overseeing execution of the university’s architectural plan. Her influence began before Leland’s death in 1893 and continued to her death in 1905. In concluding her essay on the museum, Carol Osborne notes that the Leland Stanford Junior Museum was considered a monument to the unfulfilled ambitions of a remarkable, precocious son. Ms. Osborne states: “. . . Jane Stanford justified her career—both to herself and to the world—by acting in the name of grieving motherhood. But the Leland Stanford Junior Museum was hers; she built it.”

One final matter to review is the use of illustrations. The book is generously illustrated with examples of works from the museum collection and historical photographs which document the family, installation of the galleries before and after the 1906 earthquake damage, and the architecture of the museum and related buildings. In most cases, these images are well-integrated with the text. Only five illustrations are in color, which is unfortunate in a publication directed to the general public. With such detailed description of many of the artworks and artifacts, the additional expense should have been allocated for this illuminating aid. Of even greater importance are the apparent misattributions of family

photographs at the beginning of the book. Two photographs—one of Leland, one of Jane—carry the captions of “1848” and “1850” respectively. However, they appear to be either cabinet views or cartes de visite from the Taber Studio, which means they would have been produced or mounted at a later date. The obvious discrepancy should have been explained either in caption or by footnote. In addition, the photograph of Leland Junior at age fifteen years, ten months, is incorrectly identified as being taken in 1882. This photograph should be dated 1884, according to information made available in the family chronology.

In summary, this book presents a glowing review of the significant contributions of the Stanford family. Each of the essayists—Carol M. Osborne, Paul Venable Turner, Anita Ventura Mozley and Mary Lou Zimmerman Munn—offers an expectedly generous accounting of the Stanfords’ vision and achievements. In addition to the detailed review of accomplishments, weaknesses on the part of the collectors and original leaders are also admitted. Gaps in the collection, inconsistent leadership, and poor decisions are noted, which prove the objectivity of this introspective look. This element enhances the value of this book to all readers. ■

### *Richard Neutra, Promise and Fulfillment, 1919–1932.*

By Dione Neutra; with a forward by Shirley Hufstедler, and a preface by Thomas S. Hines (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986, 240 pp., \$19.95 cloth).

*Reviewed by David Gebhard, Professor of Architectural History at the University of California, Santa Barbara.*

The life and creative accomplishments of an individual are, as we are continually being reminded, integrally bound up with others, and this is forcefully illustrated in the lives of Dione Neutra



and her famed architect husband Richard. In publishing these letters between her husband and herself (plus a number of others), Dione has revealed the depth of closeness and cultivated interdependence which was only partially apparent when one visited with the Neutras in their house overlooking Silver Lake in Los Angeles. The letters included in this volume start with their early courtship in Austria and Switzerland in 1919, and extend through their difficult years in Berlin, New York, Chicago, and finally in Los Angeles. Through these letters we obtain an interesting glimpse of these two personalities, an understanding only partially revealed in earlier writings by and about them.

Dione emerges as a remarkable personage, a gifted musician who laid aside her career for that of Richard, a person who created and maintained an environment within which her husband's creative abilities were nurtured and cultivated. And Richard comes forth, not as the often portrayed artist who wished others to sacrifice themselves for his goals, but as a perceptive, self critical, and warm individual. After their first child was born, Richard wrote to Dione in May, 1924, "One thing worries me, shall I have time for the boy? If not, it would be my loss. If one is observant one can learn much from one's child. No one can educate you more significantly, it seems to me, than a child" (p. 123).

Equally revealing is the inclusion of letters of Eric Mendelsohn and Frank Lloyd Wright to the Neutras which show not only highly significant aspects of history, but aspects of their personalities seldom revealed. The Wright letters are especially valuable in this regard, for they portray the Master of Taliesin's satirical sense of humor as well as his sensitive response to the needs of others.

As one would expect, the letters fill out our understanding of many episodes of Richard's early work in architecture. His appreciable contributions to the work which came from the office of Eric Mendelsohn are documented, and a

number of the questions often raised concerning the circumstances of his receiving the commission for his famed 1929 Lovell house are in many ways answered. The Neutras' close and at times difficult relationship with Rudolph M. and Pauline Schindler between the years 1925 and 1930 comes forth in many of these letters. Though Richard was often perplexed by the Schindlers' approach to design and especially to architectural practice, he still found much to admire in the designs of his Viennese compatriot.

Neutra's letters to Dione are rich in observations about architecture—observations which certainly help us to understand and respond to his building. In a letter of July, 1920, from Vienna, he wrote, "A floor plan can be marvelous, or intimate, simple or tricky, thought out grandly into the smallest detail, or narrow-minded. It can even be joyful or comical" (p. 16).

For the reader who wishes to enrich her or his understanding of the Neutras still further, this collection of letters should be paired off with Esther McCoy's *Vienna to Los Angeles: Two Journeys; Letters Between R.M. Schindler and Richard Neutra* (1978) and supplemented by Esther McCoy's *Richard J. Neutra* (1960) and Thomas S. Hines's *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture* (1982). ■

*Birds of the Pacific Slope: A Biography of the Artist & Naturalist 1818-1869 with Species Accounts and Field Notes by Andrew Jackson Grayson, and with current Ornithological Identifications to accompany the 156 Bird Portraits . . . reproduced as Plates in the Companion Portfolio*

By Lois Chambers Stone (San Fran-

cisco: The Arion Press, 1986, 433 pages, 156 folios, \$4,500 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Iris H. W. Engstrand, Professor of History, University of San Diego. Author of Spanish Scientists in the New World: The Eighteenth Century Expeditions.*

The appearance of Andrew Jackson Grayson's *Birds of the Pacific Slope* most certainly can be described as a "publishing event." This lavish and yet scholarly volume with accompanying illustrations is a printer's masterpiece—a collector's item well worth the seemingly high pricetag of \$4,500. When one is privileged to examine Grayson's portfolio of 156 color paintings of California and Mexican birds, it is a breathtaking experience, and one is convinced that Andrew Hoyem's Arion Press has made a priceless contribution to art and history. The 19-by-25-inch plates are reproduced on cotton, acid-free specially made paper which simulates Grayson's own watercolor stock, and the colors themselves are so vivid and true as to make one wonder how the originals could be superior. The biography of Grayson by Lois Chambers Stone, based on several decades of meticulous research, is a fitting tribute to the work of this long neglected artist-naturalist of the nineteenth century.

Andrew Jackson Grayson, born in Louisiana in 1818, grew up sketching the flora and fauna, particularly birds, of the teeming swamps on and near his father's large land holdings. Unfortunately, a narrow-minded Irish schoolmaster considered such activity a waste of time and convinced Grayson's father to prohibit the boy from pursuing such frivolity. Grayson's extraordinary talent, therefore, lay dormant until middle age, when life's circumstances once again permitted the budding ornithologist to achieve his lifelong dream.

The young Grayson married Frances Timmons in 1842, ran a general store in Louisiana, and investigated local birds. Always an adventurer, he travelled with

his wife and infant son by wagon train to California in 1846 (just ahead of the Donner Party) and settled in San Francisco. In 1853 he saw a copy of John James Audubon's double-elephant folio, *Birds of America*, and decided to do for the West what Audubon had done for the rest of the nation. It is doubtful that he had previous experience with ornithological illustration, which makes his paintings even more amazing. Grayson's descriptions and field notes accompanying each plate are extremely informative and enhance the understanding of the painting.

In 1856 Grayson wrote to the Smithsonian Institution, then only ten years old, volunteering his services as a collector. Spencer Fullerton Baird, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian, encouraged Grayson in his study of ornithology, and the correspondence between the two men lasted until Grayson's death. It was Baird who first called Grayson "the Audubon of the West." Grayson's collecting activities were significant. He transmitted 1,128 study skins, 27 skeletons and 49 lots of nests and eggs to the institution. At the time of his death this represented almost two percent of the entire Smithsonian bird catalogues.

Author Stone, who writes in a clear, concise, yet marvelously descriptive style, has concluded that Grayson "Very early seems . . . to have developed a method of rendering a complete pencil sketch on Bristol board, followed by light color washes and finishing with fine strokes in strong color, using a dry brush technique. This manner of working may have grown from the necessity of capturing quickly the posture of a bird as it perched on a limb, or flew." (p. 57). Grayson studied art seriously and improved his technique between his earliest known painting, the Green-winged Teal, *Anas crecca*, in 1853, and his next known painting from Tehuantepec in 1857. During this interim, Grayson sent a description and drawing of his pet roadrunner to *Hutchings California Magazine*, where they were published in 1856.

Since the Smithsonian had few funds



Squirrel cuckoo, *piaya cayana*.

to reproduce his work, Grayson traveled to Mexico City in 1865 to seek help from the Mexican Academy of Arts and Sciences. The author has selected numerous quotations from Grayson's letters and journals that illustrate the breadth of his observations. Along the way he describes the "dark, magnificent forest" of Mazatlan, the Moorish style houses and gardens of Tepic, as well as the destruction brought on by the War of the

Reform. He is well received at court in Mexico but a planned publication of his work is interrupted when Maximilian is deposed and executed.

Grayson continued his explorations on the offshore islands of Mexico's west coast when he was struck by personal tragedy. His only son, Edward, was killed in an unexplained incident in San Blas in June, 1867. Grayson remained in Mexico until felled by illness, possibly



yellow fever, from which he died on August 17, 1869, just three days short of his fifty-first birthday.

Grayson's wife Frances returned to San Francisco with his work and began a long struggle to get his paintings and voluminous field notes published. Neither the Smithsonian nor Hubert Howe Bancroft felt they could fund the project. A final effort came to naught when The Society of California Pioneers decided they could not afford the \$8,000 it would

cost to reproduce 100 plates in an edition of 500 copies. In 1879 Frances Grayson donated the paintings to the University of California where they were placed in an obscure area of the Bancroft Library. There they remained until 1982 when Andrew Hoyem of Arion Press met with James D. Hart to discuss possible publication. The result honors a man whose remarkable talent places him alongside John James Audubon and other great figures of American ornithology.

The book and portfolio of paintings, although expensive to purchase, is a must for major libraries. It is a work that can be enjoyed by all persons interested in the history and natural history of California and Mexico during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A traveling exhibition of the original paintings and specimens collected by Grayson will be cosponsored by the Oakland Museum and National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, in 1987-88. ■

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The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Alvarez, Robert R., Jr. *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. \$35.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Apostol, Jane. *South Pasadena: A Centennial History*. South Pasadena: South Pasadena Public Library, 1987. \$34.95 (plus \$2.50 postage). Order from: South Pasadena Public Library; 1100 Oxley Street; South Pasadena, CA 91030.

Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association. The following publications were noted. Order from: The Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association; Post Office Box 1137, Main Post Office; Berkeley, CA 94701 (all prices include postage):

Bernhardi, Robert. *The Buildings of Berkeley* (1971) \$13.00.

Davies, Lillian Bridgmen. *Lilian Bridgman, Architect* (1983) \$8.50.

Longstreth, Richard W. *Julia Morgan: Architect* (1977) \$8.50.

Maybeck, Jacomena. *Maybeck, The Family View* (1980) \$8.50.

Partridge, Loren W. *John Galen Howard and the Berkeley Campus: Beaux-Arts Architecture in the Athens of the West* (1978) \$7.25.

Branch, Edward Marquess, et al. (eds.). *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 1, 1853-1866*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. \$35.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Brunk, Thomas W. Leonard B. Willeke: *Excellence in Architecture and Design*. Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1986. \$24.95 (plus \$5.00 postage). Order from: University of Detroit; School of Architecture; 4001 West McNichols Road; Detroit, MI 48221.

California Indigenous Arts Organization. *Late Harvest: Napa Valley Pioneers*. Napa: California Indigenous Arts Organization, 1984. \$3.00 (paper, plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: California Indigenous Arts Organization; Box 67-7; Napa, CA 94581.

*California's Chumash Indians*. A Project of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History Education Center. Santa Barbara: John Daniel, 1986. \$5.95 (paper). Order from: John Daniel, Publisher;

Post Office Box 21922; Santa Barbara, CA 93121.

Clark, Donald Thomas. *Santa Cruz County Place Names*. Santa Cruz: Santa Cruz Historical Society, 1986. \$33.95 (cloth), \$23.95 (paper). Order from: Santa Cruz Historical Society; Publications; Post Office Box 246; Santa Cruz, CA 95061.

Coffman, Taylor. *Hearst Castle: The Story of William Randolph Hearst and San Simeon*. Santa Barbara: Sequoia Communications, 1985. \$24.95 (cloth), \$14.95 (paper). Order from: ARA Leisure Services; Hearst Castle Gift Shop; Post Office Box 210; San Simeon, CA 93452.

Coyote Man (comp.). *Songs of the California Indians* [audio cassette comprising "a selection of authentic music of the Maidu Indians of Northern California."] Folsom: Pacific Western Traders, 1986. \$8.98. Order from: Pacific Western Traders; Post Office Box 95; Folsom, CA 95630.

Curtis, Jane; Peter Jennison, and Frank Lieberman. *Frederick Billings: Vermonter, Pioneer Lawyer, Business Man, Conservationist; An Illustrated Biography*. Woodstock: The Woodstock Foundation, 1986. \$24.95 (cloth), \$14.95 (paper). Order from: The Billings Farm & Museum; Post Office Box 627; Woodstock, VT 05091.

Eagle, Dolan H., Jr. *The Earth is Our Mother: A Guide to the Indians of California, Their Locales, and Historic Sites*. San Francisco: Trees Company Press, 1986. \$11.95. Order from: Trees Company Press; 49 Van Buren Way; San Francisco, CA 94131.

Elliott, Russell R., with William D. Rowley. *History of Nevada*. Second Edition.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. \$26.95 (cloth), \$13.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 North 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

Engel, Norma. *Three Beams of Light: Chronicles of a Lighthouse Keeper's Family*. San Diego: Tecolote Publications, 1986. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: Tecolote Publications; Box 70205; San Diego, CA 92107.

Gilberg, M. E. Auburn: *A California Mining Camp Comes of Age*. Newcastle: Gilmar Press, 1986. \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Gilmar Press; 3100 Newcastle Road, Post Office Box 597; Newcastle, CA 95658.

Goodman, Dean. *San Francisco Stages: A Concise History, 1849-1986*. San Francisco: Micro Pro Litera Press, 1986. \$19.95 (cloth), \$10.95 (paper). Order from: Micro Pro Litera Press; Post Office Box 14045; San Francisco, CA 94114.

Graydon, Charles K. *Trail of the First Wagons Over the Sierra Nevada*. Gerald: The Patrice Press, 1986. \$19.95 (plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: The Patrice Press; Box 42; Gerald, MO 63037.

Hamilton, David Mike. *"The Tools of My Trade": The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987. \$25.00. Order from: University of Washington Press; University of Washington; Post Office Box 50096; Seattle, WA 98145-5096.

Hawley, Walter A. *The Early Days of Santa Barbara, California: From the First Discoveries by Europeans to December, 1846*. Edited by John C. Woodward. Third Edition, Enlarged. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Heritage, 1987. \$14.95 (cloth), \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Santa Barbara Heritage; 1114 State Street, Suite 237; Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

Hemp, Michael Kenneth. *Cannery Row: The History of Old Ocean View Avenue*. Monterey: The Cannery Row Foundation, 1986. \$10.00 (paper, includes tax and postage). Order from: The Cannery Row Foundation; Post Office Box 1882; Monterey, CA 93940.

Henderson, Mary Alice Orcutt (comp.). *Glancing Through the Headlines [of the Santa Paula Chronicle, 1916-1924]*.



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- Santa Paula: Santa Paula Historical Society, 1986. \$16.00 (paper, includes postage). Order from: Santa Paula Historical Society; 118 South 8th Street; Santa Paula, CA 93060.
- Holy Spirit Centenary Book Committee. *History of the [Roman] Catholic Community in Suisun-Fairfield, 1861-1986*. Fairfield: Holy Spirit Centenary Book Committee, 1987. \$23.50 (plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Holy Spirit Centenary Book Committee; 1050 North Texas Street; Fairfield, CA 94533-0624.
- Houlihan, Patrick T., and Betsy E. Houlihan. *Lummis in the Pueblos*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1986. \$29.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). Order from: Northland Press; Post Office Box N; Flagstaff, AZ 86002.
- Issel, William, and Robert W. Cherney. *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- Karman, James. *Robinson Jeffers: Poet of California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1987. \$5.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books; One Hallidie Plaza, Suite 806; San Francisco, CA 94102.
- Kazin, Michael. *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987. \$24.95. Order from: University of Illinois Press; 54 East Gregory Drive; Champaign, IL 61820.
- Kroeber, Clifton B.; and Bernard L. Fontana. *Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle Between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origins of War*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986. \$26.50. Order from: University of Arizona Press; 1615 East Speedway Boulevard; Tucson, AZ 85719.
- Lawson, John. *Redding and Shasta County: Gateway to the Cascades; an Illustrated History*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1986. \$24.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; 8910 Quartz Avenue, Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- Leach, Marianne (comp.). *Newspaper Holdings of the California State Library*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1986. \$40.00 (paper, plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 2037; Sacramento, CA 95809.
- Lingenfelter, Richard E. *Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. \$39.95. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- Little Tokyo: *100 Years in Pictures*. Los Angeles: Little Tokyo Business Association, 1984. \$35.00 (cloth), \$20.00 (paper). Order from: Little Tokyo Business Association; 244 South San Pedro Street, Room 501; Los Angeles, CA 90012.
- Lucas, Mildred Dowdy. *From Amber Grain to Fruited Plain: A History of Ceres [Stanislaus County], California, and Its Surroundings*. Ceres: Ceres Unified School District, 1976. \$21.00 (paper). Order from: Midred D. Lucas; 3513 Lockwood Road; Ceres, CA 95307.
- McDonald, Terrence J. *The Parameters of Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860-1906*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. \$45.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- McEvoy, Arthur F. *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. \$39.50. Order from: Cambridge University Press; 32 East 57th Street; New York, NY 10022.
- May, Antoinette. *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Lonely Voice of Conscience*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1987. \$5.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books; One Hallidie Plaza, Suite 806; San Francisco, CA 94102.
- Mighetto, Lisa (ed.). *Muir Among the Animals: The Wildlife Writings of John Muir*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1986. \$17.95. Order from: Sierra Club Books; 730 Polk Street; San Francisco, CA 94109.
- Mosier, Page, and Dan Mosier. *Alameda County Place Names*. Fremont: Mines Road Books, 1986. \$11.95 (plus \$1.47 tax and postage). Order from: Mines Road Books; Post Office Box 3185; Fremont, CA 94539.
- Quinn, Arthur. *Broken Shore: The Marin Peninsula in California History*. Inverness: Redwood Press, 1986. \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Redwood Press; Post Office Box 776; Inverness, CA 94937.
- Rafael, Ruth Kelson. *The Western Jewish History Center: Guide to Archival and Oral History Collections*. Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, Judah L. Magnes Museum, 1987. \$24.95 (paper). Order from: Judah L. Magnes Museum; Western Jewish History Center; 2911 Russell Street; Berkeley, CA 94705.
- Strobridge, Idah M. *In Miners' Mirage Land*. 1904; reprinted, Sparks: Falcon Hill Press, 1986. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: Falcon Hill Press; Box 1431; Sparks, NV 89432-1431.
- Taussig, Betty. *Windfall of Inherited Treasures* [biography of Walter Colton]. Annapolis: Windfall Publishing Co., 1987. \$19.95 (paper, plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Windfall Publishing Co., Inc.; Post Office Box 469; Annapolis, MD 21404.
- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (comp. and ed.). *Our Lady's Mission: A Documentary History of La Purisima Concepcion*. Los Angeles: Libra Press, 1986. \$18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Boulevard; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (comp. and ed.). *The Patriarchal Mission: A Documentary History of San Jose*. Los Angeles: Libra Press, 1986. \$18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Boulevard; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Williams, George III. *Mark Twain: His Life in Virginia City, Nevada*. Riverside: Tree by the River Publishing, 1986. \$24.95 (cloth), \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Tree by the River Publishing, Box 413-22; Riverside, CA 92502.
- Wyckoff, Robert M. (ed.) *Never Come, Never Go! The Story of Nevada County's Narrow Gauge Railroad*. Nevada City: Nevada City Publishing Co., 1986. \$9.95 (paper, includes postage). Order from: Nevada City Publishing Company; Post Office Box 216; Nevada City, CA 95959.
- The Zamorano Index to History of California by Hubert Howe Bancroft*. 2 volumes. Compiled by Members of the Zamorano Club. Edited by Everett Gordon Hager and Anna Marie Hager. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1985. \$125.00. Order from: University of Southern California Press; Student Union 400; University of Southern California; Los Angeles, CA 90007.
- Zwinger, Ann H. (ed.). *Xantus: The Letters of John Xantus to Spencer Fullerton Baird, from San Francisco and Cabo San Lucas, 1859-1861*. Baja California Travels Series, Volume 48. Los Angeles: Castle Press for Dawson's Book Shop, 1986. \$69.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Boulevard; Los Angeles, CA 90004.

# Hine, Josiah Royce, pp. 83-93.

1. Josiah Royce, *Letters*, ed. John Clendenning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 112-13.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 128.
3. Josiah Royce, *California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Press, 1970), pp. 106, 111. This paper will use throughout the 1970 edition (with introduction by Earl Pomeroy); except for the front matter, the pagination in the 1970 edition is identical with the original 1886 edition, as is that of the 1948 edition (with introduction by Robert Glass Cleland).
4. Royce, *California*, pp. 92-93.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 369, 380.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
18. Royce, *Letters*, pp. 202, 178.
19. *Berkeleyan*, I (April 1874), 10-11.
20. Thomas F. Powell, *Josiah Royce* (New York: Twayne, 1967), p. 188. John Clendenning in his introduction to *The Feud of Oakfield Creek* (p. xvii) finds Escott at the philosophical heart of the novel. John O. King III, *The Iron of Melancholy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983) emphasizes the character of Margaret (pp. 210-12).
21. Royce, "The Squatter Riot of '50 in Sacramento: Its Causes and Its Significance," *Overland Monthly*, VI (September 1885), pp. 225-46. Royce, *Letters*, p. 204.
22. *Overland Monthly*, VIII (August 1886), pp. 222-23.
23. I (1886), 492; the Oak reply, *Overland Monthly*, VIII (September 1886), p. 330.
24. *Overland Monthly*, VIII (August 1886), p. 216. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia* (New York 1887-89), articles on Alvarado, Arce, Bryant, Brannan [?], Coleman [?]. *Century*, XVIII (1890), 775-94; XXI (1891-92), 133-150, 296-309; XIX (1891), 780-83, 928-29. *Nation* XLII (March 11, 1886), 220-22; XLIII (July 29, 1886), 99-101; XLIV (January 13, 1887), 39-40; XLVIII (February 14, 1889), 140-42, 164-65.
25. Royce, "Fr'mont," *Atlantic*, LXVI (October 1890), 557, 548, 550, 555.
26. Royce, "The Conquest of California," *Century*, XIX (April 1891), p. 923.
27. Royce, "The Fr'mont Legend," *Nation*, LII (May 21, 1891), p. 425.
28. Royce, *Letters*, pp. 157-65, 170-74.
29. Royce, *Philosophy of Loyalty* (New York: Macmillan, 1908), p. 287.
30. Royce, *Basic Writings*, ed. John J. McDermott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), I, 32.
31. Ashbel Green to Robert V. Hine, March 7, 1986.
32. Stewart, *New York Times*, September 12, 1948; Jackson, *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 20, 1948; Paul, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (1948-49), 711-12; Barker, *American Historical Review*, LIV (April 1949), 705-06.
33. Gibbs M. Smith to Robert V. Hine, February 11, 1986; Kenneth Johnson, *Journal of the West*, X (October 1971), 751; Zamarano 80 [catalogue of an exhibition] (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1986), no. 66.
34. Royce, *California*, pp. 59, 61, 40-50.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
36. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
37. Royce, *Letters*, p. 181.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 174; Royce, *California*, pp. 324-25.
39. Royce, *Letters*, p. 178.
40. Royce to John W. Buckham, June 15, 1915, Clifford L. Barrett Collection (Box 1); Huntington Library.
41. Royce, *California*, p. 79.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 110; see also the comparison of vigilantes to coyote packs, p. 267.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 171.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 242, 333.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42, 62, 216, 267; Vincent Buranelli, *Josiah Royce* (New York, 1964), p. 24.
49. Royce, *California*, p. xvii.
50. Royce, *Basic Writings*, I, 182, 195-97; Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems* (New York: Macmillan, 1908), p. 170.
51. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 143-45.
52. Royce, *California*, p. 25.
53. Mercedes M. Randall, ed., *Beyond Nationalism: The Social Thought of Emily Greene Balch* (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 51; Martha Win-
- nacker to Robert V. Hine, October 7, 1986.
54. Royce, *California*, p. 232.
55. Royce, *Race Questions*, p. 75.
56. Royce, *Letters*, p. 342; Bruce Kuklick, *Josiah Royce: An Intellectual Biography* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972), p. 110.
57. Robert Bellah, et al, *Habits of the Heart* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 32-35.
58. Royce, *The Feud of Oakfield Creek* (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), p. 29; except for front matter, this reprint is paged identically with the 1887 edition. Royce, *California*, p. 295.
59. Sarah Bayliss Royce, *A Frontier Lady* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).
60. Royce, *California*, p. 332.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 346; the most impressive recent reflection is Peter R. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 139-41.
62. Royce, *California*, p. 311. John Caughey, *Gold Is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 272-74; Starr, *Americans*, pp. 69-86.
63. Royce, *California*, pp. 225, 227, 244, 245.
64. Royce was wrong in assessing the Southern forces at the convention; Walton Bean and James Rawls, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), p. 102; it is interesting to note, however, how closely in other connections, Bean and Rawls follow Royce: e.g., pp. 77-78.
65. Royce, *California*, p. 386; Royce, *Feud*, pp. 357-58.
66. Royce, *Philosophy of Loyalty*, p. 248.
67. Robert Whitemore, *Makers of the American Mind* (New York: William Morrow, 1964), p. 380.
68. Royce, *California*, p. 394.

## Rafferty, Progressivism in the schools, pp. 94-103

1. Los Angeles Board of Education, *Minutes of the Board*, 18:399.
2. The background material on the Molokans and their settlement in Los Angeles comes from the following sources: Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932); Willard Burgess Moore, *Molokan Oral Tradition* (Berkeley:



- University of California Press, 1973); Lillian Sokaloff, "The Russians in Los Angeles," *Studies in Sociology*, 3 (March 1918); Dana Bartlett, *The Better City* (Los Angeles: Nuener Press, 1909).
3. Moore, *Molokan Oral Tradition*, p. 9.
4. Sokaloff, "The Russians in Los Angeles," p. 10.
5. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, p. 150.
6. Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), p. 65. In 1889, a group of college-trained women in Boston opened the New England Kitchen to provide wholesome lunches to poor workmen; then, in 1893, under the leadership of Ellen Swallow Richards, supervisor of the New England Kitchen, the Boston School Committee issued an order that allowed only food approved by the New England Kitchen to be sold in city schools. Private organizations began serving lunches in schools in Cleveland in 1893, in Philadelphia in 1894, in Chicago in 1902, and in Saint Louis and Rochester in 1903. Mary de Garmo Bryan, *The School Cafeteria* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1946), pp. 1-14.
7. *Minutes of the Board*, 9:87.
8. *Minutes of the Board*, 10:161.
9. *Minutes of the Board*, 10:275.
10. *Minutes of the Board*, 11:44.
11. Years later, in 1936, Mrs. Flagg felt founders of the program had not received the recognition they deserved and demanded that the board set up a special file on all references to the Penny Lunches. Finally, in 1949, forty years after the program which resulted in the cafeteria service had begun, the board dedicated a commemorative plaque at Ann Street School. Initially, the lunches consisted of a bowl or two of meat or vegetable soup with a half a loaf of French bread. The Penny Lunch Folder is in the File Unit of the Secretariate Office of the Los Angeles Unified Schools. In New York, school authorities may have been more accommodating to religious dietary needs. See Selma Berrol, "Public Schools and Immigrants," Bernard J. Weiss, ed., *American Education and the European Immigrant, 1840-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 31-43.
12. *Minutes*, 18:336.
13. Harry F. Maidenberger, *Do You Remember: Cafes, Grills, Lunch Wagons, Tamale Wagons* (Los Angeles: Harry Karstens, n.d.), pp. 3-4. Epheera Collection, Education File, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
14. Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1911), pp. 9-11; Bartlett, *Better City*, p. 229; Bessie Stoddard, "Recreative Centers of Los Angeles, California," *The Annals of the American Academy of Politics and Sciences*, 35 (2):426-435.
15. *Minutes*, 14:359; For a discussion of mass culture of the Progressive period see John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1985). The playground movement, called the play movement, was an effort by Progressives to thwart what they considered to be unwholesome mass culture.
16. In 1918 nine additional playgrounds opened throughout the city. Some years later the relationship between playgrounds and delinquency came under suspicion. A report in 1932, published during the Olympic events in Los Angeles, seemed to disclaim the merits of playgrounds as deterrents of juvenile crime. "As for playgrounds, Los Angeles has no lack . . ." yet, it also had "Youthful crimes, mostly - from immigrants . . ." *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1918, 1:8, August 3, 1932, 11:4.
17. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, p. 230.
18. The Home Teacher Act of 1915.
19. Charles W. Blanpied, compiler, *A Humanitarian Study of the Coming Immigration Problem on the Pacific Coast*, (San Francisco: Young Men's Christian Association, 1913); "Mary S. Gibson Memorial," Pamphlet, Clara Bradley Burdette Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, 1930.
20. The Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, *The Home Teacher*, 1916; *First Annual Report*, 1915.
21. The California Educational Commission announced at its San Francisco meeting in 1900 that the former practice of granting teaching certificates by examination was "obsolete" and in the future credentials would be granted by professional training institutions. Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 102.
22. *The Home Teacher*, 1916, pp. 49-50.
23. For an in-depth discussion of reformers and their concerns about juvenile delinquency among immigrants, see Stephen L. Schlossman, *Love and the American Delinquent: The Theory and Practice of "Progressive" Juvenile Justice, 1825-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
24. Nancy F. Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1980); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study In American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1973) are among several books that explore the concepts of Republican Mothers and the cult of domesticity.
25. George A. Jackson, "A History of Adult Education Program in the Los Angeles Public School," Unpublished Doctorial Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1957, p. 92. By 1928 home teachers conducted classes in eighty-two centers. *Minutes of the Board*, 3:19; 23:5.
26. Young, *Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, p. 156; *Minutes of Board*, 10:80-84; 11:355; *The Los Angeles Express*, February 9, 1912, n.p., noted that the Board of Education paid to bring a Russian language teacher from out of state to teach the Molokans, but there is no evidence to support that report in the *Minutes*.
27. *Minutes of the Board*, 11:50; 9:149; 17:19.
28. *Ibid.*, 9:196-197; 8:n.p.
29. *Ibid.*, 13:259.
30. *Ibid.*, 12:311; 13:108; 376; 15:345, 362.
31. *Ibid.*, 13:31.
32. *Ibid.*, 367.
33. *Ibid.*, 18:126.
34. *Ibid.*, 10:216.
35. *Ibid.*, 14:48.
36. *Ibid.*, 19:257.
37. *Ibid.*, 17:18.

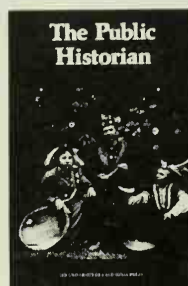
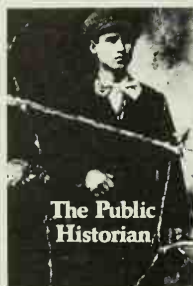
38. *Ibid.*, 343.
39. *Ibid.*, 15:42.
40. *Ibid.*, 18:19.
41. *Ibid.*, 14:49.
42. Los Angeles Board of Education, *Annual Report 1913/14*, pp. 126, 127; Jackson, "A History of Adult Education Program in the Los Angeles Public School," p. 60.
43. *Minutes of the Board*, 18:399; Walter Jessup and Albert Shiels, *Report of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Education* (Los Angeles, 1916), p. 130.
44. *Report, 1913/14*, p. 128.
45. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, pp. 147-148.
46. Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis, Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 78. Los Angeles was the state's fastest growing metropolitan area; in 1910 the population stood at 319,000, a 212 percent rise since 1900, and in 1920 it had 577,000 residents, a total of 380 percent in twenty years. In contrast, San Francisco's population rise was only twenty-two percent between 1900 and 1920. The foreign-born population stood at 19 percent in 1920.
47. "Los Angeles City Schools' Nationality or Racial Background Survey," Unpublished Report, March, 1938, Integration Folder available in the File Unit of the Secretariate Office of the Los Angeles Unified Schools. In 1939, out of a student body of 1,253, 130 were identified as Russians.
48. David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 241-242.
49. Los Angeles Board of Education, "Statement Regarding use of School Buildings for Civic Centers during 1937-1938 and Requests to Eliminate Fees for Use of School Buildings.
- 1789-1829," *California Historical Quarterly* XLX (1971):p. 21.
3. George M. Brooke, "The Vest Pocket War of Commodore Jones," *Pacific Historical Review* 31, (1962): p. 217.
4. Neal Harlow, *California Conquered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 3.
5. H.R. No. 422, Doc. 166, 27th Cong., 3rd sess., p. 46, (hereinafter cited as HR).
6. Robert E. Johnson, *Thence Around Cape Horn* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1963), p. 6.
7. Brooke, p. 218.
8. Harlow, p. 3.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
10. HR, p. 66.
11. Johnson, pp. 62-63.
12. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1884), 7 vols, 4:302.
13. HR, p. 85.
14. Charles Roberts Anderson, ed., *Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate United States* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1937), pp. 82-83.
15. Brooke, p. 223.
16. HR, p. 68.
17. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco: N.J. Stone & Co., 1898), 4 vols, 2:319.
18. Johnson, p. 63.
19. HR, pp. 85-86.
20. Alonzo C. Jackson, *The Conquest of California* (New York: privately printed, 1953), p. 11.
21. HR, p. 69.
22. Brooke, p. 225.
23. Jackson, p. 12.
24. Brooke, p. 224.
25. HR, p. 41.
26. Jackson, p. 12.
27. Briton Cooper Busch, *Alta California* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983), p. 326.
28. HR, p. 69.
29. G. G. Hatheway, "Commodore Jones's War," *History Today* 16, (1966): p. 196.
30. Busch, p. 351.
31. Brooke, p. 226.
32. HR, pp. 69-71.
33. Brooke, p. 227.
34. HR, p. 76.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
37. Jackson, p. 12.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
39. HR, p. 72.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
42. Dudley W. Knox, *A History of the United States Navy* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), p. 161.
43. Rueben L. Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1939), p. 80.
44. Larkin to Robert J. Walker, August 4, 1844, George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers, vol. II, 1843-1844* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 10 vols, 2:182.
45. Underhill, p. 80.
46. Larkin to John C. Calhoun, August 18, 1844, Hammond, 2:205.
47. Larkin to Walker, August 4, 1844, Hammond, 2:182-183.
48. Larkin to Walker, August 4, 1844, Hammond, 2:183.
49. Larkin to James G. Bennett, February 10, 1843, Hammond, 2:6.
50. Underhill, pp. 82-83.
51. Larkin to James G. Bennett, February 10, 1843, Hammond, 2:9.
52. Johnson, p. 64.
53. David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973), p. 100.
54. Larkin to Sec. of State, April 16, 1844, Hammond, 2:97.
55. Josiah Royce, *California* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1886), pp. 37-38.
56. John C. Jones to Larkin, November 5, 1842, Hammond 1:311.
57. Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California* (n.p., 1845; reprint ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 123.
58. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (n.p., 1846; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 210.
59. W. H. Hutchinson, *California* (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1969), p. 98.
60. Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 98.
61. Hatheway, pp. 199-200.
62. Claude H. Hall, *Abel Parker Upshur: Conservative Virginian 1790-1844* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 186.
63. Paolo E. Coletta, ed., *American Secretaries of the Navy, vol. I, 1775-1913* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1980), p. 192.
64. *Daily National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* vol. XXXI, no. 9366, 23 February 1843, p. 3.
65. Hall, pp. 186-187.
66. Norman A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York: The Ronald

# Smith, War, pp. 104-113

1. Norman Graebner, "Concrete Interests and Expansion," in *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy; vol. I: to 1914*, ed. by Thomas G. Paterson (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 2nd. ed., 1984), pp. 262-263.
2. Sister Magdalen Coughlin, C.S.J., "Commercial Foundations of Political Interest in the Opening Pacific,



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- Press Co., 1955), p. 77.
67. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1949), p. 562.
  68. Larkin to James G. Bennett, February 10, 1843, Hammond, 2:6.

# Post, Virgil Williams, pp. 115-129

1. Painting positively identified in letter to author from Hannah R. Adams, Registrar/Curator, Maine Historical Society, December 16, 1974.
2. I want to express my thanks to several people for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Jean M. Caswell, Art Department, University of Maryland, College Park, for editing and rewriting; William Truettner, Curator of Painting and Sculpture, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C., for his encouragement and suggestions; Dr. Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., the well-known California art historian; Mr. and Mrs. Roy Farrington Jones, *Early California and Western Art Research*, for access to their extensive slide collection and large artist-information files; Ellen Shaffer, Curator of the Silverado Museum, St. Helena; librarians and curators at the California Historical Society and other museums and galleries who have generously shared information with me; and my husband, Paul and several enthusiastic friends in our church.
3. Although some scholars have linked him to the famous New Englander, Roger Williams, Carolyn B. Owen, Director of Old Colony Historical Society stated in a June 3, 1981 letter that Virgil Williams "is in no way related to Roger Williams the founder of Rhode Island. That was an entirely different Williams branch." Also confirmed by Robert W. Williams III of Taunton, Massachusetts.
4. Gene Hailey, *WPA California Art Research Project 1935*, Vol. 4, First Series of *California Art*, Archives, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., pp. 140-1, repeats the legend. Martha L. Mitchell, University Archivist, Brown University Library, in a letter of June 14, 1985, stated that Francis Wayland was the president of Brown University at the time of the incident.
5. Theophilus d' Estrella, "Virgil Williams, Art Notes to a Deaf-Mute Pupil," *The Overland Monthly*, 2nd ser 9 (March 1887): 292.
6. Joshua C. Taylor, *William Page, The American Titan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 161.
7. Gordon Hendricks, *Albert Bierstadt, Painter of the American West* (Fort Worth, Texas: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1974), p. 38-9. Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting 1825-75* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 203-225.
8. "Americans in Rome," *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 13, 1859; brought to my attention by Nancy Anderson, National Gallery of Art.
9. "American Artists in Italy," *The Crayon*, November 1860, p. 325, brought to my attention by Nancy Anderson, National Gallery of Art.
10. Hendricks, p. 39.
11. Hailey, pp. 140-1.
12. B. P. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," *The Overland Monthly* 1 (August 1868): 114.
13. *Woodward's Gardens, Illustrated Guide & Catalogue, 1875* (San Francisco: Alta, California Book and Job Printing House, 1875), rare book, courtesy of California Historical Society, San Francisco.
14. Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *Thomas Hill: The Grand View*. Catalogue (Oakland: Oakland Museum Art Department, 1980), p. 13.
15. Brother F. S. C. Cornelius, *Keith, Old Master of California* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), Vol. 1, pp. 16, 36.
16. Hendricks, p. 129.
17. *Ibid.* p. 132. Bierstadt and Ludlow left on September 28 for two weeks at Mt. Shasta, and in the Cascades. They left to return east in November and arrived there at about Christmas.
18. Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 12-14.
19. "William Page Papers." Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Mary Page Williams to William Page, April 10, 1864.
20. *Ibid.* Mary Page Williams to Emma Page, May 17, 1866.
21. *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 25, 1866, brought to my attention by Col. Moore, volunteer researcher at the National Museum of American Art Research Library, January 17, 1985.
22. *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 31, 1867, p. 2, col. 3.
23. "Literature and Art in Boston," *New York Evening Post*, March 4, 1868.
24. "William Page Papers," Emma Page to William Page, June 1869.
25. *Ibid.* Mary Page Hinckley to William Page, June 2, 1871.
26. Artist card, California State Library, California Section, Sacramento, December 1870. Genealogy for Dora Norton Williams from Norlands-Washburn Foundation, Livermore Falls, Maine.
27. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, August 15, 1987.
28. Gene Hailey, pp. 116-7.
29. Wandesforde came to America in 1850, to San Francisco in 1862.
30. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; and Jeanne Van Nostrand, *First 100 Years of Painting in California, 1775-1875* (San Francisco: John Howell-Books, 1980), pp. 73-74.
31. Letter from Jeff Gunderson, Librarian, Anne Bremer Memorial Library, San Francisco Art Institute, July 28, 1983.
32. "Minutes of the San Francisco Art Association and San Francisco School of Design," *The Art Journal* 1 (January 1875): 30. When the school first opened, classes met at 313 Pine Street in rooms sublet from the Bohemian Club. The school year was divided into three terms of three months each, with a month's vacation between terms. The course of study was divided into: (1) study of the human figure, (2) landscape, and (3) oil painting of figure and landscape. Tuition was \$12 a month or \$18 a session for all classes except oil painting, which was \$15 a month or \$60 a session. Williams salary was \$3,000 per year. Student work was displayed in exhibitions, and merit awards were given.
33. A few of Williams's more illustrious students were Hiram R. Bloomer (1850-1911), Charles J. Carlson (1860-?), Alice B. Chittenden (1859-1944), Theophilus d'Estrella (1851-1929), Nellie Hopps (1859-1936), Grace C. Hudson (1865-1937), Christian August Jorgensen (1859-1935), Enoch Wood Perry (1831-1914), Charles Rollo Peters (1862-1928), Henry Raschen (1854-1937), Julian Rix (1850-1903), Warren E. Rollins (1861-1962), James E. Stuart (1852-1941), and Theodore Wores (1859-1939). Hailey, pp. 140-1.
34. Christian A. Jorgensen's sixty-one watercolor paintings of California



Missions are on permanent display at the San Francisco Mission Solano in Sonoma, California, a gift by Virgil Williams Jorgensen in memory of his father.

35. d'Estrella, p. 287.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 285.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 290–291.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
39. This quote and the identification of Williams as president of the club in 1875–76 come from a group photograph of members, which was given by John Pope in November 1952 to the Library, California Historical Society, San Francisco.
40. *Illustrations of Napa County, California, with Historical Sketch* (Oakland: Smith and Elliott, 1878), p. 11.
41. Anne Roller Issler, *Happier for his Presence, San Francisco and Robert Louis Stevenson* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), p. 46.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
43. Courtesy Silverado Museum, St. Helena, California.
44. Issler, *Happier for His Presence*, pp. 52–3.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6.
47. *San Francisco Call*, December 19, 1886, p. 4, col. 2. Courtesy California State Library, California Section, Sacramento (Death of the Artist, Virgil Williams).
48. Courtesy Oakland Museum, Art Archives, Artist File.
49. California Historical Society, Research Library, "Archibald J. Treat Papers": address before the regular meeting of the Pacific Coast Amateur Photographers Association, January 4, 1887, by A. J. Treat on the death of Virgil Williams.

## Cornford, Republic, pp. 130–142

1. The fullest account of the California Workingmen's party is provided by Ralph Kauer, "The Workingmen's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review* 13 (September 1944): 278–291. An important book on the California labor movement and reform politics in the late nineteenth century is Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Also useful on the history of the California Workingmen's party are Royce D. Delmatier, Clarence F. McIntosh, and Earl G. Walters, *The*

*Rumble of California Politics, 1848–1970* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970), pp. 70–98; and Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), pp. 88–129. These studies, however, focus mainly on the San Francisco branch of the California Workingmen's party and the anti-Chinese agitation.

2. Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), p. 26. In an important review essay, David Montgomery has stressed the incidence of independent political activity in the Gilded Age and the need for further work in the field. David Montgomery, "To Study the People: The American Working Class," *Labor History* 21 (Fall 1980): 485–512.
3. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 3.
4. Many historians of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century American radicalism have noted the persistence of a democratic-republican tradition and have tried to define it, notwithstanding all its complexities. Among the most sophisticated efforts are: Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Men, Free Labor: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). In his book *The Indispensable Enemy*, Saxton also uses the concept to analyze the sources of radicalism in postbellum nineteenth-century California politics. See especially pp. 19–45.
5. *Humboldt Times*, March 26, 1864.
6. Letter Book of James Beith, January 24, 1862, p. 162. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
7. *Ibid.*
8. See Robert A. Burchell, "Opportunity and the Frontier: Wealth-Holding in Twenty-Six Northern California Counties 1848–1880," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 177–196; Daniel A. Cornford, "Lumber, Labor, and Community in Hum-

boldt County, California 1850–1920," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1983, pp. 37–40; and Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849–1870* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1982).

9. Besides the studies listed above, see Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Paul Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976); David Montgomery, *Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862–1872* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967); Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1967); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979); Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).
10. For information on the early social and economic history of Humboldt County, see Lynwood Carranco, *Redwood Lumber Industry* (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1982); Cornford, "Lumber, Labor, and Community," pp. 24–106; Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850–1875* (Los Angeles: California State Historical Association, 1929); and *History of Humboldt County, California with Biographical Sketches* (San Francisco: W.W. Elliott & Co., 1881).
11. *Humboldt Times*, December 21, 1867 and January 4, 1868.
12. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1868.
13. *Humboldt Times*, July 15, 1871; and *Northern Independent*, July 13, 1871.
14. *Northern Independent*, August 26 and September 1, 1869.
15. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1869.
16. *Humboldt Times*, March 11, 1871.
17. *Ibid.*, April 15 and August 26, 1871.
18. *West Coast Signal*, July 9, 1873.
19. This party is sometimes referred to as the Independent party or the Dol-

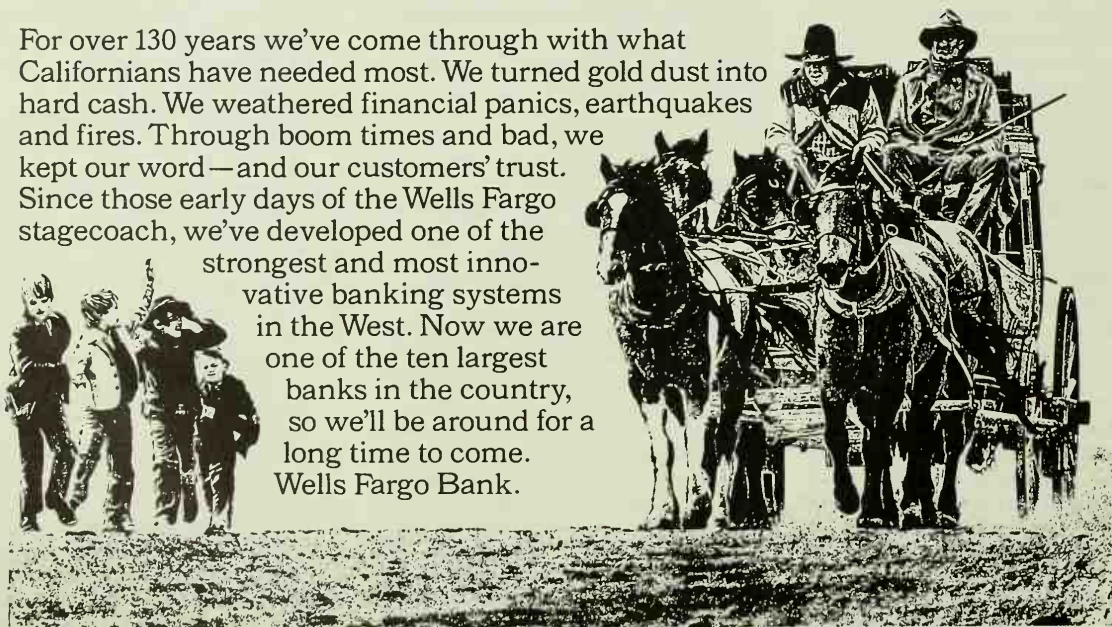
- lay Vardens. The secondary literature on it is sparse, but see Curtis E. Grassman, "Prologue to Progressivism: Senator Stephen M. White and the California Reform Impulse, 1875-1905," (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), pp. 17-22; and Walton E. Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 261.
20. *West Coast Signal*, August 6, 1873.
  21. *Humboldt Times*, August 30, 1873.
  22. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1873.
  23. Ezra Carr, *The Patrons of Husbandry on the West Coast* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1875).
  24. *Humboldt Times*, September 20, 1873.
  25. *West Coast Signal*, September 24, 1873.
  26. Biographical information on Sweasey was obtained from T. J. Vivian and D. G. Waldron, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates to the Convention* (San Francisco: Francis & Valentine, 1878), pp. 29-30; *West Coast Signal*, September 24, 1873; *Democratic Standard*, January 1, 1879; *Humboldt Times*, October 1, 1893; *Western Watchman*, October 7, 1893; and *Nerve*, October 7, 1893.
  27. *Humboldt Times*, January 24, 1874.
  28. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1877.
  29. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1877.
  30. *Pacific Coast Wood and Iron*, a trade journal of the Pacific lumber industry, published a review of redwood lumber prices for the previous thirty years in 1899, which was reprinted in the *Humboldt Standard*, December 13, 1899.
  31. *Humboldt Times*, February 10, 1877.
  32. *Daily Evening Signal*, July 3, 1877; *Humboldt Times*, July 7, 1877.
  33. *Mendocino Democrat*, March 2, 1878, *Humboldt Times*, July 21, 1877. The *Humboldt Times* reported several acts of alleged arson in 1877 and 1878, *Humboldt Times*, July 21 and October 13, 1877, March 2, 1878. Saxton asserts that arson was quite frequent in San Francisco during the late 1870s, and implies that not uncommonly it was resorted to for political reasons. "Arson in California in those days was almost as commonplace as murder," *The Indispensable Enemy*, p. 149.
  34. *Democratic Standard*, November 3, 1877.
  35. *Humboldt Times*, August 25, 1877.
  36. *Daily Evening Signal*, August 18, 1877.
  37. Eugene F. Fountain, *The Story of Blue Lake* (n.p., n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 589-592. Manuscript in possession of the Humboldt State University Library. On fraudulent land acquisitions practices in Humboldt County see, Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," (doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1952), pp. 80-98. For an account of the dubious land acquisition practices of many lumber entrepreneurs in the United States, see Thomas R. Cox et al., *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), pp. 138-142.
  38. The study listed all landholders possessing 500 acres or more in every California county. The *San Francisco Chronicle* began serializing the findings on October 28, 1873, and the findings for Humboldt County were published in the *Humboldt Times*, November 8, 1873.
  39. *Humboldt Times*, November 8, 1873.
  40. See E. B. Willis and P. K. Stockton, *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention*, 3 vols. (Sacramento: J.D. Young, Superintendent of State Printing, 1880).
  41. *Humboldt Times*, April 27, 1878.
  42. *Ibid.*
  43. *Ibid.*
  44. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1878.
  45. *Democratic Standard*, November 23, 1878.
  46. *Humboldt Times*, May 9, 1874; *Pacific Rural Press*, July 14, 1877.
  47. *Humboldt Times*, October 21, 1876.
  48. *Ibid.*, November 18 and December 2, 1876.
  49. *Daily Evening Signal*, March 15, 1878.
  50. *Humboldt Times*, September 22, 1877.
  51. Delmatier et al., *Rumble of California Politics*, p. 83.
  52. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of Population of the United States at the Ninth Census, 1870* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872), vol. 1, table 3, p. 90; *Ibid.*, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1883), vol. 1, table 14, p. 498.
  53. *Evening Star*, January 17, 1877.
  54. Lynwood Carranco, "The Chinese Expulsion from Humboldt County," *Pacific Historical Review* 30 (November 1961): 329-340; Lynwood Carranco, "The Chinese in Humboldt County, California: A Study in Prejudice," *Journal of the West* 12 (January 1973): 139-162.
  55. Data compiled from the Manuscript Census of Population for Humboldt County, 1880.
  56. *Humboldt Times*, June 4, 1878; *Democratic Standard*, June 1, 1878.
  57. *Humboldt Times*, May 11, 1878.
  58. *Democratic Standard*, May 25, 1878.
  59. *Humboldt Times*, July 6, 1878. In 1878, most lumber workers, as well as laborers, artisans, and business and professional people, resided in Eureka and, to a lesser extent, Arcata. Farmers constituted the majority of the electorate outside these precincts. Unquestionably, they made up a larger proportion of the registered voters in relation to their numbers than lumber workers and most other working-class occupational groups. Nevertheless, lumber workers and other workingmen made up a significant proportion of the registered voters. The geographic stability of a significant core of lumber workers, and the relative leniency of residency requirements imposed by California election laws facilitated this. While farmers tended to "persist" longer on the voting registers than most other occupational groups, they too were a fairly transient bunch. On the above see Burchell, "Opportunity and the Frontier," pp. 189-190.
  60. Willis and Stockton, *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention*, vol. 2, p. 1144.
  61. *Democratic Standard*, May 3, 1879.
  62. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1879.
  63. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1879.
  64. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1879.
  65. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1879.
  66. *Ibid.*, April 12 and June 28, 1879.
  67. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1879.
  68. Biographical sketches of the men on the Workingmen's party ticket appeared in the *Democratic Standard*, July 19, 1879.
  69. *Democratic Standard*, August 16, 1879.
  70. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1879.
  71. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1879.
  72. Saxton, *Indispensable Enemy*, p. 152.
  73. *Democratic Standard*, March 13, 1880.
  74. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1880.
  75. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1880.
  76. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1880.
  77. For critical responses to Sweasey's land-reform proposals, see the *Humboldt Times*, May 4, 11, and 18, 1878. Sweasey strongly defended his proposals in the *Daily Evening Signal*, June 12, 1878.
  78. *Arcata Union*, August 14, 1886.



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(Back cover) Sarah Bayliss Royce, the mother of Josiah Royce.

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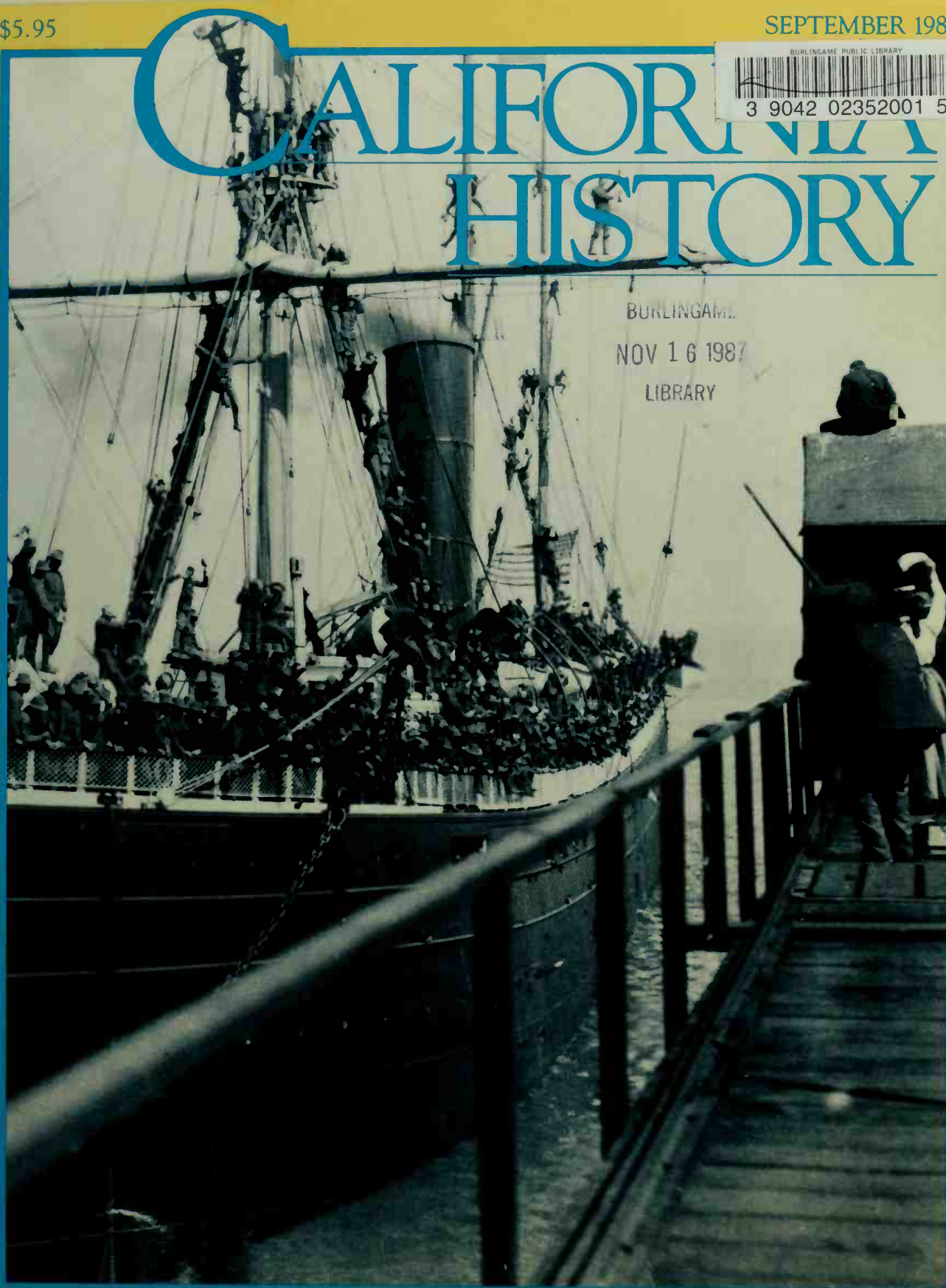


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## California Snapshots



(Above) Shasta County's Tower House, built in 1852, was a county showplace until it was destroyed by fire in 1910. It stood on Clear Creek between French Gulch and Oak Bottom at the junction of the Weaverville and Yreka roads. Levi Tower left Boston early in 1849 for San Francisco and set out from there for the Trinity mines in March, 1850. In November he and Charles Camden arrived at Clear Creek where they found a man named Schneider operating a log-cabin bar, dining room, and lodging facility. Tower and Camden found gold in the area, and Tower bought the cabin. Seeing the potential of the location, he built the substantial Tower House with hand-hewn timber from the surrounding forest and planted orchards using trees shipped around Cape Horn. In partnership with W.S. Loudon, Tower invested in the building of a twenty-four-mile wagon road from Tower House to Shasta and constructed a bridge over Clear Creek. He died in 1865, apparently insolvent, since he left behind an uncollectable debt of \$9,000, Camden took title to the property. In 1867 the Tower House belonged to Grant I. Taggart. John Shed—who sits on the porch with his wife and daughter in this 1885 portrait—bought it in the 1880s.

An 1864 letter referred to the Tower House as "the prettiest place in Northern California" in the spring when the orchard was in bloom. Another described "splendid fresh looking" apples and peaches which "loaded down" the trees. The hotel was a popular site for balls and other formal entertainments as well as a recommended stopping place.

(Cover) The departure and arrival of American troops engaged in the Spanish-American War and the conquest of the Philippines was big news for San Francisco photographers and reporters between 1898 and 1902. Mabel Craft was one of the reporters who braved rough waters to describe a homecoming, and this photographer is intent on recording a departure.

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*Typography*  
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170



196



208

162

A Young Woman of Advanced Ideas  
Mabel Craft Deering  
by Rudolph M. Lapp

170

This Was Our Place  
Memories of Locke  
by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow

188

"El Portugues"  
Don Antonio Jose Rocha,  
California's First Portuguese Settler  
by Eduardo M. Dias and David E. Bertao

196

Labor and Progressivism "South of the Slot"  
The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco  
Working Class, 1912-1916  
by Thomas R. Clark

208

Temples and Playgrounds  
The Sierra Club in the Wilderness,  
1901-1922  
by Anne Farrar Hyde

221

Reviews

229

California Checklist

233

Notes

Rudolph M. Lapp

# MABLE CRAFT DEERING A YOUNG WOMAN

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When the *San Francisco Examiner* on its front page in 1901 called Mabel Clare Craft " . . . a young woman of advanced ideas . . ." she was twenty-nine and single and had already made her mark. The occasion for the *Examiner's* reference to Mabel Craft was a lengthy article the newspaper ran on the debates within the General Federation of Women's clubs over the question of the admission of "colored" women and "Colored Women's Clubs." On this painfully divisive issue Craft took the courageous position that admission should be supported. But more later on the debate itself.<sup>1</sup>

This article is an attempt to restore, for the present generation, the

memory of an outstanding progressive feminist and successful career woman of an earlier generation. One may guess that by the middle of this century Mabel Craft Deering's contemporaries were already unaware of her progressive leadership before World War I. Even her son-in-law was unaware of her struggle over the black issue in the women's clubs until this writer approached him.

To flesh out the image of Mabel Craft Deering as a turn-of-the-century progressive, one must go back a number of years. Mabel Clare Craft was born in Rochelle, Illinois, and came as a child with her parents to California, eventually settling in Oakland. She entered the University of California in Berkeley and graduated in 1892. It is at this point that one becomes aware of her outstand-

ing ability. Her academic record was the highest in that graduating class but the medal that was awarded to such accomplished graduates was given only to men. In an unusual turn of events the male graduate who was to receive the medal refused it and stated that Mabel Craft should get it. That medal remains unclaimed somewhere on the Berkeley campus. If the papers of Mabel Craft Deering had survived, we might discover how important that incident was in shaping her into a self-conscious feminist.<sup>2</sup>

Although Mabel Craft contemplated a legal career after leaving Berkeley and did graduate from Hastings Law School in 1895, she never practiced law. The field of journalism soon absorbed her talents. As one account has it she ap-





# OF ADVANCED IDEAS

proached Michael de Young of the *San Francisco Chronicle* for a job as a reporter and was treated indifferently by him. However, he did (perhaps as whimsy) tell her to talk to his wife. If Mrs. de Young responded well to her, he would hire Craft. Mrs. de Young liked her, and Mabel got the job.<sup>3</sup>

As a *Chronicle* reporter Mabel found herself in a distinguished company

*The National Association of Colored Women was a parallel organization to the National Federation of Women's Clubs, which admitted individual black women but refused membership to black clubs. NACW members were educated reformers who addressed the same issues as their white counterparts—education, health, public morality. Their direct attack on racial discrimination, however, was not widely echoed in the white club movement.*

EAST BAY NEGRO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

of reporters including Will Irwin of later national journalistic fame. From Irwin we get our first personal and flattering description of Craft. He wrote,

*Tall, handsome, vital Mabel Clare Craft had taken high honors in scholarship at the University of California, had become an ardent feminist and had deliberately started out to prove her theories by adopting a profession wherein she could compete with men on their own hard terms. In the days of her apprenticeship, a newspaper had only three niches for a woman society, fashions and sobstisterhood. Scorning all three, she made herself a first-class reporter who could match wits with any man in pursuit of a story.<sup>4</sup>*

Ishbel Ross, a historian of woman reporters, verified Irwin's claim that Craft could match and exceed male

intrepititude in the reporting of an important story. She wrote,

*. . . back in the nineties Mabel Craft, of the San Francisco Chronicle, led a squad of men in a leaky launch through the Golden Gate to meet the ships returning from the Spanish-American War. The Examiner crew was already under way in a fine large tug. A storm was raging, they were warned that their launch would sink, but Miss Craft insisted on going ahead. . . . The men called a council and overruled her. Miss Craft took it with grace, conducted her expedition ashore, and hastily chartered a seaworthy tug. They started off again and met the ships. They wrote their stories on the way in, with the tug lurching under them. Their editors were frantic by the time they showed up, waving their copy in their hands. It was the story*



of the year and they made it by a margin of minutes.<sup>5</sup>

When Mabel Craft prevented the *Examiner* from scooping the *Chronicle*, she was already recognized as an important journalist. Just previously she had been sent to Hawaii to cover the American annexations. Her articles were published by major newspapers from coast to coast. They were later published in a book in which she wrote in greater detail about the experience. Her introduction to this small volume makes it clear that anti-imperialism was a part of her progressivism. Recognizing that her sentiments would not be popular with many, she wrote,

*I do not believe that might necessarily makes right, and I have but reflected the political sentiments of the majority of Hawaiians as I found them during the summer of annexation, when hearts were peculiarly stirred by the culmination of an injustice that amounted to crime.*

She went on,

*In Hawaii is the old spirit that abides in unhappy Poland, that burns in the breasts of Alsace-Lorraine. The looting of the Hawaiian monarchy by a few Americans was a sort of successful Jame-son raid, and not an exploit over which any American need thrill with pride.<sup>6</sup>*

The reference above to "unhappy Poland" brings to mind an incident in Craft's early reporting days. When Ignace Paderewski arrived in San Francisco for his first piano concert just before the turn of the century, Craft was determined to gain an interview with him. He refused

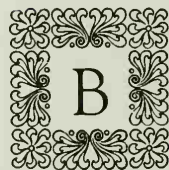
to see any reporters but she literally parked herself on his doorstep until he was forced to see her. One can imagine his change of attitude when he saw this strikingly attractive and intelligent young woman. He not only granted her an interview but they became very good friends and remained so for many years. Craft's future husband, Frank Deering, an attorney, served as Paderewski's lawyer whenever the great pianist needed legal assistance in San Francisco.<sup>7</sup>

By 1899 Mabel Craft became the Sunday editor of the *Chronicle*, the first woman to achieve this status in the country. It was noted in the journalistic world from coast to coast.

The prominence she achieved in the Bay area gave Craft the opportunity to gain a wider audience not only in newspapers but also on the speaking platform and in a variety of publications. The issues of feminism were her persistent themes. But her progressivism was not of a single-issue kind. In 1901 she was invited to speak to the University of California Club of Oakland. Her address was a challenge to the audience whom she asked to imagine that she was speaking in the year 2051, a century and a half later. This futuristic foray "looked back" at the dismal year of 1901. In a Bellamy-esque presentation, Craft spelled out bitter criticisms of that period's progressives. She spoke of the selfishness and materialism of the "earlier" period and how the peacemakers were called traitors. And she spoke of women who could bear sons who could become good citizens but "might never become a citizen herself." The economic system was also part of her eloquent Jeremiad. She said,

*Commerce was the thing not as we know it, the exchanging of product for product that all men might have their share of what the earth yields, but a fierce and insatiable striving after wealth through trading at the largest possible profit. A nation's welfare was measured by the excess of what it sold over what it bought, and commerce dominated the earth, making its laws and making its wars.*

Craft brought feminism into her speech in a unique manner. The new era that her speech was fantasizing had been initiated by a messianic female she called Corona. From Corona came the inspiration and wisdom of the new age that Craft's audience was asked to pretend they were living in.<sup>8</sup>



y 1902 Mabel Clare Craft, now firmly entrenched in her position as the Sunday editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, entered into an unexpected field of controversy. As an active member of the Forum Club of San Francisco (one of the many women's clubs of the city) she became involved in the national debate on the "color question." The women's club movement was fairly new as a national movement and its national conventions marked the first time since the Civil War that northern and southern white women had come together in shared concern over many social, community, and cultural issues affecting white women. The temperance and suffrage organizations were older and also national, but they were single-issue organizations. And, the reader must be reminded, this was a period when

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many white Americans felt that the issues of the Civil War should be put behind and a "reunion" of North and South should be encouraged, bitterness not revived. Into this setting the divisive issue of "colored" women in the women's clubs emerged.<sup>9</sup>

This "reunion" mood was occurring simultaneously with the better known brace of concerns called Progressivism. Historians have agreed that defining this term has its difficulties because of the great diversity displayed by followers of its tenets from one part of the country to the other. But there is agreement that the least of these concerns was the plight of blacks in this nadir of Afro-American history.<sup>10</sup> Not since the Civil War era had white Californians been concerned with matters that involved Afro-Americans. At that time blacks were struggling for equal rights before the courts and in 1863, during the temporary idealism of the Civil War, they achieved it in California. In 1870 California blacks gained the vote through the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution (not through state law), and concerned whites in the state felt that all was done that needed doing for blacks.

In the decades that followed, a small northern black middle class emerged nationally as well as in California and by the beginning of the twentieth century would be pressuring for entry into mainstream white America's institutions. Progressive sensitivity to this need was in short supply. However, there were a few exceptions in a few major metropolitan centers in the north and some breakthroughs were achieved as a result of the valiant efforts of some progressive-minded whites. In Cal-



COURTESY OF THOMAS CARR HOWE

ifornia, Mabel Craft was such a progressive white.

The issue of black admission to the white women's club federation emerged in 1900 at the national convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The occasion for this question was the presence at the convention of a black woman, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, wife of a black Boston judge, who was there as a delegate from both a Boston white women's club and a black women's club that was a member of the state federation of Massachusetts. Southern pressure resulted in the rejection of her delegacy as a member of the black club, but she was accepted as a member of the white club. Under these circumstances Mrs. Ruffin refused to remain at the convention.<sup>11</sup> In the months that followed, the southern clubs presented a proposal initiated by the Georgia federation to include the word "white" in the GFWC constitution as qualification for membership. This was to be presented at

*Mabel Craft.*

the next national convention. In 1902 in Los Angeles the national "color question" debate was on. That was when Mabel Craft entered the picture as a proponent of black admission to membership in the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The question of black women in the General Federation of Women's Clubs was contested in several steps in California. The first was the individual club debates in the last months of 1901, the second took place at the San Francisco convention of the California clubs in February 1902, and the last was at the national convention of GFWC which was hosted by Los Angeles in May 1902. Incidentally, this was the first GFWC convention in the far West.

Many, perhaps most of the California clubs, appeared to shy away from the subject but in Los Angeles and in San Francisco full-scale debates took place. There were many women who opposed black member-





ship in the GFWC, but a group of articulate and courageous women in the Bay area argued for open membership based on education and cultural level, and Mabel Clare Craft led the way.

The *San Francisco Examiner* ran a front page headline that read "The 'Color Line' Excites the Ladies" with a picture of Craft. The story said of her,

*In a spirited debate Wednesday Miss Mabel Craft stood forth as a champion of social equality of colored women.*

Calling Craft, "... a bright student of sociology..." the *Examiner* printed some of her argument which was,

*The difference between the negro and the caucasian, was not one of intellect, but rather of climate and the unrelenting rays of the African sun.*

On other debates she said,

*The color line is drawn by prejudice. I cannot see where the white skinned man or woman is superior to the dark skinned race unless he or she acts in a superior manner. I would rather know a decent, intelligent dark skinned person than know an indecent white.*

Further she said,

*This color question is one of great interest*

*to women just now throughout the country. Many ladies who are intellectual, sympathetic and lovable have an inherent prejudice against the negro. I can't reconcile this prejudice with twentieth century logic or our boasted progress in civilization.*

She also stated that she believed that she shared with President Theodore Roosevelt the opinion that as a citizen of America, Booker T. Washington and others of his race should have "entree into all polite circles—white, black, or yellow." Given the somewhat Victorian flavor of her remarks and even perhaps some naivete about Teddy Roosevelt, Mabel Craft was for that time well ahead of her contemporaries in opposing racism.<sup>12</sup>

The month of November, 1901, was heavy with women's club debates in the Bay area.<sup>13</sup> They seemed to reach a climax at the debate before the Philomath Club. Although this club had an all-Jewish membership, Mabel Craft was invited there to team with a Philomath member in supporting black admission to the GFWC. The Philomath member was Mrs. Florence Prag Kahn, who several decades later succeeded her husband, Julius Kahn, in the Con-

*M.H. DeYoung, who gave Mabel Craft her first real newspaper job, exercised enormous power in San Francisco with flamboyant gusto. Here he is presiding at the opening of the M.H. DeYoung Museum in Golden Gate Park.*

gress of the United States.

In this debate Craft developed her position and revealed some of the depth of her feeling. She claimed that the South had retarded its own growth by its subjection of Negroes and that the perceptions of the women's clubs should be broad and not narrow. She also said what must have been a shocker to the audience. "... if we cannot find it in our hearts to do what we can to help the colored women, why, we had better break up our Federation."

Craft's team-mate, Mrs. Kahn, took a softer line, saying that she was not making a plea for social recognition but rather as American women the clubs should "... extend a helping hand to women who, in spite of their color, were striving to lift themselves..." She added, "They seek admission into our Federation on their own merit and not to be accepted as a gratuity to an inferior race."<sup>14</sup>

Clear-cut club decisions in this controversy do not emerge, but the



general impression is that hard decisions were left up in the air or were unsympathetic to admission. The latter becomes more apparent at the state convention in San Francisco.

Mabel Craft's major efforts on this racial justice question appear to have been devoted to the preconvention period. When the state convention took place in February, 1902, much of the behind-the-scenes work had been done, and the result was a compromise position that would not have required the southern state clubs to admit black women. However, it should be noted that a few Bay area women, led by Mrs. Gertrude Haight, continued vainly to make the case for black admission. Perhaps the progressive pragmatist in Mabel Craft was showing through. Even Caroline Severance, the venerated octogenarian club woman of Los Angeles, often called the "Mother of Clubs," a woman of abolitionist roots, decided not to push the matter.<sup>15</sup>

Three months after the state convention, when the national convention of the GFWC took place in Los Angeles, the "color question" was a lively topic in corridor discussion, but it never came to the floor as a divisive issue. The mood of "reunion" was maintained. With this mut-

ing of the admission question northern and southern women were left to admit black women or not as they wished in each locality. Mabel Craft, however, had stood out as the foremost California protagonist for black admission before the state convention. One can imagine more contemporary gatherings where such a clearly defined point of view would have resulted in some form of rejection. At the public level this certainly did not happen; in fact Craft received honors at this convention on another matter.

At the national convention session on education Craft presented a paper entitled "The Advantages of Coeducation" that was so well received that it was printed in its entirety in *Club Life*, the California state organ of the women's clubs. It was called the most brilliant paper presented at the convention. In this paper, which must have been as easy to listen to as it is to read, Craft, with wit, humor, logic, and irony made her point that coeducation at every level would make for better men and women. She punctured the apprehensions of the illogical and the opposition of the prejudiced. In one of her choice lines she said, *I believe, of course, that it is the normal*

*Mabel Craft, lower left, was one of the core group who joined Susan B. Anthony (seated, center) at a luncheon on June 28, 1895. Second from the left, standing, is Mrs. Hester Harland, secretary of the California Suffrage Association. To her left are hostess Mrs. Nellie Holbrook Blum and Anna K. Bidwell.*

*form of education that boys and girls, since nature was so rash as to plant them side by side in families, are best educated when, in grammar days, in the high school, in the university, and later in the real school of life itself, they are educated side by side.*

This lengthy statement was evoked by attempts to roll back some of the gains made by women in the field of coeducation in the universities. At this time, however, the University of California and Stanford were among those that did admit women students.<sup>16</sup>

Craft also stated that much yet needed to be accomplished in the appointment of women to the faculties and governing boards of the systems of higher education. A few years earlier Craft had written a piece for the *University of California Magazine* that illustrates her gentle style of irony when dealing with feminist issues. The occasion for the article was a discussion of a proposal



that students raise a fund for a fountain in honor of the first woman regent of the University, Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Concurrently Mrs. Hearst was preparing architectural plans for University expansion that were evidently considered by some to be in the fantasy stage. Craft used this article to say that Mrs. Hearst's plans would not be a vague notion but would become reality since the Senator's wife was a person of her word. But Craft went on with a gentle dig saying,

*I noted the other evening when the speakers at the student reception to President Wheeler were alluding politely to the new plans as though they were nebulous dreams, that Mrs. Hearst smiled quietly, much as she smiles when millionaire regents wrangle for an hour over a fifty dollar bill for lights. On such occasion the one woman regent quietly remarks, "Gentlemen, allow me to subscribe the amount." Mrs. Hearst is used to cutting gordian knots and practical men of means will be glad to follow her lead.*<sup>17</sup>

**I**n November, 1902, Mabel Clare Craft became Mabel Craft Deering. Her husband was Frank P. Deering, a prominent lawyer who for many years served on the Board of Directors of the San Francisco Symphony and at one time was the president of the Bohemian Club.<sup>18</sup> The couple was very much a part of the social and cultural life of the city; however, as newlyweds their first public appearance together might have been at the gathering in January, 1903, of the most liberal elements of the Bay area.

The occasion for this gathering was the presence in California of the

already famed black educator, Booker T. Washington. He was in the state on a two-week fundraising tour for the black school, the Tuskegee Institute, which he had founded. One of the events planned for Washington on this tour was an elegantly arranged banquet organized by the women of the Unitarian Club of California. The assemblage was prestigious enough to make the social column of one daily newspaper, and the names mentioned bore out its liberal character. Among them were Frank P. and Mabel Craft Deering.<sup>19</sup>

In 1904, a daughter was born to the Deerings and named Francesca. She would be their only child. For a few years Mrs. Deering was out of public life, but the suffragist movement would shortly call upon her talents and energies.

Back in 1895 Susan B. Anthony paid a visit to California shortly before her death. She came to the state to give heart to the 1895-96 campaign for women's suffrage which ended in defeat because of the San Francisco and Oakland male vote. While in San Francisco she sat for a picture with seven local activists. Seated with them was Mabel Craft who appeared to be the youngest of the group.<sup>20</sup>

Mabel Craft Deering's re-entry into the suffragist movement a decade after the 1896 defeat is best told in her own words.

*Mrs. Austin Sperry, the then president of the California State Suffrage Association, had asked me several times previous to 1906 to take the press chairmanship as I had been a newspaper woman. I had always selfishly refused on the ground that I was too busy.*

*After the earthquake and fire in San Francisco in 1906 I found myself with more time on my hands than I had ever*

*had before or ever expect to have again. There were no streetcars or telephones in the city; almost everyone I knew had left town for places where more comforts were to be had; I had lived on a little island entirely surrounded by miles of burnt homes; there were no theatres, no parties, no distractions of any kind. Feeling it our duty to remain in the city during the reconstruction period I said to myself, "what can I do for suffrage?" and the press work occurred to me. I told Mrs. Sperry I would undertake it and was at once appointed press chairman for the entire state.*

The "little island" Mrs. Deering refers to was her home at the end of Larkin Street which overlooks the Bay and is still standing today.<sup>21</sup>

The above words were taken from Mrs. Deering's post-victory report on press work during the 1911 campaign. As one proceeds through this report it becomes clear that it was not only a narration of the most important details associated with any large scale electoral campaign but was also a readable guide for suffrage campaigners in any state. It should be remembered that in the vast majority of the states of the Union women did not yet have the vote. In her report called "Cooperative Enterprises," a narration of the field work of women campaigners, Mrs. Deering was justifying the use of skilled women campaigners from other states. This was evidently a bone of contention with some of the California women. She commented,

*It is true, undoubtedly, that a mediocre local woman can often do more effective work than a brilliant woman who knows nothing of local conditions, but when all is said and done there is always a dearth of workers at the end of a campaign. It is a question of outside workers or*



none. . . . I shall always feel that California would not have been carried had it not been for the time and money which our Eastern brothers and sisters gave to us so generously during the last two months. We had not the workers, our funds were rapidly exhausted; we had all of us given of time and strength and money to the limit, when this timely aid came. Let us give credit where credit was due.<sup>22</sup>

In the years that followed the successful California suffrage campaign Mrs. Deering appears to have stepped back from involvement in social issues. However, since so many of the men who supported women's suffrage were supporters and members of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, the progressive wing of the Republican Party, it stands to reason that she voted for them faithfully. While the social circles she and her husband moved in were staunchly Republican, the liberal streak in her makeup appeared in the 1930s during the Great Depression. She supported Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt for president in 1932 and 1936. It is doubtful that her husband did likewise. When Frank Deering died, Herbert Hoover was an honorary pallbearer.<sup>23</sup>

Travel was another love of Mrs. Deering's life and, according to her son-in-law, Thomas Carr Howe, Mr. and Mrs. Deering and their child traveled for six months every two years. On two of these trips she wrote travel accounts for the *National Geographic*. The first was a boat trip in China in 1927 from Shanghai to Soochow for which she took several of the pictures for the story. The second was in Korea in 1935 during the years of Japanese rule. Korean nationalists were probably not happy

about her narrative, because it took a benign view of Japanese occupation and perceived it as a progressive development in Korean economic life. However, she did not fail to note that while Japanese rule modernized agriculture and increased its production, it placed half of the best Korean land in the hands of the Japanese.<sup>24</sup>

According, again, to Mr. Howe, Mrs. Deering's later years were much involved in "society" and cultural activities. He also noted that she was very involved in financial matters. When she died in 1953, she left an estate of nearly a million dollars. Her obituary notice reported that she was on the board of directors of the San Francisco Opera Association and St. Luke's Hospital and was active in the San Francisco and Burlingame Country Clubs.<sup>25</sup>

While Mrs. Deering did not reach the political distinction as a liberal achieved by Katherine Edson, one of her contemporaries, her contributions as a feminist progressive are an important part of the record. She



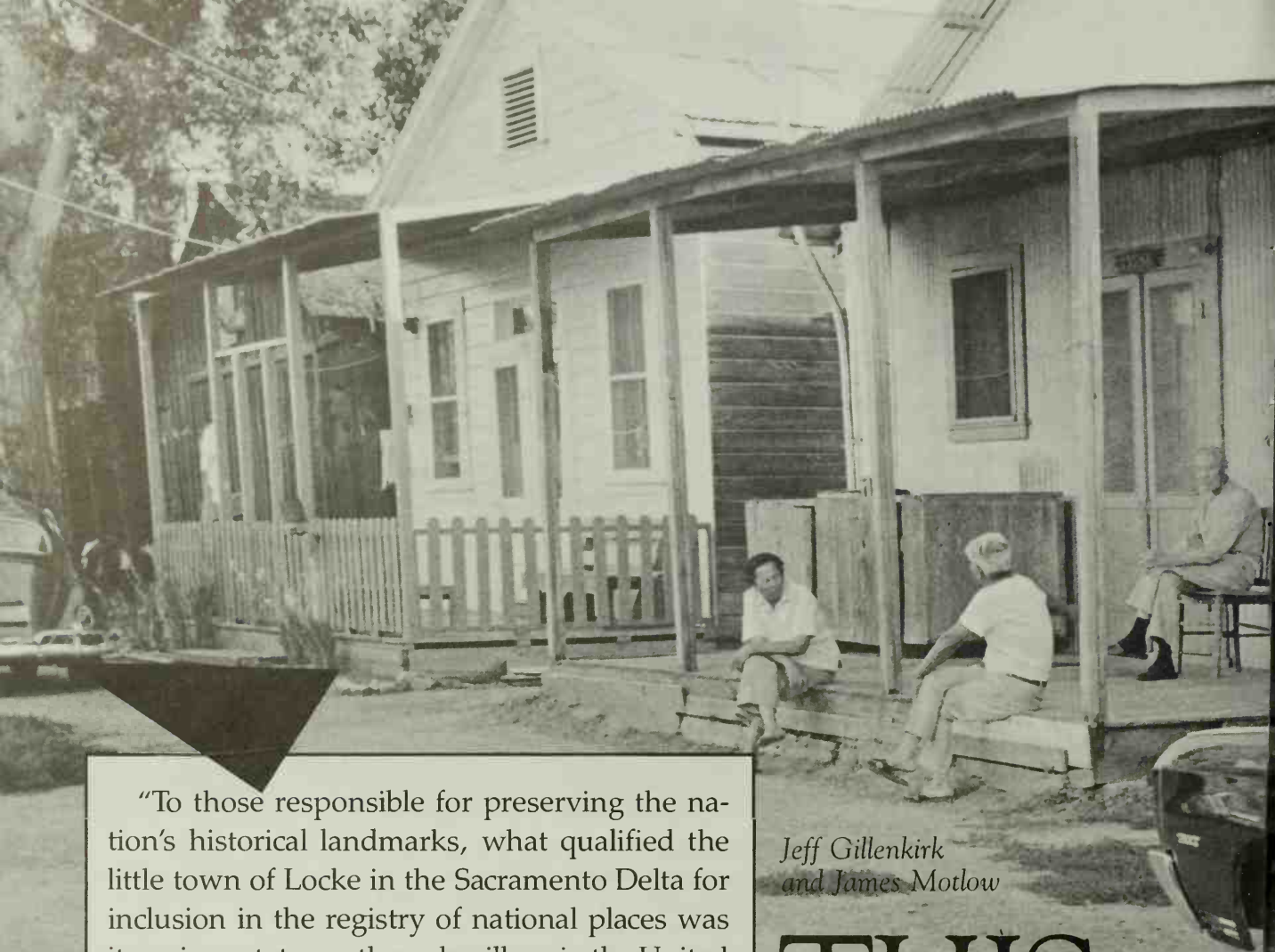
CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

Booker T. Washington, ca. 1918. Washington's tour of California in 1903 was a major event for civil libertarians and reformers.

represented not only a breakthrough by an exceptionally strong woman but was also symbolic of her era. This was a time when middle class women's organizations had reached a particularly high level of maturity, considerable numbers, and sophisticated organizational skills. As a role model for assertive women she is hard to match. Perhaps her later immersion in "society" was for the benefit of her daughter and granddaughter. Mrs. Deering was born into economic circumstances that were extremely modest. Her father was a failure in the world of small storekeeping.<sup>26</sup>

There may have been other women of similar humble origins in her time with her ability, education, looks, and iron determination to succeed, but there were not many who also remembered the underdogs in life. ■

See notes on page 233.



"To those responsible for preserving the nation's historical landmarks, what qualified the little town of Locke in the Sacramento Delta for inclusion in the registry of national places was its unique status as the only village in the United States built and inhabited exclusively by Chinese until recent years, . . . However, Locke's true significance lies not in its singularity but in the fact that it is a model of other villages and towns that might have been built in rural California had Chinese laborers not been excluded from the United States after 1882. Locke is the most visible monument to the extraordinary efforts made by the Chinese to develop agriculture in California and establish communities in rural America. . . ." So wrote historian Sucheng Chan in her introduction to *Bitter Melon*, the forthcoming book from which the following images and oral histories are excerpted.

*Everett Leong, who grew up in Locke but moved to Sacramento for a college education and a professional career, outside his mother's house on Key Street, 1976. © JAMES MOTLOW*

Jeff Gillenkirk  
and James Motlow

# THIS WAS OUR PLACE





MEMORIES OF LOCKE



*The Chinese farm laborer, working hard and complaining little, saving from his meager wages to support a family in China, has become a familiar figure in California history, his contributions to California agriculture gradually being documented. These memories of Locke, recounted from the perspective of the 1980s, reveal a complex and varied community which began with businessmen and farm laborers and grew to include families and artisans but could not provide opportunities to hold its upwardly mobile children.*

*The narrators of these stories have different relationships to Locke: some were born there, some came as adults, some are living out their days there, others spent only a period of their lives there. In addition, the periods of Locke's history which they describe are different. There are many facts about Locke which are not told here, but because these stories are told from a variety of vantage points they offer a sense of the dynamic which shaped the growth and decline of Locke as well as a multi-dimensional portrait of some of the lives which shaped the community and were shaped by it.*

—Editor's Note

**PING LEE**, the son of Locke co-founder "Charlie" Lee Bing, was born in Locke in 1917. Today, he is the unofficial mayor of Locke and proprietor of The

Photographer James Motlow lived in Locke from 1971 to 1979. Writer Jeff Gillenkirk collaborated with Motlow in collecting oral histories over a period of more than two years and then wove them into a text. This article is excerpted from *Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America* (©1987 by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow) to be published in October 1987 by the University of Washington Press, Seattle.

*Big Store supermarket in Walnut Grove.*

I was born in Locke. October 1917. My father's history here, of course, is a long, long history. He came over in 1893, at the age of twenty-one. He's from Zhongshan, about a half hour north of Macao. He came over here with the Chicago Expo, the World Fair at Chicago. . . . The Expo deal was, you came over here and you paid your \$500 or \$700 and you jumped ship. So he jumped ship, and here he was. Lots of them did that.

During that time the harvest season came up over here, just across the bridge, and he started picking pears and all that. [Walnut Grove's] Chinatown was up here where the liquor store is, in that area. It was booming; it was the biggest Chinatown on the river. But anyway, he's working on the ranches and he decided he didn't want to work that way for the rest of his life, coming over to the Gold Hills. He said that's no way to get ahead, so he came up here and made a lot of friends in town, and met an old cook here—name was Lee, old guy, maybe late fifties, sixty years old. He worked for Alex Brown. Alex Brown, of course, owned everything then in Walnut Grove. He'd been the kingpin at that time for about twenty years. [Through the cook, Ping Lee's father went to work for Alex Brown, and the two men became friends.]

Now, *this* is the history of my father. He got into gambling and everything else—he bought a share in a gambling house. To tell you the truth, it's not easy for Zhongshan to get into gambling. No way. It's all locked up, OK? Taishan. But the gambling house wasn't doing so good. Still, it took a lot of guts if you aren't even one of them. They might

come in and mess you up. That happened all the time. Down in San Francisco, oh, lots of times. But my father's ace in the hole was Alex Brown. Alex Brown owned all the grounds. He was the kingpin. There was no deal between him and Alex Brown, they were just friends. They admired each other very much. . . . [My father] walked the streets because Alex Brown was the kingpin. If he had any problems he just went to Alex Brown and it's taken care of. He was a white man, he owned everything. He was a big man. Alex Brown just put the word out: "You touch my boy, everybody loses . . . everything locks up."

In seven years, my father's got seven businesses in town. The man is very brilliant, the history already shows how brilliant he was. First off, he became an herbist. Where he learned it, I don't know. Herb store maybe. Then, there are two gambling houses. A restaurant. A hardware store. A drygoods store, and the other one he ran as a barber shop and a pool hall. On this side, down Market Street where the Porthole is—that's where he had a gambling house.

It was a crazy time. You're talking about a thousand Chinese working on these farms around here—the town was all Chinese. The Mexicans came in in the fifties. Mexicans never gambled in those places; Filipinos came in the thirties from the islands. They loved to gamble, and they played the Chinese way. The Filipinos and the Chinese. And the Japanese wanted to gamble. At one time Locke had four or five [gambling halls]. The town was all business, going until about 10. There was some trouble, but never after 1930 or so. But in the early twenties, before

*Ping Lee in his Big Store.*



1924, you had tong wars—over gambling, somebody trying to muscle in. . . . But there again, during one war my father said, “If I stay in town there’ll be a lot of bloodshed.” Rather than do that he locked up his place and left, went up to Stockton. . . . My father had a hatchet man protecting him all the time. He didn’t build up his empire by being scared, you know. They even shot at him—and missed, that’s all.

By the forties in Locke, there were only two gambling houses, [both] owned by my father. My father’s gambling houses lasted the longest, longer than any other place on the river. He started about 1908 when he had gambling in Walnut Grove, and lasted until 1951, when they decide to clamp down. That’s a lot of years. Nobody else lasted that long.

My father didn’t even like gambling, but he had to manage the place. Most of the time he’d be talking politics in his headquarters in Joe Chow’s place—political headquarters. He was [Kuomintang] Chairman of the district for a long, long time. District was called the Delta. They had lots of people; you can see their pictures in the museum when Dr. Sun [Yat-Sen] died and all that—see how many people there were. My father was a rich man, so he gave a lot of money to the cause. A lot of overseas [Chinese] gave a lot of money to Dr. Sun’s revolution. Dr. Sun was a Zhongshan, you know. My father met him once in San Francisco, on the street. It goes way back. My father was one of the originals. Way back. But my father never bragged about any of that stuff. He’s a man who doesn’t say too many things. He’s not a publicity man. He believed in what you’re going to do—let your deeds speak for themselves.

I grew up in the Depression time. I didn’t think I’d ever make it. The Depression hit my father, the same things as today, why some of these farmers are going bankrupt. He lost \$80,000 on asparagus, which was a lot of money in those days. Like a million dollars. So he lost that, and a thousand acres of land. His backer went bankrupt, a Miss Hughes, I remember the name. Big, fat, chunky lady, those days doing a man-sized job. She was shipping celery when the Depression hit, and went broke. She had to file for bankruptcy, and took my father down with her.

He was sixty-three or sixty-four when I was the last year in high school, up in Courtland. And he tells me, “You have to go to college.” I didn’t have no preparation to go to college, and my father was broke. But sixty-five years old, and he opens a restaurant in San Francisco so I could go to college. See, when I was young I lived in Grass Valley, where he had another farm, 120 acres. I went to school there. I didn’t attend grammar school here, because the schools here were segregated, and he didn’t believe I’d learn very much English. . . . He believed anybody born here should go off to college and learn all you can and get all this ability and bring all the knowledge back to China where you can open their minds, open factories, produce petroleum and all that. See, he was thinking patriotically. . . .

Anyway, here my father’s going to wait on tables so I can go to school. It was only 1941 by the time I came out of college—I graduated from Cal [University of California, Berkeley] with a degree in economics and business administration. But my father had a few bucks in his pocket by then. Things are pretty

good at the gambling house, what he lost he forgot already. Everything’s all right, would be for another ten years. . . .

He wants to bring me back down here [from Sacramento, where Ping Lee ran a grocery store] to run his empire. But my mother didn’t want me to. She didn’t like gambling. Neither did he, but he’s got to manage the place. So he wanted me down here. But then in ‘51 they shut down the gambling all over California. . . . My father died in 1970. Ninety-seven years old, died of old age. But right up to the end he could still give you advice. . . .

**SUEN HOON SUM** is eighty-seven years old and still reluctant to describe the details of his entry into the United States as a “paper son.” He completed the equivalent of a high school education in China and expected more of life in California than work as a farm laborer. Unable to speak English, however, he joined thousands of his compatriots to work in fields and canneries from Monterey to Alaska during the 1920s and 1930s. Between jobs he rented a room in one of Locke’s boarding houses and now lives in a house on Key Street.

Tell you stories about my working days? I worked all over the place! If someone asked me to work at a certain place, I went there. On the big ranches, around this time of year [July], I’d be working in the pear sheds and cherry sheds, or picking pears or whatever fruits they had in the orchards. I’d go to Newcastle, Auburn, pack plums and nectarines . . . then up to Lum Bun’s and pack pears again. After packing pears in Walnut Grove and Locke, I’d go to San Jose . . . and after San





*Asparagus was one of the prime Delta crops, because the loose peat soil allowed the stalks to grow unusually straight, and packing house work was one of the regular sources of employment for Locke residents.*

Jose I'd come back to Locke and work in the tomato sheds, the tomato canneries until about November or so. Then I could either go to San Francisco for a week and spend some time there, or do whatever I wanted. It was very easy for a year to go by. Year after year you did the same thing—pick fruit and trim fruit trees. These are the two things. Every year it was the same. . . .

I always had some kind of work to do, so I hardly spent any time in Locke for any period of time. I rented a room here and just left my belongings and went to work. You could rent a room for \$2.50 a month here. There were a lot of people staying here at the time [the 1930s]. Three hundred or so residents. It was very lively, a very busy place. The businesses were in full run and Al's Place right now, it used to be a Chinese restaurant and people would be going in and out all weekend. There were always at least two gambling houses open, which kept the town pretty busy too, all kinds of people going in and out of town, mostly from San Francisco and people working the orchards. They rarely stayed for long periods of time, just like I did. The ones who came to work, they just left their belongings and went straight to the fields.

We even had a lot of college students come to the Delta to pack pears or cherries, that type of work. There was nothing else for them to do at the time. Canning work was the most available, so they would come flocking in to do it. It was real hard for the students. Very few kids even got to go to school then because of discrimination, segregation, those kinds of problems. We also had a lot of bad discrimination at work. There was an incident once in San Jose,

where a farmer wouldn't let us work because we were Chinese. So we just came back to Locke. It's not like now, where there's equal opportunity and things like that. . . .

But I got along with the Caucasians, I got along quite well. In fact, I joined a labor group with them—the CIO—when I was looking for work in the orchards. I was one of the very few Chinese who got to join up; and though the Caucasians knew I didn't speak English, they were still welcoming to me. Most of the tomato canneries had mostly Caucasian employees. I was one of the few Chinese working with them. There were CIO groups organized in many of the areas I worked in. The main ones, of course, were in San Francisco and Sacramento. In order to join up, you had to pay annual fees—no, seasonal fees, like five dollars for each season that you worked. For instance, if you worked for a couple of months in pears, you would have to pay five dollars for that. And another five dollars if you worked in tomato canneries. . . .

**BING FAI CHOW** *came from China to join his older brother and an uncle in the Delta in 1921. He worked for fifty years as a farm laborer, but unlike many of his peers, he chose to spend most of his earnings on good times, including weekends in San Francisco, rather than saving to support a family in China or his own retirement. Until the 1970s, his blue Mustang convertible was a fixture in the local scene as he sped up and down the Delta on personal business and transporting friends. Now in his seventies, he lives in a boarding house in Walnut Grove.*

I was about ten years old when I

came over, in 1921. All I had was some clothes with me, and a few necessities. My older brother was already here. He was the one that sponsored me to come into the U.S. He's about ninety-three right now, and lives in Oakland.

I came here thinking I'd be able to go to school. But once I got here I never could, because of the discrimination. The schools were segregated—Chinese were separated from the Caucasians and so on. So I went directly to work with my brother, working out in the fields for about a dollar-fifty a day. It was hard, because I had to work right away and didn't have any friends. Two of my uncles had already come to the U.S., and I joined them afterwards to work in the fields. Then my second year here I began to do laundry. I was young then, so I could wash. The old people couldn't do it; they could only work maintaining white people's gardens, or picking weeds.

I didn't have any friends, and I kept thinking that life would have been easier in China. I did go to Chinese school for maybe half a year or so. But I had to leave as soon as my brother found more work for us. I just worked and sent my money back to my family in China. . . . All I can remember was the hard work I put in. Chinese are always working. Other than that I can't remember too much. We worked right here in Locke, or out in the orchards. We lived in the orchards too. Working every day, or just about every day, you didn't have much time to play. There weren't many kids around anyway, living in the camps. When I did have some free time, or when it was off-season, I usually just swam or talked to the other folks.



*Two Delta Chinese boys on their way to school, 1905.  
Asian children were not allowed to attend integrated  
schools until the internment of Japanese in World War II  
reduced the Asian population and made it economically  
unfeasible to maintain segregated schools for Asians.*



Swimming I guess was my main activity. There weren't any theaters around to go see moves, so we usually went fishing or swimming. I remember these American ladies who used to come around and try to get us to go to church and read the Bible and listen to their preachers. They used to offer us candy just to get us to go to church. We used to go to church just to get the candy, and then not stay for the whole sermon or the classes that they had afterwards. . . .

The first thing I remember about Locke was the gambling houses—there were so many gambling houses here. I didn't gamble myself. I didn't know how. But I had friends who gambled, and uncles who spent quite a bit of time in them. There were also a lot of children running around the streets. . . .

The town's really changed a lot since then. I remember when thousands of people used to come through here on a weekend—three, four thousand people. Where there was farm work, you'd find the Chinese right there, and this was the place for farm work. There was no discrimination here either. Farther inland was worse. There were no Chinese and no Chinese newspapers there. Before the war, in Isleton, Rio Vista, places like that, the whites wouldn't take your order in the restaurant. You wouldn't even get served in the bakery shop. Chinese couldn't go to the bars. But now we can go anywhere. You can order anything you want to eat or drink and if they don't serve you, you can sue them. What happened was in 1942, 1943, a lot of Chinese served in the Army, and when they came back you couldn't discriminate against them. But in the past, the whites would attack

you with stones when you walked through some of these towns. We never dared to walk on the streets alone then—except in Locke. This was our place.

I was one of the few people around here who had a car. I'd use my car to go to work in places like Castro Valley or Fresno, or even further than that, when there wasn't any work to do around here. It was pretty valuable to have a car then, be able to work in some other area than the Delta. Sometimes I'd drive to San Francisco with a couple of friends. In just one day you could spend a hundred dollars, and when you got back from the trip, you'd have to work again to get that hundred back. Working here was like fighting a losing battle. Just to earn fifty dollars you really had to work your tail off. . . .

***EFFIE LAI**, who now lives in an apartment building she owns in Los Angeles, was born in San Francisco and grew up speaking English as well as Chinese. She lived in Locke from 1927 to 1942. In addition to the work she describes here, she has been a bootlegger, restaurateur, beautician, and translator for the California Department of Social Services.*

I married into Locke. My husband was a tenant farmer for the Meyer ranch. I met him through friends, and my uncle Wah Lee's merchandise store in Locke. I went up to Locke as a girl sometimes, to visit. It was so different from San Francisco's scenery. Coming from a big family, we lived in such close quarters. I liked to get away. And I love it, it's so nice up there. The weather

there was nice, and the conditions—not the crowded conditions. Everything was so spacious, to me, it was wonderful. . . .

At that time my husband, right after the First World War, they were doing pretty good. He was the head of the Meyer ranch there making four thousand a year—lots of money. There was two brothers there, Louis Meyer and Pete Meyer that owned big acreage on Grand Island, big acreage. It's orchards: pears, peaches, cherries. Well, the biggest crop is pears, that goes to the canneries. And they got a big beautiful home there. My husband, he got a Buick, what they call it? Those wagons, a big one, with side doors, you know, and you go open the side and there's a side wheel. . . .

Anyway, when I got married it was the talk of the town. I marry in San Francisco, at the Fairmont Hotel. My father was very much against it, because I was so young, and marrying a man older. My husband was twelve years older than I was, he was almost thirty. But they came to the wedding. It was a Christian wedding, our Chinese minister married me. We have a little banquet and when we came back on the ranch there, practically all the people from the river came. . . . There were four or five hundred people there. I was married in January so it was a little cold, but it's nice as long as it doesn't rain.

I had my first child in September; I had five children altogether. Every weekend we'd come into Locke. Actually, if you could go twice a month you're doing good. . . . I'd see my uncle, Wah Lee, and his family. And all the people from the ranches come up here and congregate; catch up on

*Wedding of Effie Jung and Lai Foong, January 19, 1922,  
in the Red Room of the Fairmont Hotel in San  
Francisco. The bride's father, George Jung, and her  
mother, Chun See are to her right; on the far right is her  
younger brother Raymond Jung.*



COURTESY OF EFFIE LAI

the news—who died, who married, what's happening around the area there, the economic situation, all those things you talk about. And then during the summer you see all the school boys from San Francisco come in and work on the ranches there, to pick pears. You see all kinds of mixtures, the ABCs and OBCs, you know. ABCs are American Born Chinese; OBCs—the overseas born. So we mixed together and the ABCs loved to come in because it's an outing for them. First thing, they earn a little money. Secondly, it's a vacation. It's so different from San Francisco, where you see nothing but cement and concrete. It's the open air, open space.

I stayed on the farm until, let me see, 1927—five years. Then I moved into town, lock, stock, and barrel. At that time we couldn't make a go of it. The Meyers lost it . . . the crop didn't bring any more money and they owed so much, so they lost it [the ranch]. So when they lose it, we didn't have any money either because of the way sharecropping worked: the money is divided in half. So the owner gets half and we get half, but we don't even have money to pay for our groceries. They'd been losing money for two or three years . . . so we moved.

My husband went out and worked, and in those days it was terrible. A dollar a day as a ranch hand, and we couldn't get a job. So I went and worked. I lived with my children and went up and worked in the cannery there—Libby's. No transportation then, you can imagine from Locke walking up to Libby's, next to Clay Locke's ranch there. Every year toward the asparagus season there was hundreds of, I think they were

Latinos, from in the East Bay there, from San Francisco, all come to work there. Libby canneries, they have a bunch of shacks for the workers to live. The husband and wife generally comes in and then they have children, some of them don't, they're all hands there; but we don't live there, we have to walk back and forth, so during dinner time, six o'clock, I have to walk home and cook for my little kids, and hurry up and go back there again. So it was really rough. Fifteen cents an hour!

And then when the season wasn't good, when there's no prices and the cannery wasn't canning that month, then experienced workers get the job; you got to know "who" before you get a job there. . . . My husband at that time was working as a ranch hand, sometimes I don't see him for months. I'll be in Locke and he's down in Isleton, working day and night there, and he doesn't come home. If they're fortunate enough they come home weekly, but that's not to stay either: they come back and see you and go leave around four or five o'clock and go back with the boss, because there's no way of going home, they don't own cars at that time. . . .

[When I worked] I left my children home. My oldest son was only eight years old, he was awfully good. I taught him how to cook, he could cook rice on a kerosene stove. And then I said, now, when you get the dinners ready and the little ones at home, then don't go outside after dark. They're very good. Anyhow, sometimes they clean up the tables, sometimes don't. . . .

The worst was when the Depression came. My husband's out of a job. Couldn't get anything at that

time; no social worker come down to the valley, and no way of getting anything. Sometimes you don't even have a dime in your pocket-book to get a loaf of bread. You sit at home, that's all. In those days our rent was only six dollars a month, and we're so poor sometimes we were only able to pay our rent. And the neighbors, when you were in hard time, you wouldn't even *dare* to ask the neighbors to loan you a dime. Because they're out there every day in that situation too. Everybody's in that same situation. But then fortunately, you have a few pounds of rice; and then what vegetables that friends from the ranch bring you down. You just eat vegetables, that's all. I don't fish at all. I'm not a fisherman; I don't go to the dirt and plant. We're from San Francisco, you know! . . .

During the Depression things slowed down. And then the place seemed to be so dull; the Depression seemed to affect everybody. The gambling halls were open, but not as much gambler. They were operating on a deficit. And the people who worked there, fortunately, they all have shares in there, so you don't have to pay them a weekly wages. If they do, they close up too. Fortunately, Ping's [Lee] father is the banker. So then if times is getting low, he could fork up a few until you're back up on your feet, and then you can plow it back again. . . .

I had five children—three boys and two girls. We spoke Chinese, at home I jabber in Chinese. That's why all five of my children they understand Chinese and speak a little bit of it. Whereas the others completely lost it. But my children even now, even at my age now, when my chil-



*Jone Ho planting garlic in her garden, 1973. Backstreet garden plots, cleared and brought under cultivation by Locke residents, have for decades played an important role in the town's economy, providing a buffer against the ups and downs of the cash economy.*



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dren come home we speak Chinese.

They worked in the fields too. My first son went to work, right across Courtland, Sutter Island; the ranch is called Sunnyside Ranch. That is one of my husband's first cousin run that place for twenty years. So he went up there to work, picking fruit, doing odd jobs. The second son went up to Vorden, he worked there. Vacations only. We worked the seasonal, that's all. So my youngest, he was still young then, he went to the field to help his uncle, Everett's [Leong] father, to pick tomatoes—Everett's father and my husband were brothers, see. . . .

At that time Locke was a good place to raise children. All the children came out very successful, very nice children. Like my cousin's . . . all my uncle's children went to Cal. . . . Main Street never bothered us. Those people never go in the back street at all. It seems strange, we got bars there, but no drunks. You don't see them. If they do get drunk in the bars there on Main Street, we're all in bed already in the back house, we don't see them. In that old house where we're living there, where my sister-in-law lived, I don't even lock my doors. . . .

**EVERETT LEONG** *was born in Lodi in 1942 and raised in Locke. Today he heads the Division of Translation Services, California Department of Social Services and lives in a suburban section of Sacramento.*

One of the first things I remember about Locke is that it was like an old-country town. To me it's the closest thing to nature, yet you still

have your so-called basic necessities, accommodations . . . the town of Locke is the closest thing to a Chinese village back in China, OK? The people were all from the old, back country in China. Most of them were farmers and they came over here and they utilized their farming skills and then, you know, people in the town of Locke actually contributed to the agricultural development of the Delta. But in those days we didn't think of Locke as a unique town. We only thought of it as the town that we lived in. We didn't perceive it as a special town, or just being developed by Chinese or anything. We just thought we were part of the Delta community.

Most of the time what we did was, in our younger days before we could work in the orchard, most of us just went out and played around and climbed trees, went out to the river, did a lot of fishing, a lot of rock throwing, catching grasshoppers, shooting birds, and then, you know, catching pigeons and selling them to those old men who wanted to buy them to cook pigeon to make soup with herbs.

And then in those days, too, when I was about between six and ten, the town had a local gambling hall, and that provided a lot of action. A lot of kids hung around out there. Several of us were shoeshine boys, and we used to stick around there and shine a guy's shoes for fifteen cents a shine. . . .

I remember Ping Lee's father [Lee Bing]. When I was small I'd see him. He was a very businesslike individual, a businessman. He was always well dressed. He always had at least a sports coat and a tie on, something like that. In other words, he did not

dress up like the typical farm laborers in town; he was better dressed, more professionally dressed than anyone else. Other people of the town looked upon him as a person of a higher level than themselves, because he was a businessman. . . .

I went to Walnut Grove Elementary and Courtland High School. Walnut Grove was integrated by my time. The majority of the students there were pretty well mixed. It was a combination of Japanese, Chinese, and white, and a few Filipino and a few Mexican and very few Blacks. But in my opinion we all got along fairly well in those days, because the school was small. We started in kindergarten together, and practically 80 percent of us kids went through for eight years. So you knew one another fairly well, and you also knew your teachers pretty well because there was very little turnover of teachers.

Most of the kids from our town came from parents that were non-English speaking. We were brought up learning to speak the Chinese language. When I started school, my basic language skills were in Chinese. When I went to school, that's where I originally developed my English speaking skills. Sure my parents encouraged me. The time to learn English was in school, you know. But in those days the Joe Shoong School was open too. We had Chinese school after our regular day of school, five days—no, six days a week, because we also had classes on Saturday morning. Practically every kid that was born or brought up in Locke is bilingual today. . . .

I started working in the orchards when I was about twelve years old,



*Overseas Chinese were deeply involved in the political struggles of their homeland at a time when they were prohibited from becoming U.S. citizens. Here Delta Chinese gather to honor General Tsai Ting Kai (center left) on November 24, 1934, two years after he had won renown for defending Shanghai against invading Japanese forces.*



COURTESY OF BOB JANG



picking pears and hauling boxes. I must have done it for seven or eight summers. In those days they had the small boxes, they weren't using the big bins yet. So most of us, we started picking pears when we were just starting high school, right after we got out of the eighth grade. We used to work ten, twelve hours a day out in the orchard, for ninety cents an hour. The highest it ever got to be when I was working in the fields was two dollars an hour.

I started out as a picker, but then I did other things. Later on when I was in college, I irrigated, I cut blight, I fertilized, I sprayed—everything that has to be done during the summer months. All I know is that it wasn't an easy life, because now I've had a good taste of it myself, you know, working in the fields. The old folks weren't working anymore. They worked in the orchards before then. My mom was working though. She was working in the packing sheds, cannery, and probably also in the fields—tomatoes and other open field crops . . . I don't think there's anger among any of the parents in those days, in regards to working, say, ten hours out in the fields and then coming home and having to cook for five or six kids. It was something they had to expect. So an expression of anger, I would say, is not a good description of the situation. It was their way of life: . . . but the older people very seldom talk about their past history. What they know they usually just keep it in themselves.

But my opinion, working in the field is one job that I think anybody who works there is well underpaid. In other words, you work your ass off. You start early in the morning

and by eight o'clock you're sweating. When you work in the fields, you do, say, three to four hours of work, and it's equivalent to somebody who's sitting in a building working, say, ten hours a day. . . .

Everything I've done since—school, learning English, adjusting to other racial groups—those were easy adjustments. Because when you have a tough life, a rough physical life, you know, working, anything else you do later on is mediocre. All I have to do is look back at the old days, and just the thought of sweat coming down my forehead by nine o'clock, well, that makes it appear as if what I'm doing now is nothing compared to those days. . . .

It was probably in grade school, by sixth or seventh grade, that I decided I was going to go to college. You realize that if you don't want to work in the fields all your life, the only way you can do anything about it is to go to school and learn skills so you can better yourself.

Quite a few kids from Locke went on to college. Quite a few didn't finish either. Some of them went to trade school. . . . I went to Sacramento City College, then to Sacramento State. I graduated with a degree in economics. My first job was with the [California] Department of Social Services. It's the only department I've ever worked for. Today I'm the interpreter—the translator coordinator for the Department of Social Services, State of California. . . .

When you finish school, your education, you want to find employment for what you were trained for, or that is near to where you're going to live. So therefore, that's the main reason why I left the town of Locke. I mean, I still go down there several

times a month to visit my mother, but I don't live there anymore because I want to live near where I work . . . I noticed that other people prior to me, when they got out of high school and went to school or even went to work, they left the town. So I knew that even before I got out of high school that probably when I make a living it would not be in the town of Locke. I knew I'd be leaving it, education-wise.

Because, you see, a career in ranching never came to my mind. Otherwise I would have majored in agricultural economics or something that had to do with agriculture. The only people who majored in those subjects were the sons of big ranchers down there, like Lincoln Chan's kids, or van Loben Sels, or the Grahams, or the Salisburys. Those kids, they went to UC Davis or San Luis Obispo, that had agricultural programs. They had it made. I mean, they get out of school, they just go back and start running the ranch. Whereas a guy—a Chinese kid out of Locke—what are their chances? I mean, all their parents were farm laborers, and unless you're Lincoln Chan's kids [Lincoln Chan was one of the few Chinese farm laborers to become a successful landowner and rancher in the Delta] you go to college and major in agriculture, you come back and what are you going to do? You end up driving a tractor for someone else. . . .

**TOMMY KING**, *seventy-three, has lived in Locke since 1928. From his garden he can see most of Lock's back-street traffic, and he serves as Locke's unofficial watchman, fireman, and om-*



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*Interior of Ng So Young's home, 1976.*

*budsman. Retired as a radio repairman and electrical technician, Tommy and his wife Connie King are among a handful of American-born Chinese of their generation to stay in Locke.*

This town is an oddity now, but it wasn't an oddity then. We had the four towns, the four Chinese sections—Courtland, Walnut Grove, Locke, and Isleton—and the Chinese stage running from Courtland on down, hauling passengers and freight. The Gibson line, it died out in the fifties. On weekends the town would be really crowded. People coming in to relax—gamble, eat, drink, visit friends. It wasn't really rowdy. If you saw any drunks it was Caucasians. You'd never see a Chinese lying in the street drunk. But it wasn't a lot; you'd have a couple of speakeasies once in a while, not too bad. There were all kinds of stores here then—dry goods, restaurants, hotels, barbershops. It was the only town built by Chinese still standing in the state of California. The thing different about Locke from the other Chinese towns was a different dialect spoken. Walnut Grove was a different dialect: Sze Yap.

My first job was ranch work, outside of working for my father. Ten cents an hour, all day, room and board. It was sharecropping all the way around here. Chinese just hire all the labor and do all the work, and then share the profits. You worked for the Chinese who had the lease . . . we worked from six to six. They don't do that anymore. Everybody worked from six to six, two hours of rest and ten hours of work. Long day. Sometimes you worked 10 and

half hours. Most of the pruning crews spoke the same dialects; mostly Zhongshan around here. In fact, I can't think of a ranch that had a Sze Yap boss. The one in charge was usually the one that could speak a little bit of English, like my granddad.

You were glad just to get a job. Depression time, we didn't get too damaged by unemployment around here. There was always a lot of ranch work, but it wasn't a dollar a day. During the Depression it was down to seventy-five cents a day, 1932, '31. We had the poorhouses too. Every town had its poorhouse. Courtland have one, Locke have one, Walnut Grove have one, Isleton have one. Just a place to keep away from the elements. . . .

I never finished high school. I only went to tenth grade. I quit because I was stupid. I don't know why, but when I was young I just hated school. I think I had a reason, too. I was always interested in electronics—electronics and mechanics—and the schools had neither one of them. If they had, I think I would have gone through . . . but there wasn't anything that interested me. The only thing I took was woodwork. I'm a practical man more than an intellectual guy. Later on I learn that you can be practical about being intellectual. . . .

It took me four years to save \$600, then I went to school in San Francisco. In six months the money was gone. I spent six months in San Francisco at the Western College of Radio, on Larkin and O'Farrell. I don't think it's there anymore. They taught me the bare fundamentals . . . at that time, since I didn't finish high school, I was handicapped. I didn't know mathematics and sci-

ence and chemistry, the things I needed in order to understand electricity, to repair things.

That was 1938. I was twenty-four. Then I came back here and opened up a radio shop. I ran it three or four years before the army got me. Actually, I enlisted in the air force. I was one year in Sacramento, one year in Houston, Texas, two years over in CBI—China-Burma-India. I was a radio mechanic for airplanes and ground vehicles. Then after the war I came back and did the same thing—opened up a radio shop. I did that from '46 to '55. When I first opened my shop, after four years of war there was a lot of work to be done. People still had a lot of radios, TV wasn't in yet. So I made a living at it. But after a while, a lot of businesses here were gone already. There was only one restaurant left. Two grocery stores. Two gambling houses. One pool hall. I guess it started during the Depression. A lot of Chinese move away during the Depression; they couldn't make any money farming, so they moved to the city. I was the only radio shop around at the time but I still never had enough work to keep me busy. Finally, television killed me off. Couldn't handle television. You know how big a television was in those days—about that big, that wide, weighs a ton. You can't lift it without help, you can't carry it, you can't transport it without help. You can't put up an antenna without help . . . I finally closed down and went to work for the Army Signal Depot. Electronics, repair work. I spent twenty years there, and retired nine years ago. Federal retirement, it was a federal installation. . . . ■



*Carol Hall, the only Chinese of her generation living  
in Locke, on Main Street, 1976.*



# “El Portuguese”

## DON ANTONIO ROCHA CALIFORNIA'S FIRST PORTUGUESE SAILOR

**T**he year of 1814 might well have been termed the “Year of the Foreigner” in California. What made this particular year so memorable was the arrival of the first (so far as has been documented) permanent non-Spaniard/non-Indian settlers, brought by two English schooners, the *Isaac Todd* in January and the *Columbia* in November. (The Russians who founded Fort Ross in 1812 had all left by 1841.) Of these original pioneers, the man who most typified the later entrepreneurial spirit of the Yankee was no American. Rather, he was the Portuguese-born António José Rocha.

“He was a pious man, quite a favorite with all the priests, a very industrious man, and one of the most respectable and esteemed citizens of Los Angeles, from the time of my first acquaintance with him in 1831 to the time of his death,” wrote J. J. Warner, author/rancher/politician, in 1864.<sup>1</sup> A. J. Rocha had been variously referred to as a sailor, weaver, carpenter, gunsmith, and blacksmith; he probably had been a farmer and soldier as well. He was a businessman who knew how to cultivate

friendships and exploit situations. He was a personable, energetic, and footloose individual, whose wanderlust carried him through much of the coastal, Spanish part of the state. California’s first Portuguese settler is best remembered today for building the adobe house that later served as Los Angeles’s first (and only) City-County Municipal Building and for being the first grantee and developer of Rancho La Brea, location of one of the world’s most remarkable collections of Pleistocene fossils, Registered Landmark No. 170.<sup>2</sup>

Of Rocha’s life before his arrival in California, probably little aside from the facts of his birth can ever be accurately known. His peasant background and the tragic consequences of the Napoleonic Wars combined to obscure all but scattered bits of information. It is only due to the omnipresent Portuguese Catholic Church, with its ceaseless zeal for the documentation of church events (principally baptisms, marriages, and burials) that even the date of his birth on January 18, 1790, to Feliz Carlos Rocha and Maria Josefa Lima has been ascertained.<sup>3</sup>

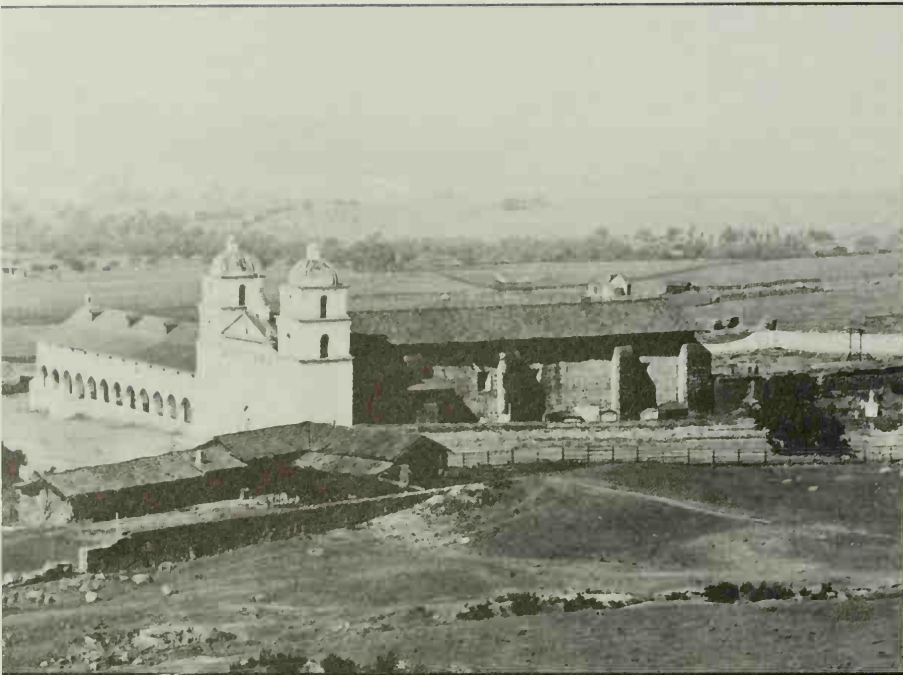
Rocha was born near the Galician border in the tiny, rural parish of São Tiago do Sopo at a time when hunger, disease, and natural calamities raged in areas of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The ability of Queen Maria to lead the country effectively was seriously in question,<sup>5</sup> and to the north the French Revolution was underway. Rocha’s youth was shadowed by the increasing turmoil of the European wars that the revolution spawned. His native village was situated on or near the path crossed by Napoleon’s troops as they invaded Portugal between 1807 and 1811, wreaking havoc on its economy, its countryside, and its people. For reasons that probably can never be accurately determined, Rocha, as a soldier, a refugee, or one simply chasing his destiny, departed the continent and his homeland forever sometime before the close of 1813.

*Enroute from Monterey to Santa Barbara, Rocha spent two years at Mission San Miguel Arcángel helping repair damage caused by an earthquake.*



*David E. Bertao and Eduardo M. Dias*





Mission La Purísima Concepción, above Santa Barbara, was founded in 1787, a year after French explorer La Pérouse made the first non-Spanish visit to the California coast after Drake.

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Though the European continent was ablaze in the Napoleonic Wars and the United States was fighting England on the high seas, some international ventures proceeded in a more economic vein. One of the United States' earliest Baltimore Clipper schooners, a 190-ton vessel built in 1812, was apparently captured, brought to England, and sold to the highest bidder. The Northwest Company of Canada purchased the vessel, named (or renamed) it the *Columbia*, and dispatched it from England in the fall of 1813 toward the northwest coast of America.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Eduardo Mayone Dias is Professor of Portuguese Literature at UCLA. He is the author of several books and articles concerning the Portuguese presence in California.

David E. Bertao graduated from UC Berkeley with a Bachelor of Science degree in Mechanical Engineering. He has done extensive historical and genealogical research on the Portuguese people.

Along with the *Isaac Todd* and the *Colonel Allen*, the *Columbia* was part of a tripartite company plan to transport furs to lucrative and forbidden markets in the Far East.<sup>7</sup>

When the fur-laden, China-bound *Columbia* anchored in Monterey Bay in November, 1814, after a year at sea and various ports-of-call, António Rocha was aboard. Where exactly he had been recruited is unclear, but Madeira Island, the scene of military activity on the part of British and Portuguese allied forces and the schooner's only North Atlantic port-of-call, is most likely.<sup>8</sup>

The *Columbia* was brought to Monterey to establish some sort of trade relations between it and a small fur-trading outpost near the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon called Fort George, originally (and now) known as Astoria.<sup>9</sup> But the negotiations flew in the face of a Spanish ban on commerce with foreign ves-

sels and required a lengthy wait for the approval of José Darío Argüello, the interim governor in residence at Santa Barbara. The delay resulted in the desertion of ten men, Rocha included, who joined nine others who had deserted earlier in the year from the *Isaac Todd*.<sup>10</sup> If we eliminate the nine *Columbia* and *Todd* deserters returned in 1815 to the *Columbia*, as well as the one Spanish deserter from the same vessel and the one of unidentified nationality from the *Isaac Todd*, California's permanent foreign population had swollen from zero at the start of 1814 to eight by the year's end.

The decision to desert the schooner could not have been an easy one for Rocha. Even if he were never captured, he nevertheless was far from home in a country with whose customs and people he was unfamiliar. He probably had little or no money and would quickly need to find some means of supporting himself. He was, in effect, closing the door on his chances of ever returning to his native land. In the event that he was captured, he likely faced disciplinary action if he were returned to the schooner and an uncertain fate in the hands of the Spaniards if he were not.

The man responsible for Rocha's capture and subsequent freedom was Lieutenant José María Estudillo, comandante of the Presidio of Monterey. He not only rounded up all ten *Columbia* deserters, evenly split between Protestants and Catholics, but brought in four Protestant *Isaac Todd* ones as well. The roundup, which almost certainly occurred in the first half of 1815, came in response to a demand by the captain of the *Columbia*, whose own intense

*In the late nineteenth century Carleton Watkins photographed missions in decay. When Rocha was at San Gabriel Arcángel, it was a thriving establishment where his skills were in demand.*

manhunt had failed, to have the men captured and jailed to await his return.<sup>11</sup> When the vessel returned in July, 1815, Estudillo handed over five Protestant *Columbia* deserters but bargained for and successfully obtained the release of the Catholic deserters by offering the four *Isaac Todd* men in their place.<sup>12</sup> We can only imagine the anger and frustration of these latter men who had been in the country for a year and a half and who were thrown into chains upon their arrival aboard ship.

Estudillo's action revealed the sharp distinction in the way the Spaniards treated Catholics and Protestants. It was only by a quirk of fate, when the *Isaac Todd* Protestants did not join other deserters from that vessel in accepting conversion to Catholicism,<sup>13</sup> that an opportunity presented itself for Rocha to remain. Had the Protestants not been available, Estudillo would have had little to bargain with. Why or how badly he wanted the Catholics is unknown, but it is unlikely that, in the absence of a governor, he would have shouldered the responsibility of using force to resist a foreign power over the matter.

Aside from perhaps John Gilroy of the *Isaac Todd*, Rocha was the only one of the 1814 pioneers to achieve any significant level of prominence. That he soon came to the attention of the Spanish officials and had, in at least a small way, won their confidence is evidenced by the fact that his short stay in Monterey was marked by his appointment as one of two witnesses in the *Lydia* hearings.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, apparently alone of the 1814 pioneers, Rocha was selected for what appears to have

been an unescorted trip south to San Gabriel mission to work in the weaving industry.<sup>15</sup>

**R**ocha's southbound journey was just one more leg in an ongoing travelogue. He carried a passport requiring him to check in monthly with José de la Guerra y Noriega, comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio and forbidding him to go beyond San Gabriel mission. In addition, Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá sent a dispatch to de la Guerra alerting him to the impending arrival of the Portuguese weaver.<sup>16</sup> Rocha stopped to eat and sleep at the missions, but his stop at San Miguel turned into a two-year effort to rebuild the earthquake-damaged mission church. Here he obtained the carpentry skills that he would use for the rest of his life at other southern California missions. In keeping the Portuguese traveler, Fr. Juan Cabot had probably defied the governor's authority and the San

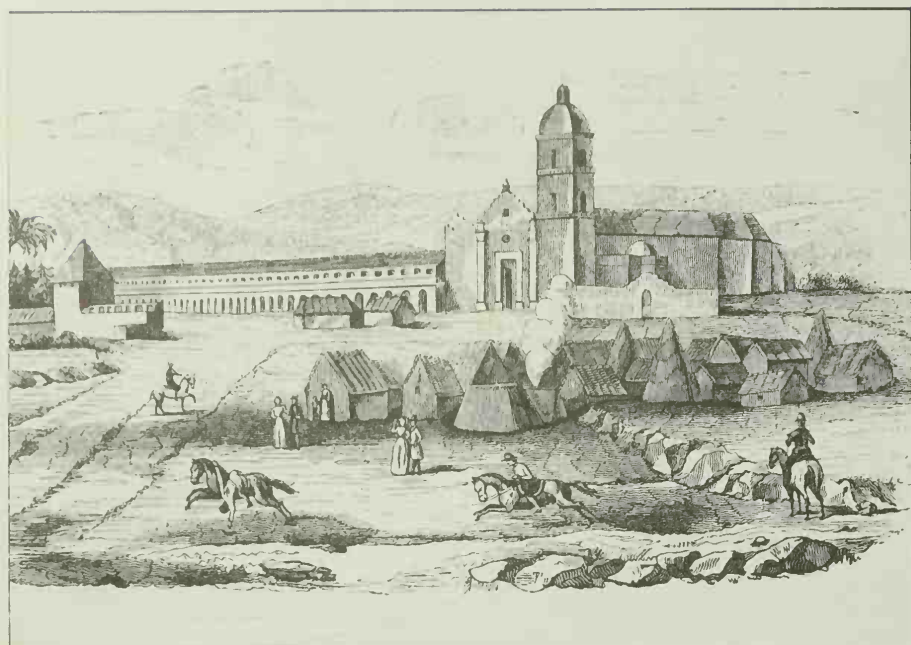
Gabriel mission fathers' expectations; the father wrote the governor of his plans only to allay Rocha's trepidation over the consequences of violating the terms of his passport.<sup>17</sup>

At La Purísima, further south, before the close of 1818, Rocha met the number-one man in the province's ecclesiastical circles, Fr. Mariano Payeras, President of the Missions. Imagine the thoughts and concerns that must have been floating around in his mind. He was more than two years overdue at the Santa Barbara presidio and his future there was uncertain. In leaving the English schooner, he had, after all, merely exchanged one set of masters for another. Cabot had displayed no qualms over usurping the governor's authority when he had kept the Portuguese, and Payeras was Cabot's superior. Seizing the opportunity, Rocha asked the father to give him permission to marry and thereby become eligible for naturalization. He had to have felt that his real goal, naturalization, would free him

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Mission San Luis Rey de Francia north of San Diego was on Rocha's itinerary as he made his way around Alta California.

gins the most obscure portion of Rocha's California stay. For the next seven years, from about early 1819 until August 1826, when he was at San Luis Rey,<sup>20</sup> we are confronted by an almost total lack of documentary material concerning Rocha's life. The few published references to the new carpenter for this period are usually vague and inaccurate. There is, for example, no information on how Rocha was affected by Mexico's independence from Spain (known in California in 1822) or whether he was present when Indians attacked the Santa Barbara mission in 1824. Yet this period may well have been one of the most fruitful in his life. The few references to Rocha's work at the various missions cannot be totally discounted. Rocha's new carpentry skills, coupled with his energy and enthusiasm, surely found expression among the numerous building projects of the mission fathers. In addition, his close friendship with many of the priests is a further testimony to his mission involvement in more than just a superficial manner. We do not know whether he was aware of proposals circulating in Mexico City to secularize the missions.

**T**he year 1826 seems to have been a turning point in Rocha's life. He was sent at an unknown date to work at San Luis Rey and while there he reported a forgery to the alcalde of Los Angeles.<sup>21</sup> In July, a governmental decree enabling Indians to free themselves under certain circumstances from mission bondage may have been sweeping enough to include foreigners as well.<sup>22</sup> The decree made

of the restrictions that now hindered his movements and actions. He must have been greatly surprised, however, when Payeras could not respond to his request but, instead, got off an as yet undiscovered letter to the bishop of Sonora. The bishop, also rather vague, responded on February 19, 1819:<sup>18</sup>

*Dear Father and Friend: I consider myself without authority to grant naturalization to any foreigner in this Kingdom, and if Ant3nio Rocha would be allowed to enter upon the marriage you mention, this would in a certain way give him the right of residence in the Kingdom by means of such sacrament. However, if he proves that he is a free and single man in his country, and the government grants a residence permit to the above-mentioned Ant3nio Rocha, there would be no objections to his intent.*

It is not surprising that the bishop carefully sidestepped what must have been uppermost in Rocha's mind; namely, the possibility of

becoming a naturalized citizen through marriage. While marriage may have been an ecclesiastical matter, naturalization was a secular one. What is surprising, however, is the lack of any kind of reference to some sort of governmental process, outside of a residence permit (which Rocha had),<sup>19</sup> for the naturalization of foreigners. The bishop does not refer to any such process, and if Payeras had been aware of one, there probably would not have been any need for a letter. Perhaps the difficulty arose from the weakness of civil authority in California, a remote province of a colony already in the throes of the war that would make it independent from Spain. As Rocha had learned by first-hand experience in 1814 and 1815, even provincial secular authorities seemed to have no formal and standardized way of dealing with foreigners.

The weaver-turned-carpenter did eventually ride into Santa Barbara close to three years after his departure from Monterey. Therewith be-



*This adobe near the La Brea tar pits, now restored and used as a private residence, was probably built by Rocha in 1828 as living quarters for the men he hired to work on the rancho.*

it difficult for the mission fathers to justify a continued expropriation-at-will of the labor skills of foreigners. Rocha's case may be the only hint that foreigners were briefly placed under such a loose type of bondage system. In any case, shortly after the announcement of the decree the Portuguese carpenter left the mission at San Luis Rey. At San Gabriel mission, on November 5, 1826, he married María Josefa Dolores of the Xavier Alvarado family of Los Angeles.<sup>23</sup> Although the naturalization he had hoped for did not come until five years later in 1831,<sup>24</sup> his energy and talents, given free rein, soon made him one of the most conspicuous and, later, respected persons of southern California.

Rocha's most significant and publicized project was the house he erected a few blocks west of the plaza on the northwest corner of what in American times would be called Spring and Franklin streets. It was constructed around the time of, or shortly after, his marriage. No complete and reliable description of the house has come down to us, surprising in view of its history, except that it was a long, low adobe building with a portico extending out over the walkway that ran along Spring Street.<sup>25</sup> Apparently it was spacious, for he repaid the debt he owed Estudillo for his freedom in 1815 by granting him the use of the house in 1827 and 1828 for the "Bringas affair," an investigation probing the alleged misappropriation of public funds by state administrator of public accounts and finances, José María Herrera.<sup>26</sup> Later, adopting the role of the gracious Mexican host, Rocha brought the shipwrecked crew of the American drogher *Danube* to his



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house on Christmas Eve, 1828, to recover from their ordeal.<sup>27</sup>

In American times, the "Rocha house," as it came to be called, rapidly lost its old Mexican charm. It was purchased in August, 1853 (sixteen years after Rocha's death and shortly after his widow's death) for use as a city-county public office building,<sup>28</sup> and a large brick jail was constructed in the rear lot. Perhaps inevitably this led to such events as the following: "When the vigilantes . . . undertook to improve the morals of the town with a hangman's noose the rafters of the porch in front that extended over the sidewalk on Spring Street were sometimes improvised into a gallows tree that bore gruesome fruit."<sup>29</sup> By 1859, the County Courthouse had already vacated the site and the rest of the county offices looked to follow suit due to a lack of space in the old adobe and because ". . . when it rained water actually poured through the ceiling and ran down the walls."<sup>30</sup> In the sixties, after the county had left,

we find this rather colorful assessment: ". . . one of these squat adobes constituted the first Los Angeles 'city hall'. Within its white-washed, tobacco-spattered walls, in dingy, smoke-filled rooms, the city council sat on wooden benches, the mayor held morning court for the drunk and disorderly, and the town's three policemen made their headquarters."<sup>31</sup> The city vacated the premises in the eighties, leading to its use by private commercial interests. The house endured until the early 1900s when, around a hundred years old, it was razed to make way for the Phillips Block.

Politicians and rancheros were those who attained the greatest prosperity in the 1820s. And Rocha was no politician. He was not even a citizen. In January, 1828, in order that it ". . . in some part may assist them to the comforts of life . . .," Rocha formed a partnership with a Mexican citizen named

*Rocha was more than two years overdue when he arrived at Santa Barbara mission in late 1818 or early 1819. He apparently worked as a carpenter on the church until its completion in September, 1820.*

tained a possessory claim to the rancho's brea beds, allowing freedom of passage to local citizens needing tar for their roofs and preventing the two men from attempting to market the product.<sup>39</sup>

The extent of the La Brea partners' involvement in the rancho's development is about as unclear as why they formed their partnership in the first place. No evidence detailing any of Domínguez's activities on the rancho has surfaced. Born in 1788, he was already forty when he sought the grant.<sup>40</sup> The son of a career soldier, he likely was one as well, and his name appeared on an 1841 roster of soldiers at Sonoma.<sup>41</sup> This fact explains his absence from the rancho in 1840 when the city sought control of La Brea, believing it to have been abandoned for two consecutive years. Domínguez apparently placed little value on the rancho, for he sold his interest in 1852 to Rocha's heirs for one dollar rather than face litigation; it is not known, however, how many cattle he walked off with.<sup>42</sup>

As for Rocha, evidence of his involvement is considerable, although much of the information is contained in testimony from the La Brea court case of latter years.<sup>43</sup> As a carpenter, he probably built the adobe house, which today still stands in restored form on the rancho, as well as the corral, which does not. Using managers to oversee the cattle and vaqueros to work the *matanzas*, he saw his herd increase around three-fold in the nine years he operated the rancho. Some of the cattle were marketed live and some were slaughtered to supply hides for American and European markets.<sup>44</sup> Although such rancho activities were the norm

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Nemesio Domínguez and petitioned the Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* for authorization to colonize a tract of land called La Brea. It was situated on the west side of the pueblo and at least partly within pueblo borders, and the partners sought permission to develop the rancho by building a house and corral and stocking it with four hundred head of cattle they both possessed.<sup>32</sup>

Why they needed a partnership is unclear. Perhaps they simply needed to pool resources for their mutual benefit, but Rocha may have recognized that his "foreign" status could hinder approval of a land grant. The Mexican colonization act of 1824 did not bar foreigners from land, except along the coast or near foreign borders, but it did give preference to citizens.<sup>33</sup> The regulations of 1828, designed to clarify and enforce the 1824 decree, had not yet been issued at the time of the application for the La Brea grant.<sup>34</sup> In fact, it appears that no foreigner had yet obtained a grant of land.<sup>35</sup> Was Rocha merely

using Domínguez's citizenship to help ensure success in his venture? It likely played a large part. As for Domínguez, he could benefit from Rocha's influence in the community through his prominent in-laws and because La Brea was being provisionally occupied by Rocha's brother-in-law, Juan Nepomuceno Alvarado.<sup>36</sup>

José Antonio Carrillo, alcalde, granted the two enterprising men the rancho in April, presumably after surveying the area in question.<sup>37</sup> The survey of such pending grants was described as a procedure in which "... the alcalde of the district, who, with two witnesses and a riata fifty varas in length, would go out on horseback and measure the tract. The survey, if it could be called such, was begun by throwing up a pile of stones or earth as an initial point, and planting a cross thereon. No compass directions were noted and a line was run by sighting to some natural landmark."<sup>38</sup> The grant was for one league, amounting to around 4400 acres. The pueblo re-

*Mission San Miguel Arcángel.*

for that time, Rocha may have been involved in others that were not. A reference to an "el Portugués" in the wool trade (Rocha was one of the few Portuguese in the area, the only one with a rancho, and he was known by that nickname) reveals, in part, the resourcefulness that was one of Rocha's strongest traits.<sup>45</sup>

**T**he whole situation of land ownership in California before 1850 was not an easy one for many to understand, and beginning in 1852 Rocha's heirs spent over twenty years in U.S. courts attempting to prove to the United States government that they could claim their father's property.<sup>46</sup> In his 1876 history of Los Angeles, Col. J.J. Warner wrote, "In conferring upon a settler the right to acquire and occupy a lot upon which to build a dwelling house and land to cultivate, the Government did not absolutely divest itself of its title to and control over the soil. . . . If he, without justifiable cause, suffered his house to remain unoccupied, or to fall into decay, or his field to remain uncultivated for two consecutive years, it became subject to denouncement. . . ."<sup>47</sup> It was under this "law of denouncement" in 1840, with Rocha dead and Domínguez absent, that the city attempted to resume control over Rancho La Brea. Rocha's widow, María Josefa, petitioned for its return, and the city's subsequent investigation confirmed that her cattle and horses existed on the rancho and that she provided support for her mother and perhaps as many as seven children, none older than twelve.<sup>48</sup> The family was allowed continued possession.

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When all that remained of the Rocha family walked into a Los Angeles courtroom in November, 1852, they included a twenty-two-year-old son, his slightly younger brother, both single, and a dead sister's infant daughter.<sup>49</sup> They had come to fight for possession of La Brea. Against them was the United States government. The United States based its claim to La Brea on the 1840 proceedings, believing that the family's claim was of a provisional nature and revocable upon the parents' deaths. But the stubborn family fought on in court through the appeals process for twenty-two years, using at least four attorneys, and summoning such prominent witnesses as José Antonio Carrillo, Andrés Pico, Juan María Sepúlveda, J.J. Warner, and Abel Stearns.<sup>50</sup> The family prevailed when its members finally convinced the court that their rancho *diseño* operated in Mexican times as a kind of deed to the land.

Don Antonio José Rocha was only

forty-seven years old when he died in 1837. He had labored as a mission carpenter nearly all his life in California, but had found time for other notable projects such as his home and Rancho La Brea. He left behind a thirty-four-year-old wife, three daughters, and three or four sons. He never saw his last son who was born on February 7, one day after the carpenter was buried in the Plaza Church cemetery.<sup>51</sup> Two sons, Antonio José Calixto and José Jorge, and a daughter, María Timotea de Jesús, who died before she was twenty-five, lived long enough to have children. Rocha also left behind property on Spring Street in Los Angeles, on Carrillo Street in Santa Barbara, and the La Brea industry, such as it was.

Rocha's life provides us with some of the first glimpses we have of what it was like to be a foreigner in Spanish California and with some insights into what it took to "make it" in Mexican California. ■

*See notes on page 233.*





# LABOR AND PROGRESSIVISM SOUTH OF THE SLOT

# THE VOTING BEHAVIOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO WORKING CLASS 1912-1916

Thomas R. Clark

The years between the defeat of the Union Labor Party in 1911 and the United States' entry into World War I were a time of relative stability for organized labor in San Francisco. Union membership, which had grown rapidly from 1901, leveled off after 1911 and did not rise again until the wartime industrial boom created an increased demand for labor.<sup>1</sup> However, organized labor was by no means inactive, for the period of stability in industrial relations coincided with an increase in political activity. The election of Hiram Johnson in 1910 was followed by a wave of pro-labor legislative reforms in 1911 and 1913, largely through the support, if not the direct initiative, of the Progressive governor. Labor lobbyists became a permanent Sacramento fixture. San Francisco's John I. Nolan exemplified the new alliance between labor and politics: a member of the Iron Molder's Union and the San Francisco Labor Council's salaried representative in Sacramento, Nolan went on to represent San Francisco's largely working-class 5th Congressional District.<sup>2</sup>

The relative stability which ap-

peared on the industrial relations front and the increased activity of labor on the legislative front coincided with another important development in California politics: the rise and fall of the Progressive Party as a significant political force. Until fairly recently, historians had so often defined "progressivism" as a middle-class movement that little was said of its relationship to the labor movement.<sup>3</sup> More recently the role of labor has received more affection in histories which treat progressivism not as a unified phenomenon but as a heterogeneous collection of groups often seeking quite different sets of objectives.<sup>4</sup>

However, where labor's relationship to Progressive Era politics has been considered, the focus has usually been on labor leaders. There have been few attempts to study the voting behavior of working-class constituents. San Francisco's neighborhoods were relatively homogeneous, with predominantly working-class districts in the Sunset and the Richmond, and the upper-class districts of Pacific Heights and Nob Hill. This provides a valuable opportunity to evaluate voting behavior along class lines.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, because of California's appetite for the initiative and referendum, the vote for or against a variety of propositions allows one to examine working-class support for a variety of key Progressive Era issues.

The purpose of this essay is to examine working-class support for progressivism. The term "progressivism" is used with all due caution; but generally, it should be thought of at one level as encompassing, a variety of reform movements which sought to use the legislative process for the "betterment" of society. At a second level, progressivism can be thought of as the political and legislative agenda of the Progressive Party. Where the terms "progressive" and "progressivism" have been used, every attempt has been made to identify the species of progressivism to which they refer. A statistical analysis of working-class voting behavior, as well as a content analysis of the labor press, has been made in the hope of clarifying the relationship between labor and progressivism. It will be argued that, in San Francisco, working-class voters embraced Progressives and progressivism with no more and no less enthusiasm than other voters, and without a great deal of consistency. At least two historians have taken working-class and labor support for progressivism to indicate that workers and labor leaders had adopted a "middle-class psychology" and been incorporated into the mainstream of middle-class politics.<sup>6</sup> This study, however, suggests that what has been interpreted as overwhelming support for progressivism-in-general is, in fact, nothing more than

*San Francisco's drinking places have always been an important arena for political discussion. The proprietors of the Teamsters Inn clearly did not expect their customers to be put off by the political preferences they expressed.*

*Army Street, south of Market, ca. 1910.  
The texture of life in working-class  
districts was dramatically different from  
that in upper-class Pacific Heights and  
in the middle-class Richmond District.*

the selective voting behavior of a working class fully aware of its class interests.

Students of California progressivism have at their disposal two major works on the subject: George Mowry's *The California Progressives*, which appeared in 1951 and continues to be an influential interpretation; and Spencer Olin's *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917*, which appeared in 1968. Both scholars addressed the relationship between labor and the Progressives.<sup>7</sup>

Mowry saw the Progressive Insurgency in California as a middle-class movement, a concept similar to the "status revolution" thesis later elaborated by Richard Hofstadter. Mowry's progressives feared the power of both organized capital and organized labor and were especially hostile to the latter. Mowry argued that Progressives were tolerant of trade unions only so long as they were ineffective, and that wherever "closed-shop" forces started to make gains, as they did in San Francisco, the progressives became hostile to trade-unionism. As for the pro-labor legislation which passed in the state legislature in the 1911 and 1913 sessions, Mowry claimed that those bills which became law were watered down versions of labor proposals. More importantly, anti-injunction legislation, which was labor's single most important demand, never passed.<sup>8</sup>

Spencer Olin, writing in 1968, proceeded from a different framework.

Heavily influenced by the views of Samuel Hays, Samuel Haber, and Robert Wiebe, Olin stressed the Progressives' desire for efficiency and social harmony. Contrary to Mowry's assertion that Progressives were hostile to labor, Olin concluded that organized labor and the Progressives formed a convenient political friendship: labor leaders ensured the electoral support of the working class districts, and progressive politicians provided legislation favorable to labor's interest. Olin argued that Mowry concentrated too heavily on the rhetoric of a few selected Progressives, and too little on legislative accomplishments. Mowry, Olin contended, fixed his attention so firmly on the failure to secure an anti-injunction law that he neglected the fact that thirty-nine of forty-nine bills proposed by labor became law during the 1911 session.<sup>9</sup>

If Mowry did in fact ignore a great deal, Olin was guilty of the same fault. Progressive support of organized labor was indeed qualified, and the passage of an anti-injunction law was in fact of primary importance to California labor leaders.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, both Mowry and Olin focused on the attitudes and policies of Progressives toward labor and said little or nothing of labor's stance toward progressivism. Where they considered labor, the focus was on leadership and lobbying activities. Neither attempted a comprehensive analysis of the Progressives' constituency and the role of working-class voters, union or nonunion.

Following the lead of Alexander Saxton, who showed that San Francisco workers supported Hiram Johnson in 1914, John Shover and Michael Rogin, in separate articles, attempted sophisticated statistical

analyses to determine the roots of electoral support for Progressives in California. These essays—later published as chapters in a book which attempted to apply "critical election" theory to California politics—argued that a shift in the Progressive constituency occurred between 1910 and 1914. Although in 1910 Hiram Johnson's support had come from middle-class, native-born, and rural areas of the state, his re-election in 1914 owed itself to the votes of the state's urban working class. Both Shover and Rogin pointed to the considerably pro-labor legislative sessions of 1911 and 1913 as an explanation for this shifting base of electoral support. Shover concluded that Mowry's thesis was therefore in need of revision, for it could not explain how a movement born out of middle-class status anxiety could have been so appealing to working-class voters. Rogin, hoping to expand on Shover's article, argued that the Progressive Era in California marked the beginning of "the incorporation of workers into liberal, middle-class American politics."<sup>11</sup>

Shover's and Rogin's conclusions, were based almost entirely on the vote for Johnson yet Hiram Johnson's ability to secure the votes of working-class voters does not mean that all Progressives, much less "progressivism," elicited the same response. This essay proposes to test the Shover-Rogin hypothesis against a wider range of variables: a statistical analysis will be made of San Francisco working-class support for all candidates who ran as Progressives between 1912 and 1916, and their success or failure will be compared to that of the other parties' candidates. In addition, well over 100 propositions came before San Francisco vot-

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ers during these years. Not all of these are useful indicators of support for progressivism, but there are several which allow one to measure working-class support for a variety of key Progressive Era issues. By using the same statistical methods as those employed by professors Shover and Rogin and applying them to a greater number of variables, it is hoped that a more refined statement can be made about the nature of the relationship between the working-class constituency and Progressive Era politics. In order to supplement statistical data and to provide probable explanations for voting patterns, a careful examination has been made of San Francisco's labor press during this period. Not only does this help explain voting behavior, but it offers as well an opportunity to consider the extent to which the working-class vote followed the recommendations of labor leaders.

**I**n order to gauge workers' support for specific candidates, parties, and propositions, I have used two statistical methods. First, I have borrowed a technique used by both Shover and Rogin, by which a district's vote on a labor-issue proposition—in this

case the "No" vote on San Francisco's 1916 Anti-Picketing Ordinance—is used as an index of pro-labor sentiment. The resulting sentiment index is then compared to the vote for specific candidates and propositions. A high positive correlation indicates a candidate or proposition was most successful in those districts where the labor sentiment index was high and ran poorest in those districts with low pro-labor sentiment; a negative correlation would suggest the opposite. Second, I have divided San Francisco assembly districts into working-class and non-working-class blocs in order to test the hypothesis that there are statistically significant differences between the mean voting behavior of the two groups.<sup>13</sup> Since opposition to the anti-picketing ordinance ran considerably higher in working-class districts than it did citywide, one would expect that a candidate or proposition which ran well in the working-class districts would also show a strong, positive correlation to the labor sentiment index. And, in fact, this was the case.

Although both Shover and Rogin have shown that San Francisco workers supported Hiram Johnson in 1914, neither attempted to measure

the support that other Progressive Party candidates received. Shover's and Rogin's argument implicitly assumes that working-class support for Johnson also indicates support for progressivism in general. One way to test this assumption is to correlate the labor sentiment index with voting for (1) other candidates running as Progressives and (2) candidates from the major parties who were considered "progressive." If workers were in fact voting for progressivism and not just for Johnson as an individual, then one would expect that other Progressive candidates would also show positive correlations to the labor sentiment index.

Johnson and Francis Heney, who ran for the U.S. Senate in 1914, both did better in working-class districts than they did citywide, and their overall performance correlates highly with the labor sentiment index. Running for the U.S. Senate in 1916, Johnson again scored a heavy victory in working-class districts, but the correlation of his support to the labor sentiment index decreased considerably. There are two possible explanations for this decrease: First, Johnson ran on both the Progressive and Republican tickets in 1916, and it is possible that the Republican endorse-

*Playground at Seventh and Harrison streets. The industrial and artisan context of this part of San Francisco was never out of sight.*

*Thomas Clark's article on working-class attitudes toward progressivism is the final winner of the California Historical Society's Alice J. Clark Essay Contest. Established in 1982 by friends of Ms. Clark, the contest for five years awarded an annual prize of \$200 for the best original essay by a young writer on the history of the San Francisco Bay Area and its people in the twentieth century.*

*Ms. Clark took a lifelong interest in young people and financially assisted their educational and cultural enrichment. A native San Franciscan, she was fascinated by the city's history, particularly its ferry boats and cable cars.*

*Friends of Ms. Clark who contributed to this year's prize are: Ms. Maridell Anderson, Mrs. Jean Blair, Ms. Marie Conroy, Mr. Brian B. McGrath, Ms. Elizabeth Owen, and Dr. Thomas Wolff.*

ment cost him a few votes among workers while gaining the votes of a few standpat Republicans. Second, Johnson ran so well in both working-class and non-working-class districts—with the exception of Pacific Heights—that the small vote against him is not sufficient to show a significant difference.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, working-class voters gave Johnson and Heney greater support than did non-working-class voters.

However, other Progressive Party candidates were not always as successful as Johnson and Heney. Support for Progressive candidates to the House of Representatives and the State Assembly shows no significant correlation with the labor senti-

Selected Progressive Candidates by Class Status of the Electorate

	Johnson 1910	Johnson 1914	Heney 1914	Johnson 1916
Working Class Avg.	38%	60%	27%	72.43%
Non-Working Class Avg.	46%	48%	17%	72.00%

ment index. Because San Francisco had two congressional and thirteen assembly districts, it is possible to make general statements about support for Progressives as a group. Progressive Party candidates in the 4th and 5th congressional districts in both 1914 and 1916 were, respectively, Julius Kahn and John I. Nolan. Kahn, a Republican businessman, ran most poorly where pro-labor sentiment was high, whereas Nolan, a former labor leader, received his greatest support among working-class voters.<sup>15</sup> What is significant is that working-class voters voted not for the "progressive" candidate—for both claimed to be that—but for the candidate who was perceived to be a friend of labor. The pattern is the same for Progressive candidates for the Assembly; calling oneself a Progressive was not enough to ensure working-class support. The recommendations of the labor press point to a similar conclusion: candidates were rated according to their past record with no apparent regard for party affiliation.<sup>16</sup>

What was true of Progressive Party candidates was generally true for Republicans and Democrats as well.

Neither party could claim *consistent* support south of Market Street. Although it appears that Democrats were somewhat more successful than Republicans, the appearance is deceiving. Democrats did in fact run better in the working-class districts than they did elsewhere; but

they did not always win there. In 1912, the six most heavily working-class districts, 21–25 and 29, elected three Democrats and three Republicans. Granted, the Republicans won by much narrower margins in working-class districts than they did elsewhere, but they did win. Furthermore, when the three South-of-Market Republicans elected in 1912 ran again in 1914 and/or 1916, the labor press rated the legislative voting record of each as "excellent." In fact, South-of-Market assemblymen who ran for re-election *always* had favorable voting records, regardless of their party.

The only party which consistently polled highest where pro-labor sentiment was strongest was the Socialist Party. The South of Market districts showed strong support for socialist candidates; Assembly District 22, for example, gave Eugene V. Debs nearly twenty-four percent of its vote in 1912, well above the national average of six percent. Between 1912 and 1916, Socialist candidates for assembly seats averaged more than fifteen percent in the working-class districts while getting only five percent in the non-working-class districts.

While the Socialist vote in San Francisco was never sufficient to elect Socialists to office, it did affect the races between Democrats and Republicans. Take for example the 1912 vote in Assembly District 23, where Republican James Ryan received 2,104 votes to Democrat John





Bogues's 1,983—a difference of only 121 votes. The Socialist candidate, Herman Doyle, received 1,629 votes. Although it is difficult to say whether Doyle's votes would have gone to the Democrat or the Republican it is clear that a major party which could tap into the sentiment behind the Socialist vote would certainly win more elections. In a sense, that is exactly what pro-labor Progressives like Johnson and Heney were able to do. When one compares the average Socialist vote in state elections where Johnson and Heney ran with those where they did not run, the results are quite revealing. Against Johnson and Heney, the Socialist vote in the working-class districts ranged from six to ten percent, whereas in races which lacked a notably pro-labor Progressive it ranged from twelve to nearly twenty-four percent.<sup>17</sup>

Several propositions came before the San Francisco voters which, according to traditional definitions, could be called "progressive." These propositions provide further variables which can be used as evidence to test the Shover-Rogin hypothesis. A total of thirteen propositions covering several progressive themes—direct democracy, civil service reform, reg-

ulation of public utilities, "moral" reform, and improvement of labor conditions—can be subjected to the same tests as those applied to the several candidates.<sup>18</sup>

There were no significant differences between working-class districts and the rest of the city when it came to voting for or against "moral reforms." The vote on two prohibition amendments shows no significant correlation to the index: voters rejected both amendments by approximately four-to-one margins with no more than a 2.26 percent spread between working-class and non-working-class districts. A proposition to abolish prize fights, which lost by a small majority in all districts, shows only a moderately negative correlation to pro-labor sentiment. It seems clear that, regardless of class, San Franciscans wanted to keep their liquor legal and were divided on the issue of abolishing prize fights.<sup>19</sup>

Of the propositions which do not deal with moral reforms or labor issues, only two show strong divisions along class lines in election results. Of the other two, a proposition extending the nonpartisan direct primary to include additional state offices failed to win a majority on either side of

Market Street. Extending the civil service lost in both areas as well, faring only slightly better in the working-class districts. Of the seven non-labor-issue propositions, only two, one allowing the Railroad Commission to fix the value of public utilities—a first step toward municipal ownership—and another abolishing the poll tax, show strong, significant differences along class lines. Not surprisingly, these two propositions deal most directly with economic issues.<sup>20</sup>

The labor-issue measures, on the other hand, reveal a striking cleavage. Voting patterns on each of the six labor-issue propositions shows a very high correlation to the labor sentiment index and a statistically significant difference between the mean vote according to class. It is to be expected, of course, that votes on labor-issue propositions would show strong correlations to a pro-labor sentiment index; what is interesting, however, is the degree of polarization between working-class and non-working-class districts. Jack London's description of the Market Street cable (the "slot") as a reification of the barriers between rich and poor in San Francisco is on the mark. The aristocracy of Pacific Heights and Nob Hill and the "suburban" middle-class of the Sunset and Rich-



*Union loyalty and a distinct working-class identity was part of the culture of the South of Market district, where major industrial establishments used the "union-made" label as part of their self promotion. Here it is barely visible on the tower.*

mond districts perceived labor and economic issues in an entirely different light from workers "south of the slot."<sup>21</sup>

When a quantitative analysis of working-class voting behavior is carried beyond an examination of electoral support for Hiram Johnson, it reveals that working-class support for "progressivism" was not unconditional. To explain working-class voting behavior during the Progressive Era as evidence of the "incorporation" of workers into middle-class politics ignores the considerable degree of polarization between working-class and non-working-class voters. Jules Tygiel, in a reappraisal of San Francisco's Union Labor Party (ULP), argued convincingly that the ULP was clearly perceived as representing working-class interests and that San Francisco voters—both South of Market and in Pacific Heights—were conscious of this fact and voted accordingly.<sup>22</sup> The evidence seems to suggest that the class conflict observed by Tygiel for the 1901–1911 period was still quite evident in the 1912–1916 elections. When workers did support Progressive candidates or "progressive" reforms, it was because they promised to benefit workers, not because workers had been incorporated into the middle-class.

A statistical analysis of San Francisco voting behavior supports Daniel Rodgers's observation that the Progressive Era was highlighted by the substitution of "special interest" politics for the traditional party system.<sup>23</sup> An examination of San Francisco's labor press during the 1912–16 period lends additional support to Rodgers's conclusion. Like working-class voters, the

Mean Percentage of "Yes" Votes on Propositions by Class		
	Working Class Mean %	Non-Working Class Mean %
Valuation of Public Utilities	51.71	39.5
Direct Primary	43.57	42.0
Abolish Poll Tax	66.43	55.8
Civil Service Extension	39.43	35.33
<b>"Moral" Reforms</b>		
Prohibition (1914)	17.57	15.83
Prohibition (1916)	21.14	21.00
Abolish Prize Fights	45.29	48.50
<b>Labor Issue, endorsed by labor press</b>		
8-hour Day	55.14	30.17
Limit Public Speech ("No" Vote)	65.63	39.84
Jitney	55.71	31.67
8-hr/\$3.00 Minimum Wage	78.00	56.00
<b>Labor Issue, not endorsed by labor press</b>		
Minimum Wage (Women and Children)	56.71	40.17
One-Day Rest	53.86	35.17

three major labor journals in San Francisco—*Organized Labor*, *Labor Clarion*, and *Coast Seamen's Journal*—showed no special inclination toward any political party. Rather, all three papers seemed to follow Samuel Gompers's admonishment to "support our friends, and punish our enemies" regardless of party.

Although the labor press in San Francisco did not officially make political endorsements, it used four important methods to get its message across to the rank-and-file. First, all three papers made direct recommendations on propositions and ordinances; never addressing all

measures on the ballot, labor editors included only those which were most crucial to labor's interest. Second, a few weeks before each election, each paper carried a section entitled "Questions for the Candidates" in which questions of interest to labor were posed and the candidate's response reported. Third, the California State Federation of Labor, as well as the local Building Trades Council and the San Francisco Labor Council, published the voting records of Assemblymen, State Senators, and members of Congress. The voting records appeared alongside a candidate's response to the questions.



And fourth, editorials served as a means of indirectly—though at times very conspicuously—supporting a friend or punishing an enemy of labor.<sup>24</sup>

Any attempt to discuss *all* of the issues addressed by San Francisco's labor press would exceed the space available here. However, it is instructive to select for examination two major themes: (1) To what extent were the A.F. of L. and its affiliates non-partisan? (2) Was A.F. of L. support for Asiatic exclusion racially or economically motivated? Labor historian Philip Taft has argued that the A.F. of L. under Gompers was consistently non-partisan, but Marc Karson countered that the federation was a strong supporter of the Democratic Party between 1908 and 1916. Taft argues that labor's support of Asiatic exclusion was based on a legitimate economic grievance, and Karson argues that the A.F. of L. policy was fundamentally racist.<sup>25</sup>

The disagreement over non-partisanship can be resolved in part by considering candidates to state and federal offices separately. Party affiliation did not affect the way candidates for state offices in California

were the labor press. Consider, for example, the following table, which gives a breakdown of candidate ratings by party and year of election: At the state level, therefore, it does not appear that organized labor in San Francisco showed any favoritism toward Democrats; on the contrary, Republicans, simply because they were able to win narrow victories in the working-class districts and then vote in the interest of their constituents once in Sacramento, were most likely to secure favorable ratings from organized labor.

Karson's contention that organized labor supported Democrats, however, is much more credible in the presidential arena. While none of the three labor journals officially endorsed Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson in either 1912 or 1916, they ran editorials either in favor of Wilson or against Theodore Roosevelt (1912) and Charles Evans Hughes (1916).

In an article entitled, "Roosevelt and The Japs," the *Coast Seamen's Journal* reminded its readers that in 1907 Theodore Roosevelt had interfered with San Francisco's effort to segregate white and Japanese chil-

dren in the city's schools. Furthermore, Roosevelt had recommended that Congress pass legislation that would allow the Japanese to become American citizens.<sup>26</sup> *Organized Labor* ran a political advertisement which compared the stands of Wilson and Roosevelt on the question of Asian Exclusion and quoted Wilson as saying, "Oriental coolieism will give us another race problem to solve and surely we have had our lesson."<sup>27</sup> Roosevelt ran poorest in working-class districts, showing a negative correlation with the labor sentiment index (-.6887), although the "Bull Moose" platform carried more pro-labor planks than the Democrats' and Roosevelt's running mate was none other than Hiram Johnson.<sup>28</sup> Considering the intimate relationship between labor and anti-Asian sentiment in San Francisco, which dated at least to the 1870s,<sup>29</sup> it seems reasonable to assume that Roosevelt's policy on Asian Exclusion cost him support among working-class voters.

When San Francisco's white working class rejected Roosevelt for his tolerance of Asian immigration, was it acting on the basis of legitimate, class-based economic concerns or

Rooming houses like this one on Harrison Street were common South of Market, offering affordable housing to a wide variety of working-class opportunity seekers. Saloons were important amenities and meeting places for men.

was it simply taking a racist position? It is difficult to conclude that labor's policy toward Asian exclusion was not based on racism, but Taft is correct in asserting that there was an economic component. Walter MacArthur, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council and editor of the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, summed up labor's argument in an address to the Pacific Coast Immigration Conference, April 13-14, 1913:

*There is no necessary disagreement between the organized workers and those who take the immigrant by the hand and lead him into higher paths of social and civic life. We are all agreed that the immigration question is a "problem of humanity." [However] in the more concrete form it is also a problem of economics, a bread and butter problem.*<sup>30</sup>

The quote from MacArthur is interesting for several reasons: first, that immigrants could be taken "by the hand and [led] into higher paths of social and civic life" reveals MacArthur's paternalism, which, of course, was not unique to labor leaders during the Progressive Era; second, he stresses that labor's opposition to immigration is based on economics; finally, MacArthur was speaking on the need to restrict *both* white and Asian immigration. Labor's efforts to restrict the importation of cheap labor, which it believed would deflate wages and provide business with a source of strikebreakers, extended to European as well as Asian labor. However, labor leaders and working-class voters should not be let off quite so easily. For organized labor sought only to regulate the influx of European laborers, but it wanted the absolute exclusion of Asians and denial to those who were already here of the right to citizen-

California State Federation of Labor's Candidate Rating Based on 1911 and 1913 Legislative Voting Record: All Parties, 1912-1916			
Number of Candidates Receiving Good or Excellent Rating:			
	Republicans*	Democrats	Progressives
1912	5	1	**
1914***	4	1	1
1916***	4	4	5
Number of Candidates Receiving Questionable to Poor Ratings:			
	Republicans	Democrats	Progressives
1912	1	2	**
1914***	3	1	1
1916***	3	1	1
Notes:			
* Republicans receive greater numbers of both positive and negative ratings because in the 1913 session San Francisco Republican assemblymen outnumbered Democrats 8 to 5.			
** No Progressives ran for the Assembly in 1912.			
*** Because of cross-filing, the figures for 1914 and 1916 represent a certain amount of overlap.			

ship and the right to own or lease land.<sup>31</sup> Racism and economic self-interest, it seems, were mutually reinforcing phenomena to a point. Whether Roosevelt's pro-labor platform or Wilson's Asian exclusion offered more to San Francisco workers is open to debate.

In 1912 Wilson had received the lukewarm support of the labor press only by default; his support in 1916 owed itself much more to the pro-labor record of his first administration and his promise to keep the United States out of the war in Europe. As in 1912, the labor press did not *officially* endorse either candidate, but there could be no mistaking the favorite. In the issues immediately preceding the November election, all three labor papers carried an imposing picture of Woodrow Wilson on their front pages. The *Coast Sea-*

*men's Journal* captioned its photograph of Wilson: "The man who signed the Seaman's Charter of Freedom and thereby completed the work of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator."<sup>32</sup>

Inside, the editors went about in their usual manner, listing the respective accomplishments of both candidates. Wilson's list went on for nearly two pages, but a brief discussion of Hughes's career mentioned only his support of the tariff (which labor opposed), his concurrence in the infamous Danbury Hatter's Case, which upheld the use of the injunction in labor cases, and his opposition to the Adamson Act, which guaranteed the eight-hour day for the nation's railroad workers. An unsigned editorial referred to Hughes as the "candidate of the plutocracy" and reckoned that Hughes appeared





to "have less sympathy (for) . . . American workers than the Czar of Russia has shown for the Polish Jews." For a non-partisan paper with an official policy of not endorsing candidates, the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, along with the other labor weeklies, had made its position perfectly clear.<sup>33</sup>

San Francisco Republicans should not have been surprised by labor's overwhelming, though unofficial, support for Wilson in 1916, for in the issue immediately following Wilson's victory in 1912, *Organized Labor* had issued a *caveat* to members of all parties:

*The Democratic Party not only has a great opportunity (because of its vic-*

*tory), but it has a great responsibility. The next four years will tell whether this party, like the Republican and Progressive parties, will lose the confidence of the common man. Should this come about, it is inevitable that in the Presidential campaign of 1916 we will see the work- ingmen of this nation solidified as never before and marching under the banner of the party which looks alone to the workers of the world for its perpetuity.*<sup>34</sup>

In 1912 therefore, San Francisco labor was not prepared to pledge its loyalty to the Democratic Party; rather, it issued a stern warning to the Democrats not to go the way of the Republicans and Progressives. And just as labor swore loyalty to no political party, neither did it embrace

the more elusive label of "progressivism" without qualifications. *Organized Labor* editorialized three days before the 1916 election that, "Whether a man is a true progressive or not may be judged largely by his attitude toward labor unions . . . (this is) the test of a candidate's progressivism. . . ."<sup>35</sup>

The essays by John Shover and Michael Rogin, taken together, offer a single interpretation of working-class voting behavior during the Progressive Era, which can be presented as follows:

(1) The California working class, starting in 1914, proved to be the greatest source of support for Cal-

ifornia Progressives (Shover and Rogin);

(2) Working-class and labor support for "progressivism" constitutes the incorporation of the working class into middle-class politics and their adoption of the "classless" rhetoric of middle-class ideology (Rogin).

The first component of the Shover-Rogin hypothesis, that working-class voters supported progressivism, is clearly in need of qualification.

Working-class voters supported Hiram Johnson and accounted for the greater part of Johnson's political success after 1914, support for Johnson cannot be interpreted as support for all Progressives, much less progressivism. As a group, Progressives fared no better among working-class voters than any other party; and to the extent that one can speak of "progressive" propositions, working-class voters—like everyone else

—were most likely to vote according to what appeared to be in their best interest. One need not resort to the rubric of Progressivism to explain working-class voting behavior.

By denying the premise that workers supported Progressivism, we necessarily deny the conclusion that such support constituted the incorporation of the working class into middle-class politics and its acceptance of middle-class ideology. More-

## QUANTITATIVE

Table 1: Performance of Progressive Party Candidates by Labor Sentiment Index

Johnson Governor 1914	Heney Senator 1914	Johnson Senator 1916	Representative 1914	Representative 1916	Assembly 1914	Assembly 1916
r = .9295	.8832	.3085	.0494	-.0644	.3661	.2197
P = .001	.001	.100	.436	.415	.109	.250

Table 2: Performance of Republican and Democratic Candidates by Labor Sentiment Index

### Republicans

Governor 1914	Senator 1914	Senator 1916	Representative 1914	Representative 1916	Assembly 1912	Assembly 1914	Assembly 1916
r = -.9684	-.8448	.3805	.0494	-.0664	-.4014	.1514	.1358
P = .001	.001	.100	.436	.415	.098	.311	.337

### Democrats

Governor 1914	Senator 1914	Senator 1916	Representative 1914	Representative 1916	Assembly 1912	Assembly 1914	Assembly 1916
r = .3425	-.7304	-.8838	.6186	.6352	-.2157	.3473	.4863
P = .126	.002	.001	.012	.010	.250	.122	.065

Table 3: Performance of Socialist Party Candidates by Labor Sentiment Index

Governor 1914	Senator 1914	Senator 1916	Representative 1914	Representative 1916	Assembly 1912	Assembly 1914	Assembly 1916
r = .8668	.9323	.9063	.9555	.9247	.8683	.7690	.8083
P = .001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

over the assertion that progressivism was an essentially middle-class phenomenon, albeit embraced by working-class voters, ignores the diversity of Progressive Era reforms and he varied interests of progressive reformers.

The progressive legacy for twentieth-century politics is an ambiguous one whose contradictions may not be resolved before the century ends. By attempting to place work-

ing-class voters in the context of Progressive Era politics, Shover and Rogin opened a new line of inquiry which enables us to move beyond simple categories and look carefully at how different groups of Americans responded to progressivism. Quite possibly a close examination of Los Angeles and San Francisco. That, however, is a different undertaking. What is important is that by starting with the Shover and Rogin

hypothesis and examining working-class voting behavior in a specific place, we have been able to see more clearly how Americans of the Progressive Era responded to progressivism. In casting their votes, San Francisco working-class voters treated progressivism not as a monolithic entity but as a collection of elements from which they chose those which served their interests. ■

See notes on page 234.

## ANALYSIS

It is essential in testing Shover's and Rogin's hypothesis that the methodology employed be the same as theirs. Accordingly, I have calculated the correlation between the labor sentiment index and the results of voting on candidates and propositions by using the *Pearson r* correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) can range in value from  $-1.00$  to  $+1.00$ . A correlation coefficient of  $r = +1.00$  would indicate a perfect linear relationship between the labor sentiment index and the vote for a particular candidate or proposition; i.e., as one increased or decreased, the other would increase or decrease in the same direction and with equal magnitude. A correlation of  $-1.00$  would indicate a perfect inverse relationship, and a correlation of  $0.00$  would suggest no relationship whatsoever. In the tables which follow,  $r$  represents the correlation score; the  $P$  score represents the results of a test for statistical significance. The significance level calculates the probability that observed differences are due to chance. Convention holds that levels greater than .05 are not statistically significant.

The raw data for all statistical analyses is taken from "Statement

of Voters, San Francisco City and County" for the general elections of 1912, 1914, and 1916. Ledgers are located at the offices of the Registrar of Voters, City Hall. All statistical procedures were done using SSPS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).\*

Table 1, which compares the correlation to the labor sentiment index of the vote for Hiram Johnson with that for other Progressive candidates, suggests that working-class support for Progressive Party candidates was qualified.

Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate that Republican and Democratic candidates were not treated as consistently friendly or hostile to particular class interests but that Socialist candidates always ran better in working class districts than in non-working class ones.

Voting results on propositions can be analyzed in the same manner as those for candidates. Table 4 shows the *Pearson r* correlation for thirteen propositions.

\* For explanation of the statistical procedures, see Norman Nie, et al., *SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences*, Second Edition, 1975.

**Table 4**  
**Pearson Correlation Coefficients:**  
**"Progressive" Propositions**  
**by Pro-Labor Sentiment**

Correlation (by index)	Pearson $r$
Valuation of Public Utilities	.8989
Direct Primary	.2193
Abolish Poll Tax	.8189
Civil Service Extension	.5889
<b>"Moral" reforms</b>	
Prohibition (1914)	.2566
Prohibition (1916)	-.0148
Abolish Prize Fights	-.4441
<b>Labor issues, endorsed by labor press</b>	
8-hour Day	.9661
Limit Public Speech ("No" Vote)	.9981
Jittney	.9728
8-hr/\$3.00 Minimum Wage	.9728
<b>Labor issues, not endorsed by the labor press</b>	
Minimum Wage (Women and Children)	.9362
One Day Rest	.9544





In 1904 an enthusiastic Sierra Club member penned the following words to describe a photograph he had taken of Yosemite Valley while enjoying the annual Sierra Club Outing:

*Sunday morning, too!—and we stood at the portals of one of the grandest natural cathedrals on the Pacific Slope. From the richly carved granite choir galleries came the joyous music of many waters, and the deep organ tones of full throated waterfalls pealed forth ever and anon as we threaded its aisles.*

His photograph demonstrates the same reverence. Graceful pine trees frame a vision of towering granite walls split by a tumbling cataract. No human presence dares to break the sublime spell.<sup>1</sup>

Seventeen years later, two exuberant participants in a 1921 Outing recorded their adventures in a different tone. Under a photograph of a white mule standing in a mountain snow field with legs splayed and nostrils flared, they wrote:

*Has anybody here seen Blackie  
He wandered off the trail  
He took our dunnage with him  
We've searched without avail.*

*We're in the High sierra  
We've no beds, no food.  
We trusted that white Blackie  
We thought he was good.*

*Has anybody here seen Blackie  
He bears a great white pack.  
If should come across him,  
Please will you send him back.<sup>2</sup>*

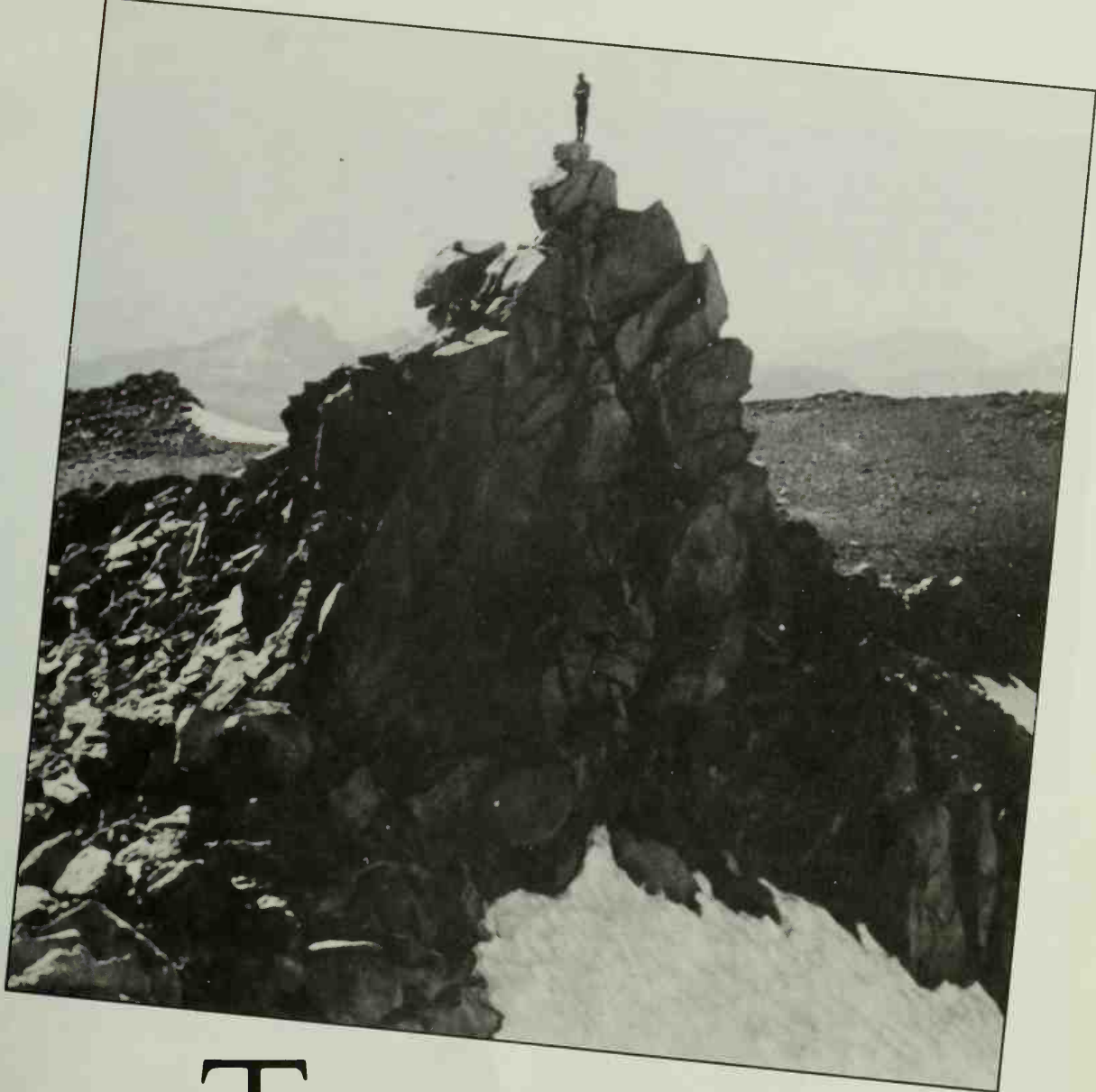
The photographs and their captions, demonstrating a clear change in attitudes toward nature in the years between 1901 and 1922, are contained in albums kept by California Sierra Club members to commemorate their Annual Outing to the mountain wilderness. Founded in 1892 by John Muir and a group of Bay Area professionals with the purpose of “exploring, enjoying, and rendering accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast,”<sup>3</sup> the Sierra Club introduced the Annual Outing in 1901. Each summer the club organized a month-long visit to the wilderness, generally in the California Sierra. The most popular spots included Yosemite and its surrounding area and the region that now encompasses Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks. According to the officers of the club, “This Outing is intended to awaken an interest in and afford an exceptional opportunity for visiting the most wonderful and picturesque High Sierra Region of California.”<sup>4</sup>

In 1901, the Sierrans recognized that their first Outing was a unique event. The announcement to the general membership of the expedition to Yosemite stated, “Never before has there been presented such an opportunity for visiting so comfortably and enjoyably this wild, rugged, and romantic region of our High Sierra.”<sup>5</sup>

Each year, eighty to two hundred Sierrans of varying ages, occupations, and outdoor experience set off for

(Above) “After.” Photograph by H.C. Stinchfield (1919).

(Right) “Summit of Mount Gould 13,300 feet.” Photograph by J. LeCoute (1901).



# TEMPLES AND PLAYGROUNDS

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THE SIERRA CLUB  
IN THE WILDERNESS  
1901–1922

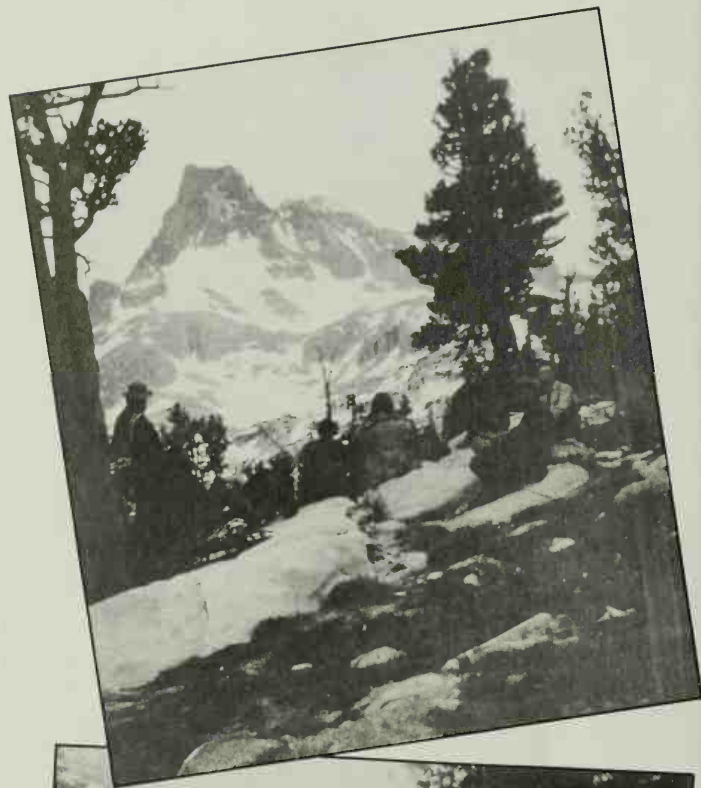
*Anne Farrar Hyde*

the wilderness, accompanied by a platoon of Chinese or black cooks, an army of mules, and several tons of gear. The pattern of these trips varied little. The club set up a main base camp, and a wide range of side expeditions took off from there. The participants in the outings kept voluminous journals describing every aspect of the event, and each year they took hundreds of photographs which they placed in carefully captioned albums.

Over the years, these albums show distinct changes in the way the Sierrans photographed themselves and the surrounding wilderness. The photographs fall into three general categories: nature as awesome, a sublime temple to approach with humility; nature being conquered; and nature conquered, a gigantic playground. In general, these categories develop chronologically, the first present in 1901 and fading by 1910, the second appearing by 1907 and continuing through 1922, and the third present only after 1915.

By the late nineteenth century, the art world's search for the sublime and the ideals of Romanticism and Transcendentalism had begun to move Americans from the contemplation of paintings of dramatic landscapes in art galleries and drawing rooms to the observation of real landscapes. Tourists gaped at towering mountains and peered into awful chasms from well-appointed Pullman cars or observation decks, but still, few Americans had ventured into the wilderness—and certainly not in the numbers or for the long time that the Sierra Club proposed. Some Sierra Club members preparing for the early Outings worried that their love of nature would place them in the category of eccentric. Others took pride in their eccentricity, exclaiming, "There are those who believe that in this modern day the love of nature—wild nature—is vanishing from the world. Probably they read their Thoreau of a vacation on the verandas of summer resorts; at all events, they are not members of the Sierra Club."<sup>6</sup> The Sierrans could look for praise for their undertaking from President Theodore Roosevelt, whose advocacy of the "strenuous life" as an antidote to "flabbiness" and "slothful ease" encouraged a wide variety of vigorous outdoor recreational activity.

Even for the Sierrans, though, life in the outdoors was unfamiliar. Many described themselves as complete "tenderfeet" and admitted their need for an initiation into the ways of the wild life. One remembered, "To get into our bags was the work of a few moments



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and a tired mountaineer needs no sedatives. But the extreme novelty of the situation assisted by the villainous unevenness of the ground and by prowling mules, had the effect of keeping at least one 'tenderfoot' awake for some time." Later that night this particular brave Sierran roused the entire camp in a loud brawl with a mule, unfortunately mistaken for a wild grizzly bear.<sup>7</sup>

Another clue to the novelty of the situation appears in the concern about proper attire for women. The announcement of the 1902 Outing advised, "Skirts can be short, no more than half way from knee to ankle, and under them can be worn shorter, dark, colored bloomers." The writer added, "It would be unsafe to ride other than astride on portions of the trip, and no side saddles can be obtained." As a helpful hint about hiking and climbing garb, and to assure critics that proprieties would be observed, one writer suggested, "For high climbing many ladies wear a skirt of moderate length until out of sight of the main camp and then leave the skirt under a rock . . ."<sup>8</sup> Women so rarely engaged in such rigorous activities that a writer for *Outing*, an early sporting magazine, broached the delicate subject of underwear in print. She stated adamantly, "No one should climb mountains in corsets.

One must have the fullest use of the lungs and the loosest corset is some impediment to the breathing. As ordinarily worn they are impossible."<sup>9</sup>

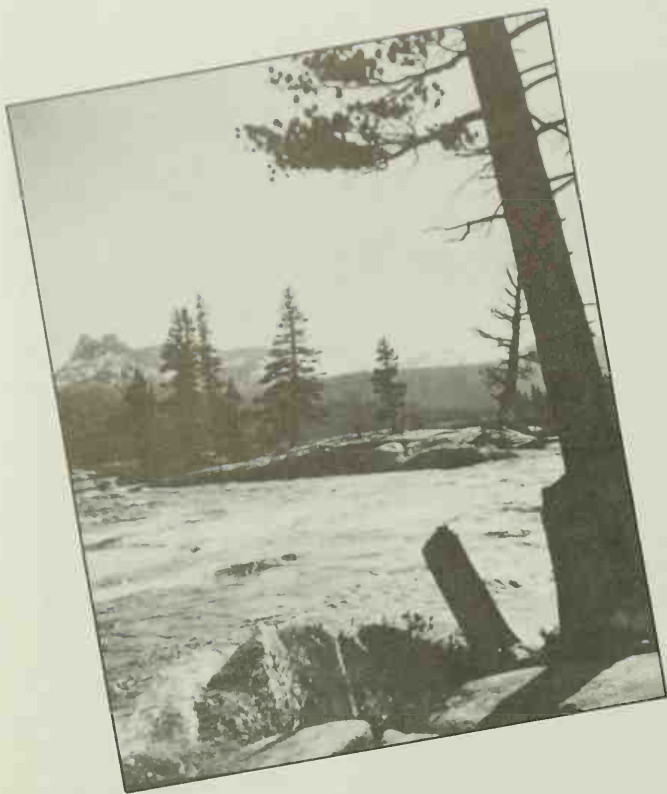
Outing photographs from the early years demonstrate the tentativeness of the ties the Sierrans felt to the natural world. Awe before what John Muir called "a window opening into heaven, a mirror reflecting the Creator" was the dominant mood. Joseph LeConte, a famous geologist and experienced outdoorsman, rarely took pictures of people in the wilderness. When he did, the people appear out of place, not sure how to behave. "Dinner in Camp," for example, depicts an elegant dinner party which seems, incidentally, to have taken place in the Yosemite wilderness. Several elegantly dressed men and women sit stiffly at a table covered with a table cloth and set with china and silver. No chandelier hangs above, and a pine bough decorates the table, but these are the only concessions to the wilderness.<sup>10</sup>

This discomfort evolved out of the context in which the appreciation of wild nature developed. The nineteenth-century transformation in the American view of wilderness from an enemy to be subdued to the embodiment of the sublime brought with it a sense of hesitation. The wilderness became a shrine where nature lovers expected to be impressed, intimidated, and awed. "Here the appropriate mood is worship," wrote one visitor to Yosemite. "It is John Muir's exquisite insight to the effect that the vale of the Yosemite looked

(Left top) "The Nine at Their Base Camp." Photograph by William F. Bade (1904).

(Left) "Mist Falls." Photograph by J. Leconte (1901).

(Above) "King's Canyon." Photograph by E.T. Parsons.



at from its western end is architecturally like a huge temple lighted from above."<sup>11</sup> The notion of eating a meal in God's greatest cathedral must have seemed alien to the early Sierrans. Even if they viewed the meal as a kind of sacrament, like communion, it could not have been a comfortable or familiar experience.

Most of the early photographs show that nature is in control rather than recording the Outing participants in the act of defiling the temple. William Bade took pictures of the 1904 Outing with an emphasis on the awful power of nature. His album is filled with images of stupendous acts of nature: trees hit by lightning, avalanche paths, gigantic rifts in boulders, and tremendous waterfalls. Occasionally, Bade's photographs include people, but they are dwarfed by the landscape. "The Nine at their Base Camp the Evening before the Climb Watching the Wonderful Play of Light on the Forbidding Rock Masses of Banner and Ritter" shows worshippers at the base of a magnificent temple.<sup>12</sup> The dimly silhouetted humans crouch to stare up at the brilliantly lit snowy mass of Mount Ritter.

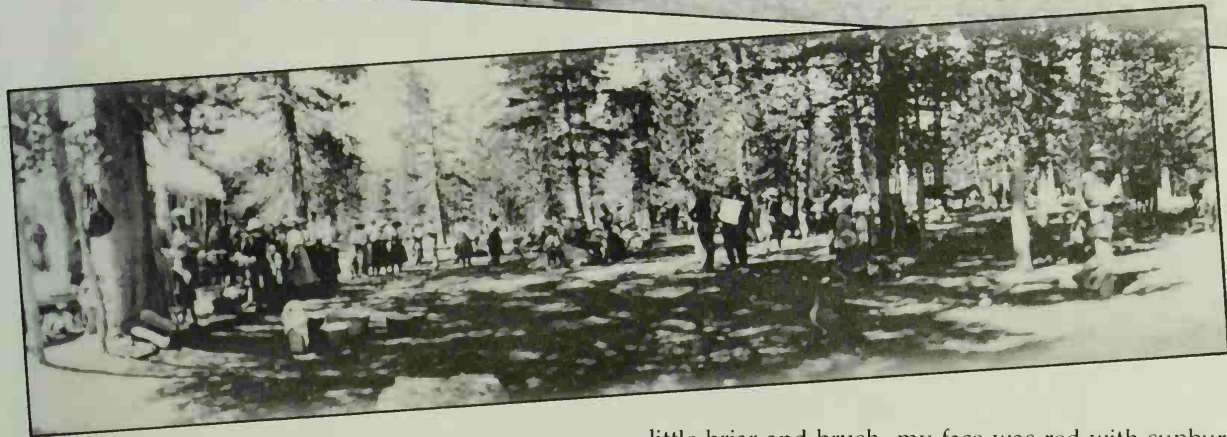
Typically, humans are simply absent from the early Outing photographs. With a few exceptions, Joseph LeConte included human figures only to underscore the immensity of a waterfall, a sequoia, or a boulder. Other photographs used captions to personify nature, occasionally making it less intimidating. After a series of photographs depicting the rapids and falls of the Merced River, one photographer included a picture of the river in a calmer stage with following caption: "At the close of day when the slanting beams of our chief



luminary give fair warning of his pending leave, the fair damsel Merced coyly wraps the gentle shadows 'bout her graceful form."<sup>13</sup> Although nature is less imposing in this guise, man does not enter the scene unless bidden. William Bade described his conception of man's relationship to nature, "We learned to interpret the various languages in which nature speaks to the children of men. She led us step by step to the summits of her beauties, seduced us into the secret places of her hiding and day by day revealed the arcana of her being. We were acolytes in the grand temple of the eternal."<sup>14</sup>

A standard photograph evolved which consciously displayed the sublimity of the wilderness. A tree is the foreground provides perspective, and the immense landscape fades into the background. Joseph LeConte mastered this composition in "Mist Falls" and "River View." Philip Carleton adopted the same format in "Unicorn Peak from the Meadows," in which a huge pine tree looms in the foreground and the river roars directly toward the viewer. All of this provides a frame for the mass of Unicorn Peak. Similarly, a photograph taken by E.T. Parsons in 1902 emphasizes the vast sweep of





Kings Canyon as it stretches away from the tree in the foreground. Such photographs echo the conventions of nineteenth-century paintings, in which the blasted tree in the foreground of a landscape demonstrates the power of God's whimsy. Just as in a Bierstadt or Cole painting, in which humans rarely appear except as foils to demonstrate the magnificent scale of nature, the photographs are composed to emphasize vastness and power, with sheer cliffs looming up from valley floors and vast canyons fading into endless ranges of mountains.

Beginning about 1907, however, the Sierrans seemed to take nature for granted, feeling more at ease in their wild surroundings with each passing summer. "I laugh now when I think of those first trips . . ." wrote one woman in 1909. "Of course I wore a long skirt, a shirt waist, straw hat and veil, kid gloves and low shoes and was as uncomfortable as a woman could be. My skirt caught on every

little briar and brush, my face was red with sunburn, and I once annexed eight freckles to my nose."<sup>15</sup>

The physical pleasures of wilderness life gradually came to occupy more attention than spiritual lessons in the journals of Outing participants. One Sierran exulted in 1909, "To walk over hard snowdrifts under a hot sun, to burn at midday and shiver at night . . . all without taking cold: to be a barbarian and a communist, a homeless and roofless vagabond, limited to one gown or suit of clothes . . . all of these breaches of convention became commonplaces in such a life as this, part of the adventure."<sup>16</sup> Another described the joys of the 1907 Outing: "The weak grew strong and the strong invincible. Men and women made knapsack trips, young girls tramped over a hundred miles in a week, and in all the company, never a creature, even to the horses, was ill."<sup>17</sup> These humans felt at ease in the wilderness and little concerned with the awesome forces nature could unleash upon them.

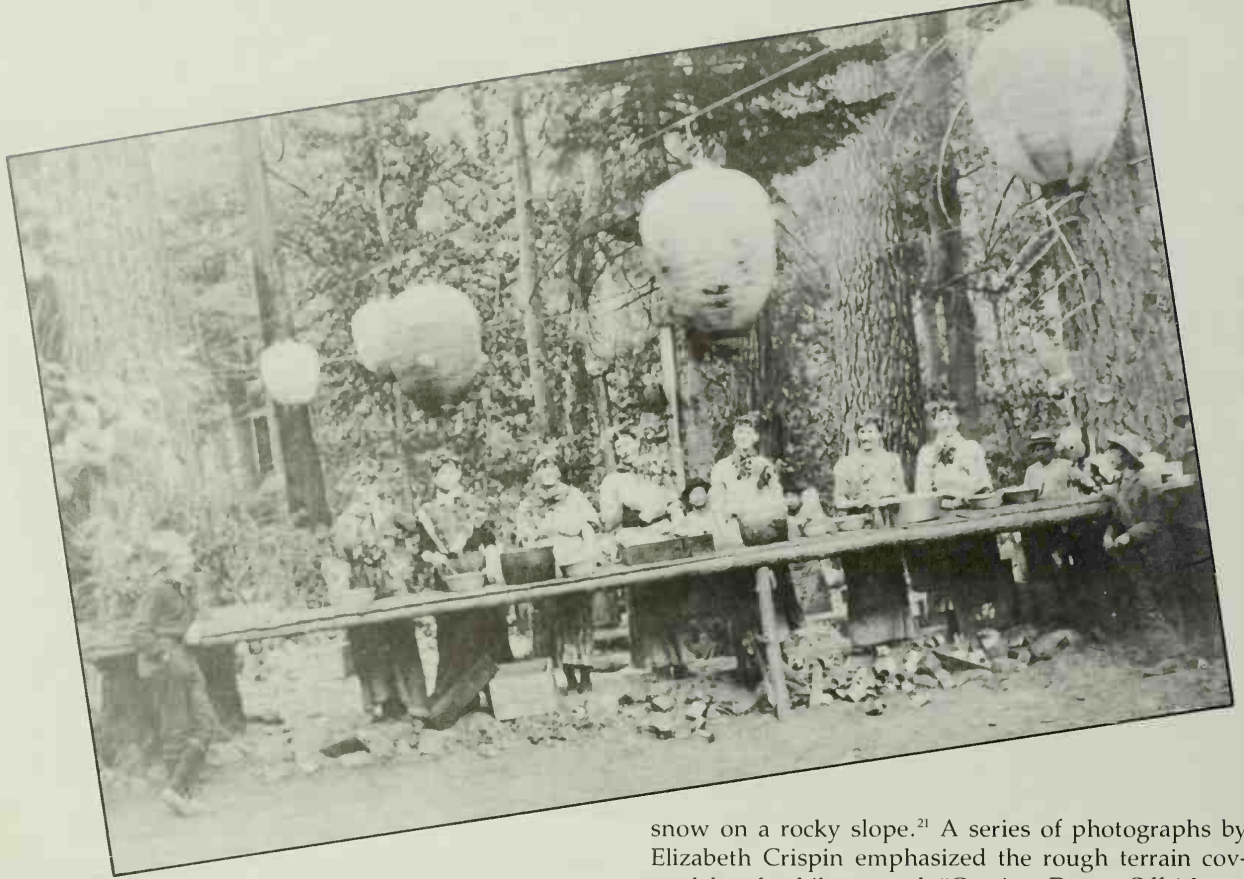
The new focus had a competitive aspect, as Sierrans grew increasingly intent on conquering the challenges of the wilderness. Using their newly discovered physical prowess, they tackled nature and exulted in their victories. A 1907 photograph depicts a group of people standing squarely on the summit of a mountain. Both men and women smile proudly and plant their feet firmly on the peak. The caption reads, "Conquered Dana!—Yes, to be sure, for this constitutes the roll call that was taken on the summit."<sup>18</sup> A similar photograph in the same album is captioned "Just holding down Mount Hoffman for a while" and shows a large group

(Far left) "Unicorn Peak from the Meadows." Photograph by Philip Carleton (1907).

(Left) "River View." Photograph by J. Leconte (1901).

(Above) "Chow Line." Photograph by E.T. or M.R. Parsons (1909).





of hikers resting contentedly on the summit, relaxed and smiling in their lofty and barren surroundings. A woman who mastered Mount Rainier commented on her satisfaction, "Only a mountaineer can appreciate the sense of exhilaration with which we contemplated the vast expanse of the crater and told ourselves that we had conquered the kingliest among all the mountains of the United States."<sup>19</sup>

Mount Rainier may have been the "kingliest," but Mount Whitney reigned as the highest mountain in the continental United States, and it was a Sierra Club favorite. A few Sierrans climbed it in the early years, but they never attempted it en masse or took pictures of themselves on the summit. In 1916, Jessie Treat wrote proudly, "On Wednesday morning two hundred left for Crabtree Meadows base camp to ascend Mount Whitney the following day. One hundred seventy-five reached the summit, the largest party of mountaineers ever registered there."<sup>20</sup> A few years later Perry Evans photographed the trip up Whitney. He took ten shots of the group lolling about on the summit and ten shots of the surrounding scenery and compiled a complete list of those who made it up in the order of their arrival on the summit.

Many of the photographs showcased the technical skills of the Sierrans. Marion Randal Parsons took a picture of club members successfully crossing a difficult pass in 1912. "Treading down the snow" shows a single file of hikers crossing a steep and treacherous patch of

snow on a rocky slope.<sup>21</sup> A series of photographs by Elizabeth Crispin emphasized the rough terrain covered by the hikers, and "Coming Down Off Mount Conness," a 1919 photograph, depicts a group inching its way down a sheer rock face.<sup>22</sup> Marion Parsons described her experiences on a similar endeavor on South Kaweah Peak, "It seemed the wildest of follies to stir a hair breadth from the hand or foot hold which had proved firm toward the untried possibilities that the next step held. Slowly and with greatest care, we crept, crawled, and clambered along the knife edge."<sup>23</sup> For these climbers, the wilderness provided challenges that simply had to be met.

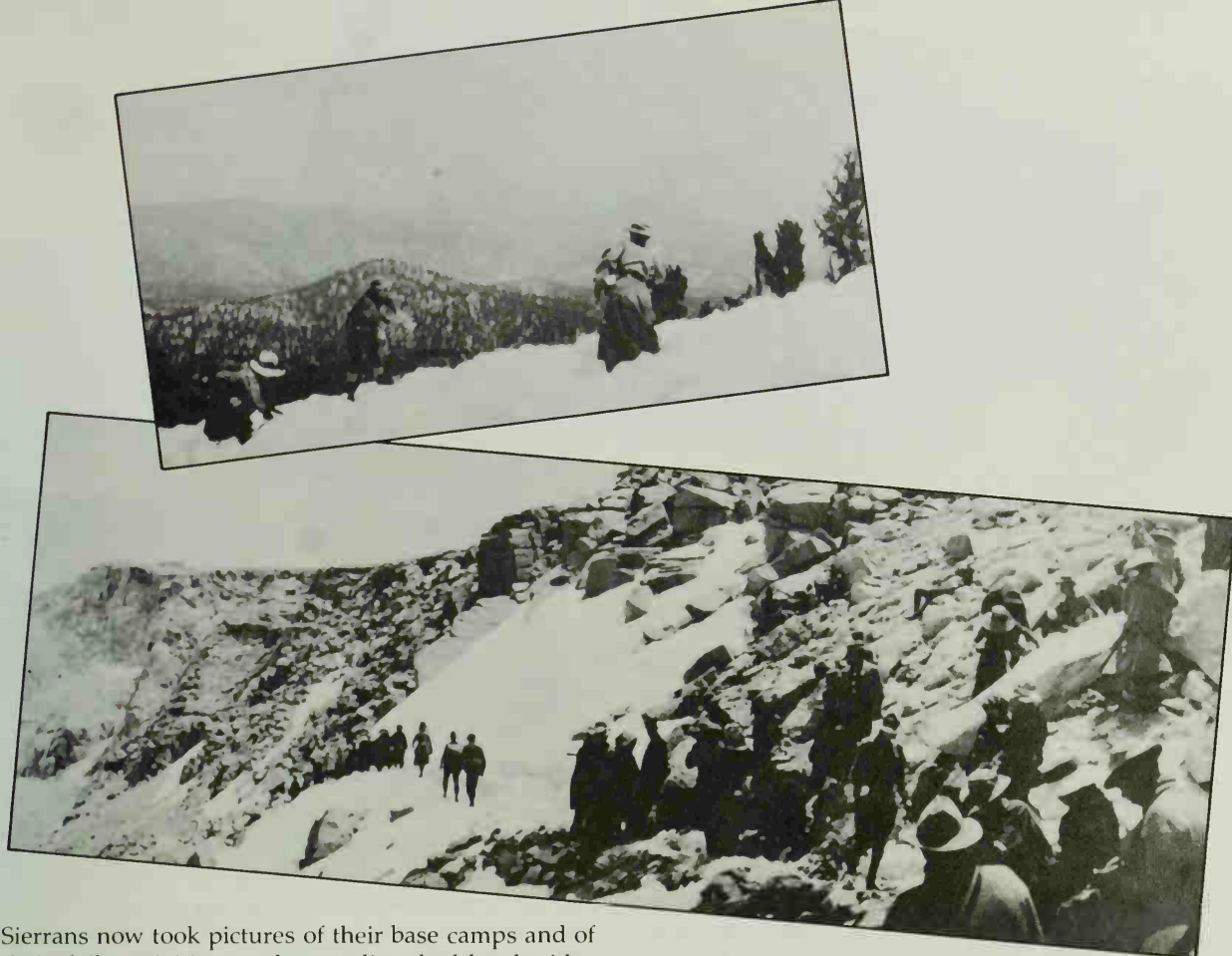
The new obsession with conquering nature appears even in photographs of the landscape. Gone are the carefully framed images of nature's grandeur; in their place appear photographs of single peaks, precisely identified and measured. The captions provide information, not poetry: "On top of Mount Brewer, 13,577 feet," "Looking Up Bubbs Creek of Evolution Peak," with peaks named and measured.<sup>24</sup> These photographs show little interest in pictorial qualities.

Generally the photographers of the years after 1910 did not concern themselves with scenery but documented instead the presence of man in nature. The

(Above) "We Take Turns Serving." Photograph by Parsons (1912).

(Top right) "Snowballing on the Fourth of July." Photograph by Marion Parsons (1912).

(Right) "Treading Down the Snow." Photograph by Marion Parsons (1912).



Sierrans now took pictures of their base camps and of their daily activities, no longer disturbed by the idea that they were defiling the sanctity of nature. Either Marion or E.T. Parsons captured club members waiting hungrily in their vast "chow line" and snapped a shot of the serving table, gaily decorated with Japanese lanterns and the grimy but smiling faces of garland-be-decked Sierrans.<sup>25</sup> People eating, washing, swimming, sleeping, and groaning uphill fill the images of this era.

Recognizing the novelty of their adventure, the Sierrans found their stay in the wilderness exhilarating rather than spiritually moving. Marion Parsons's 1912 photograph entitled "Snowballing on the Fourth of July" illustrates some of the new qualities. No longer did people feel obligated to stare off into the scenery and wonder about lessons to be learned from the inspiring sight. Now Sierrans could ignore the awesome views and hurl snowballs at one another, and even capture the disrespectful scene on film. One club member who climbed Mount Lyell in 1914 echoed the changing attitude: "There was no sea in sight but everything else in geography seemed to be there: vast snowfields, desert, lakes, wicked looking Ritter. At first, however, we seemed less absorbed in these wonders than in the joyous chopping together in our tin cups of snow and several gallons of strawberry jam, and the subsequent consumption of this 'Sierra Sundae'!"<sup>26</sup> Such a reaction differed from that of a 1902 climber who wrote, "So-

bered by the austere grandeur of the scene, we quietly withdrew in detached groups and slowly pondered the awe-inspiring spot."<sup>27</sup>

**B**y 1909 the rhetoric of the sublime was rare both in print and on film. The Sierrans now conquered nature's wonders instead of worshipping them. Certainly some of the earlier ideals exist in the photographs of waterfalls and mountain lakes, but in all the albums from the second decade of the twentieth century these pictures are scattered among examples of the newer style of Sierra Club photography. In photographs taken after 1915 evidence of the sublime aesthetic disappears almost entirely, and the later pictures focus nearly exclusively on the presence of humans in the wilderness. Though it still appeared in both written and pictorial memoirs, the need to conquer nature was losing its urgency as well. Marion Parsons remembered a 1920 crossing of Muir Pass, "We passed safely with scarcely a flounder. We felt we had made history that day when two hundred sixty human beings, one hundred animals, and eighteen thousand pounds of supplies crossed Muir Pass without one mishap."<sup>28</sup> The photographs of this era frequently depict



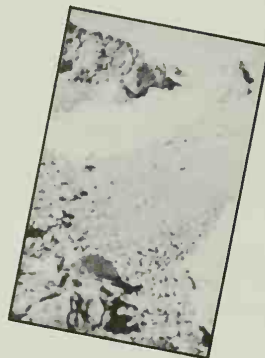
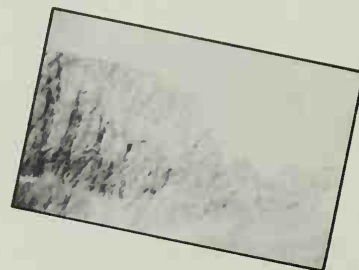


huge numbers of people clambering up mountains as in "Going Up Lumbert Dome" or "Group on Mount Gould."<sup>29</sup>

The zeal for naming and measuring continued, but naming served a different purpose in those years. The Sierrans no longer needed to prove that nature was conquerable; they understood this from long experience. Their photographs now served as records. The photographers took pictures along the trail not to show human prowess, but simply to prove that they were there. In 1919 H. C. Stinchfield took a picture of all ten lakes in Yosemite's Ten Lake Basin, carefully noting the name and altitude of each one, but Perry Evans took photographs with captions like "Lake Where We had Lunch," "Rest Spot Near Glacial Moraine," and "My Bedroll in Tuolumne Meadows."<sup>30</sup>

The written records also reflect a heightened interest in daily detail. James Rother noted, "It must be remembered that on this trip we were working under the Daylight Saving Law so that our 5:00 o'clock trip would be equivalent to a 4:00 on a former trip. After a breakfast of mush, bacon and eggs, and tea, we were packed and off at 7:15."<sup>31</sup> A kind of bookkeeping had replaced reflection on the mysteries of the wilderness. The desire to keep records resulted in photographs of the everyday aspects of life in the wilderness. In "Stoves and Cooks at Little Pete Camp" four black cooks stand solemnly next to their large "portable" stoves in the midst of a barren meadow. The next photo in the album, "Early Risers at Little Pete Camp," shows the immense amount of gear the Sierrans dragged with them into the wilderness. Both pictures demonstrate attention to the interaction of man and nature, but the relationship is no longer competitive. Nature has been tamed by the presence of cooks, stoves, luggage, and the Sierrans themselves.

Outing participants did not pretend to live as one with nature, but they found no threat in the wilderness and could relax and enjoy the novelty of living outside. The photographers realized that at times the club mem-



bers cut ridiculous figures and did not hesitate to capture silliness. "Miss Read's Knapsack Party" presents a group of hardy women in knickers and hats, bowed down by large packs as they set off into the Yosemite backcountry. The photographer made no attempt to include a stunning backdrop of scenery; the women themselves provided enough color. They smile, knowing that to most observers they are quite a bizarre sight.

Many Sierra Club photographers in this period made their pictures intentionally humorous. Russell Bacon took pictures of a man falling off a log. He also carefully composed a shot of a gravestone bearing the inscription, "Here lies the remains of the Sierra Club Outing, July 1920." A tin cup rests on the stone, and at its base lies a pair of wornout hiking boots.<sup>32</sup> C. M. Baker titled a shot of an older hiker wearing a bandana and standing in front of a dead tree "Two Old Stumps." The photographs of the Outings were now entirely human centered, no longer including sweeping panoramas or even carefully measured peaks.

In some ways nature had become more friendly and intimate. The only photographs that do not include people are closeups of plants and flowers. No examples

(Above left) "Just Holding Down Mount Hoffman." Photograph by William Belfrage (1909).

(Above right) Left to right, "Junction Peak," "Trail to Junction Peak," and "Muir Trail." Photograph by Elizabeth Crispin (1922).

(Right) "Stoves and Cooks at Little Pete Camp." Photograph by Perry Evans (1920).

(Far right) "Early risers at Little Pete Camp (elev. 9,000 ft.)" Photograph by Perry Evans (1920).





of this kind of photography appeared in an album before 1919. H. C. Stinchfield stopped to take a picture he called "An Inquisitive Beastie," and even the great trees of the Sierra, once referred to as God's greatest works and "the vegetable wonders of the world," no longer astounded the Sierrans. "Yellow Pine and the Fester Twins" shows two young girls posing and giggling in front of a huge tree. Instead of using the girls to show the giant scale of the tree, the photographer cropped most of the tree out of the picture to focus on his human subjects.

**T**he solemnity and competition of the earlier years disappeared almost entirely from the albums after World War I. The Sierrans of later Outings poked fun at themselves and at the wilderness where they had come to play. A page from C. M. Baker's album has no photograph, only the caption, "Bathing, censored—perfectly proper, BUT!"<sup>33</sup> Another photographer snapped a shot of a man's backside covered with a bandana. A poetic caption read:

*There once was a man named Carey  
Who wasn't the least bit wary,  
On a rock did slip—  
Twas a terrible rip—  
His bandana did cover poor Carey.*<sup>34</sup>

The new recreational thrust can also be seen in the nightly campfires of the Outings. In earlier years John Muir had lectured on nature's wonders, and experts on geology and forestry gave educational talks. By the 1920s the campfires had evolved into boisterous play. Julie Mortimer recalled an evening on the 1921 Outing which "featured a vaudeville show, including a pantomime of Bluebeard. A row of stones marked the limit of the stage, two large bonfires served as footlights, and the costumes were made of bathing suits, rugs, mosquito nets, and other odds and ends that could be got together."<sup>35</sup> Russell Bacon took a picture of the actors in a follies which he called "Jinks Bunch." Bizarrely dressed men and women pose together, trying to look serious despite their heathen garb. Clearly they intend to entertain their fellow campers, not educate them.

Wilderness as playground had a broad appeal, which was not limited to members of the Sierra Club, and inevitably, the transformation of the wilderness into a recreation center meant the Sierrans had to share it. A forestry expert writing in *National Geographic Magazine* called the Sierra Club a "playgrounds association for grownups" and suggested that a national association organized along the same lines "but with the United States for its field of activities, would find important work to be done and would enlist an army of supporters."<sup>36</sup> In 1920, a supporter of the national parks rhapsodized, "The national park is the democratic equivalent of the vast estates of the nobility of Europe; yet no such noble has such playgrounds. . . . A movement is afoot to provide the thickly populated parts of America [with parks] which will meet the universal need for such lovely scenes and places of wholesome outdoor recreation."<sup>37</sup>

The national forest system in the West had tripled during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, and new national parks were also created between 1900 and 1920.



In 1919, Stephen Mather, first director of the national park system, noted, "the past season was remarkable for the large increase in travel to the national parks."<sup>38</sup> A new interest in pack trips, hunting trips, and "roughing it" fueled this travel, which was encouraged by the increased availability of automobiles after World War I and by such campaigns as the Santa Fe Railroad's "Off the Beaten Path" promotion of saddle and pack camping trips lasting up to thirty days. Santa Fe also set up a "Camping Out Bureau" suggesting a range of options: "Really rough it or camp out de-luxe."<sup>39</sup>

One of the more interesting manifestations of a newly popular love of wild nature was the changing architecture of Western resorts. Before 1900, the grand resort hotels of the West featured a montage of elegant European styles. The developers of the Hotel Del Monte in Monterey (completed in 1880) boasted of its "airy modern Gothic facades, its incisive angles, its many sharp gables, minarets, towers, its dormers and window hoods and broad verandas." Similar glamorous mixes appeared in the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego (1888) and the Antlers Hotel in Colorado Springs (1883).

After 1900, however, resort hotels incorporated wilderness elements. Many Glacier, the grand resort in Glacier National Park (1915), sported a rustic air with exposed beams and open fireplaces to give the interior a log cabin look. Elk and moose heads were prominent parts of the decor. This trend reached its apogee in 1928 with the completion of the Ahwahnee Hotel in Yosemite Valley. Bear skins with ferocious growling faces, Indian



rugs, and a plethora of antlers carried rustic elegance to its peak. The wilderness had been conquered and mounted solidly on the wall.

The Sierrans had learned to play in the wilderness—

(Top) "Miss Read's Knapsack party. Tuohimne Meadows to Ten Lake Basin." Photograph by H.C. Stinchfield (1919).

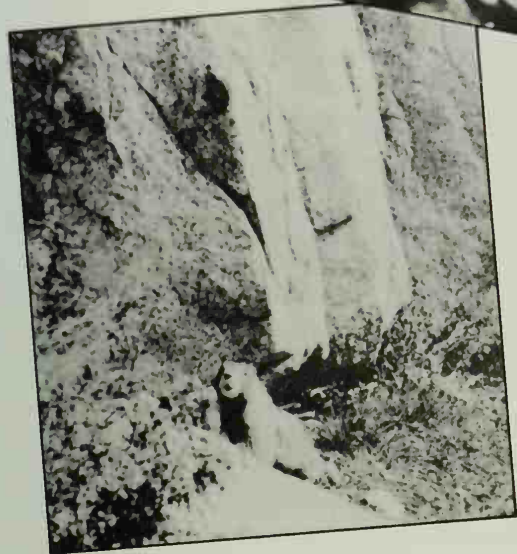
(Above) "The Club Lunch." Photograph by Parsons (1909).

(Top right) "Jinks Bunch." Photograph by Russell Bacon (1920).

(Right) "An inquisitive beastie—A marmot watching some Sierrans making the grade on low near Donohue Pass." Photograph by H.C. Stinchfield (1919).

(Far right) "Yellow Pine and The Fester Twins." Photograph by Perry Evans.





and had helped popularize the concept—as Americans in general were discovering the mobility offered by the automobile and experiencing serious reservations about the quality of urban life and its implications for American society. “We are not going to be happy cluttered together in houses backed up against each other in cities,” wrote Franklin Lane in the *National Geographic* in 1920. “This is not the normal natural life for us. We are not going to have cities made up of apartments and boarding houses and hotels and produce the good, husky Americanism that has fought our wars and made this country.”<sup>40</sup> His concern echoed Theodore Roosevelt’s suggestion that “as our civilization grows older and more complex we need a greater and not a lesser development of the fundamental frontier values” of physical strength, courage, and general toughness.<sup>41</sup> Between the end of the nineteenth century and the end of the second decade of the twentieth, a significant portion of the American population had come to see wilderness not as a threat to be eliminated but as a resource providing respite from and perhaps even a cure for the ills of modern society.

The Sierra Club Outing photographs offer concrete evidence of how this change took place and what it meant to the people at its forefront. In 1901, the Sierrans, awed and intimidated by the wilderness, ventured into it with trepidation. They hoped to learn of the mysteries of nature and responded to its challenges with wonder and respect. The photographic record of these early trips captured an omniscient nature where man was but a plaything. Later, the wilderness evoked a new reaction from the Sierrans. They met its challenges with vigorous activity rather than dumb awe. The Outing participants conquered mountains and recorded their presence in the landscape. Finally, the wilderness, now conquered, evolved into a place for people to play, and Sierra Club members noted ambivalence toward mass appreciation of “their” wilderness, “The accessibility of the [Tuolumne] meadows by automobiles is an advantage or a disadvantage according to one’s point of view. One’s first impulse is to resent this intrusion into Nature’s heart. . . . Upon reflection, however, one can but rejoice when increasing numbers of one’s fellow men find healthful pleasure in Nature’s gifts.”<sup>42</sup> The wilderness was now perceived as a refreshing escape from the activities of the business world, a place where the Sierrans could do things they could not do on Market or Montgomery streets or on the campuses of Stanford or Berkeley. For its users, the wilderness had changed from a temple to a playground. ■

See notes on page 236.



## Rodman Wilson Paul 1913–1987

Fifty-one years ago, Rodman Wilson Paul's senior thesis at Harvard won the Phi Beta Kappa award for the best undergraduate paper on any subject that year. Forty years ago Paul published *California Gold*, which won the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association prize for the best book of 1947. It has remained in print and continues to be cited as a major source on the Gold Rush. Two years ago, the California Historical Society gave Paul its Henry Raup Wagner award for a distinguished career in California history, and in 1987 he was named a CHS Fellow.

Rodman Paul died on May 15, 1987, but he will continue to be a presence in the field he served so illustriously. His *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* (1963) is a classic which will serve as a starting point for serious consideration of the mining West for years to come. His edition of the *Reminiscences of Mary Hallock Foote* (1972) made widely available a woman's perspective on the mining frontier before the new social history had made women's history respectable. His studies in the 1950s of the California wheat trade revealed the degree to which the California economy was an international one. Other books and articles are and will be consulted over and over again.

It was not only with his individual scholarship that Paul created an abiding legacy. He contributed in lasting ways to the institutions that define the field of Western history. As the Edward S. Harkness Professor of History at the California Institute of Technology, he added weight to the humanities division of an institution dedicated to science. From 1971 to 1979 he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the California Historical Society, and in the 1970s he chaired the Awards Committee that selected recipients of the Wagner and other awards. He served as president of the Western Historical Association and the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. He was a member of the National Archives Advisory Council and the Historical Advisory Committee of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He sat on the editorial boards of all the most prestigious journals in the field, and he was always available to offer assistance to professionals and amateurs alike.

Rodman Paul was known for the elegance of his thought, the care with which he responded to requests for his judgment, and the consideration with which he treated his colleagues—not only his peers but earnest newcomers to the field as well. He represented the best of what it means to be a gentleman and a scholar. For those who knew him, the encounter was a privilege. For those who came into the field after his failing health had limited his activities, it is a loss not to have had that privilege. But in the works he left behind it is still possible to glimpse the extraordinary man who was Rodman Wilson Paul.

Edited by James J. Rawls

## *The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express.*

By Albert Shumate with a foreword by Kevin Starr (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1986, XV in the American Trails Series, 144 pp., illus., \$16.50 cloth).

Reviewed by Robert J. Chandler, a specialist in *Gold Rush and Civil War California*.

Al Shumate, a past president of the California Historical Society, uses his extensive knowledge of San Francisco society to revive another Californian widely known in his lifetime but forgotten today. Author of works on George Gordon, George H. Goddard, and Francisco Pacheco, Shumate adds Isaiah Churchill Woods (1825–1880), best known for his management—or mismanagement—of the banking department of Adams & Co. in the 1850s.

Woods, though, as Shumate shows, should be remembered for more than this. He arrived in California in 1848 and quickly engaged in numerous commercial and real estate ventures, besides actively participating in political and cultural events. He was a mercantile hustler, whose mentality Robert Senkewicz captured in *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (1985). Throughout his life, Woods retained a hopeful vision for new enterprises: Adams & Co., banking and express, 1849–1855; San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line and an associated wagon road, 1856–1860; in charge of transportation for General John C. Frémont in St. Louis, 1861; passenger travel across Nicaragua, 1864–1866; Pacific Wood Preserving company, 1869–1875; and ranch manager and vintner, 1877 until his death.

Shumate studies how Woods got the title “notorious” that followed him through his life and blighted many of his projects. He argues that it was unjustified, but his attempt to clear Woods is not convincing.

Most unfortunately, Woods’s papers



Transportation across the arid expanses of the West offered opportunities and risks to frontier businessmen like I. C. Woods.

are gone so that his views appear rarely. Good research by Shumate uncovered letters by Frank Woods, an uncle six years older than I. C. Woods, and Eugene Casserly, a brother-in-law associated with Woods in business from at least 1854 to 1860. These two men who should have been close to Woods detested him. Both commented that he trusted nobody and remained secretive. Over the years, Casserly found Woods to be “such a combination of conceit, folly, ingratitude, selfishness, and total absence of moral principal” (95) that he had only “sovereign contempt and dislike” (89) for him.

Many Californians felt similarly due to Woods’ choice of friends. Through his business life, as Shumate details, he joined men Californians found objectionable. They included John C. Frémont, a loser, and rascals A. A. Cohen and Daniel Haskell of Adams & Co.; Joseph Palmer of the shady banking firm of Palmer, Cook & Co., and Sam Ward, “king of the lobby” in Washington, D. C.

Woods revealed a questionable business style in running Adams & Co. Ranking banks in 1855 by the amount of

Eastern drafts sold, Adams was second behind Page, Bacon & Co. Like third place Wells, Fargo & Co., it had an extensive network of banking and express offices in the gold country. However, Wells Fargo’s first agent had been in town only three days when he wrote in June, 1852, that “Adams & Co. do not stand very well among the Bankers.” He explained, “They attempt to be very smart in many of their operations,” and that “smartness” characterized Woods. In 1854, Frank Woods in an angry mood declared that Alvin Adams, the head of Adams & Co. in Boston, looked upon I. C. Woods as “a consummate scoundrel” (39). Adams acted on this belief by re-incorporating his eastern operations as Adams Express Company and spinning off the California business.

A fuller description of the Panic of 1855 is needed. Citation of contemporary newspapers would have prevented Shumate from confusing the names of bankers Page & Bacon of St. Louis with its San Francisco affiliate, Page, Bacon & Co., and assigning the date February 22 to “Black Friday,” which was February

23, 1855. The dailies portrayed the despair San Franciscans felt when they discovered Friday morning that Adams & Co. would not open, news which precipitated runs on other banks. A reporter for the *Alta California* found among the excited crowd an "intense and deep regret that THE GREAT HOUSE of California had failed." Woods's proposal on February 24, to a city that settled accounts daily, to pay depositors only twenty-five percent and after thirty days showed that Adams & Co. was grossly bankrupt.

Compared to other banks, Adams & Co. did not play fair. Over six days, Page, Bacon & Co. paid out till broke. Adams & Co. and Wells, Fargo & Co., due to the nature of Gold Rush banking where gold buying was a primary business, had available coin in the mining regions and collected gold dust and bars in San Francisco. On February 25, banker William T. Sherman wrote, "Adams & Co. are dishonest, craven, cowardly; all through the land they caved in." In contrast, most Wells Fargo agencies not only remained open, but sent surplus funds to San Francisco. On February 27, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s San Francisco office reopened and met all demands.

During the unsettled panic week, Adams & Co. paid out little before closing. Shumate ably describes how the gold in its vaults then disappeared through the manipulations of Woods and his friends. Acrimonious legal proceedings fully reported in the press followed. Shumate even suggests that the failure of the great mass of depositors to receive anything weakened belief in the courts and in 1856 increased support for the Committee of Vigilance.

An unenviable picture of Woods emerges. Since he did not trust others, others did not trust him and the appellation "notorious" stuck. Eugene Casserly summed up the contradictions in Woods's character. He was "all his life visionary, reckless and unsuccessful to the last degree" (82). In his dreams and actions, Woods was a typical Californian of the 1850s and 1860s. Al Shumate aids

understanding of this tumultuous era through his rescue of "the notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express." ■

## *Norton I: Emperor of the United States.*

By William Drury. (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1986, xx, 234 pp., photographs, appendix, bibliography, index, \$16.95 cloth).

Reviewed by Fred W. Viehe, Assistant Professor of Urban History, Youngstown State University.

In *Norton I: Emperor of the United States*, William Drury has written a most readable biography of Joshua Abraham Norton, a destitute '49er, who by proclaiming himself Emperor, became San Francisco's most popular tourist attraction following the completion of the transcontinental railroad. While unquestionably mad, Norton's insanity was limited only to the insistence that he was of royal blood; on other matters, he was intelligent and lucid enough for acceptance into both the Mechanic's Institute and the famed Bohemian Club. Largely because of this dichotomy, this self-proclaimed monarch caught the eye—and the respect—of Mark Twain and others who linked Norton I and San Francisco together in the late nineteenth century public mind.

In accounting for Norton's insanity, Drury presents a plausible tale that the Emperor was deeply disturbed about his religious identity. Born a London Jew of humble circumstances, Norton and his family emigrated soon after his birth to the South African frontier, a most Christian environment. Given the name, Joshua Abraham, Norton was a clearly identifiable Israelite. Drury argues that his parents compounded this problem by naming his two immediate brothers, Louis and Philip, in memory of the French royal family. In order to escape this overwhelming stigma, Norton's

mind forced him to eschew Judaism by insisting that he too was a Bourbon. While this is elementary psychohistory, Drury's conclusion should be accepted for no other reason than that it is quite understandable.

After reaching adulthood, Norton sailed from South Africa to a San Francisco consumed by the gold rush. Establishing himself as a commission merchant, he prospered until he tried to corner the rice market. Failing to recover from this setback, Norton's schizophrenia increasingly got the better of him, and he remained on the financial and psychological skids for the remainder of his life. Coinciding with Norton's personal failure, the United States in the late 1850s was on the political skids; and as it rushed toward the Civil War, this itinerant Englishman, convinced of his royal lineage, reached the conclusion that what this country needed was not "government of the people, by the people and for the people," but enlightened despotism. So, on September 17, 1859, a date that shall live for insanity, the former Joshua Abraham proclaimed himself Norton I, Emperor of the United States. For the next twenty-one years, his was a benign reign.

Hear Ye, Hear Ye, *Norton I* is not just a "royal" biography. It is also a colorfully written social history of San Francisco "from the bottom up" during that city's heyday. Drury, a columnist for the *San Francisco News Call-Bulletin*, superbly interweaves his account of the enigmatic Emperor with a description of the city's nineteenth century street life. The latter after all contained the Emperor's most loyal subjects; the police who saluted him in passing, and his courtiers who counseled him daily in Portsmouth Square. Martin & Horton's, like so many other taverns of the day, provided a royal meal via their sumptuous "Free Lunch," where His Majesty discussed affairs with the city's professional and commercial elite. The latter he "taxed" at the rate of fifty cents a day. Drury also presents us with a taste of the dog-eat-dog world of



frontier San Francisco. Following the success of Norton I's "proclamations" first in the *Bulletin* and then in the *Pacific Appeal*, competing newspapers published false "proclamations" to increase circulation. Some eventually reached out-of-town and then out-of-state newspapers. As his fame developed into a legend, aspiring novelists including Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Ambrose Bierce advanced it to further their own careers.

Following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, that legend reached fruition. Norton I, so tourists were told, lived *au gratis*. Clothed in regalia, His Majesty resided in the splendor of the Palace Hotel, and dined at the city's finest restaurants. To the tourists, it all appeared to be true. "By Appointment to His Majesty, Norton I," adorned many merchant windows. But as Drury points out, Nortonmania was insanity in pursuit of profit. While others around him grew rich from his celebrity, Norton I continued to live in poverty. The Emperor's "regalia" were surplus Civil War uniforms, and his "palace" was a fifty-cent-a-night flop-house. Only his meals were *au gratis*, but they were taken in saloons providing a "free lunch." Norton I may have been an imposter; but he was not a fraud. Whatever profit he made came from selling souvenir-mad tourists fifty-cent "bonds." The latter matured in 1880, the very year the Emperor fortuitously died. ■

### *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850-1980.*

By Arthur F. McEvoy. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 368 pp. Price: \$39.50 cloth).

*Reviewed by Stanley Scott, research political scientist at the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.*

After the Gold Rush, the salmon fishing industry on the teeming Sacramento River was slow getting started, but by the late 1870s good prices and heavy fish runs had ignited an explosive growth. In 1875, 3,000 cases of Sacramento River salmon were packed; in 1878, 34,000; in 1880, 62,000; and in 1882, 200,000. That was the high point in production. Afterwards the catches dropped off sharply, and by 1890, only 25,000 cases were packed. Unfettered by regulation, and lured by high prices and the big early harvests, the new industry had simply outdone itself by catching too many fish. Those left to swim upstream and reproduce were too few to sustain large populations. With the life-cycle of the fish interrupted at a critical point, the big salmon runs vanished. Commercial salmon fishing on the Sacramento continued for many years, but on a declining basis. Finally in 1919 the last of the river's canneries closed its doors.

Meanwhile most of the burgeoning industry had long since moved north to exploit the still plentiful salmon in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. Enough of the crippled salmon industry stayed on marginally, however, to prevent the Sacramento's fish stock from recovering. McEvoy calls the case of the Sacramento River salmon "the fisherman's problem in laboratory form." He emphasizes that it was "not an isolated phenomenon but part of a cyclical pattern," resembling what had happened previously with the depletion of the New England salmon, and was to be repeated afterward in the Pacific Northwest. From whales to mackerel to sardines, the resources of the sea and rivers have time and again been victims in this sad cycle.

From the beginning of European settlement, the history of California's fisheries has been a roller-coaster ride of boom and bust, of surging harvests and severe, often catastrophic declines. While no single factor alone can account for all of the erratic patterns, obviously a major cause is overfishing, driven by the economic pressures and fierce com-

petition that typify fishermen's lives, even in good times. Excessive harvesting, however, is not the only factor. Fish populations are remarkably sensitive to changes in their watery environment, which in turn responds to fluctuations in regional and worldwide oceanic and atmospheric conditions. For example, relatively small shifts in ocean currents or prevailing water temperatures can have major influences on marine life. Only recently has improved scientific understanding begun to bring home the crucial consequences of these complex relationships, many of which are still far from thoroughly grasped.

While the author acknowledges that his book "does not pretend to be encyclopedic," it is nevertheless a first-rate, thorough and thoughtful piece of work. It achieves his stated purpose of analyzing those fishery controversies "that have been most important to the development of public policy," and of identifying "the ecological, historical, and theoretical links between them." His carefully documented research draws on a wide range of sources and disciplines—history, legal studies, economics, natural sciences and anthropology—for this fascinating but often melancholy account of the rise and fall of California's fisheries, and of the impacts on the fish, the people, and the institutions. The book lives up to the dust-jacket claim that it "represents a significant new departure in the study of ecology and change in human society."

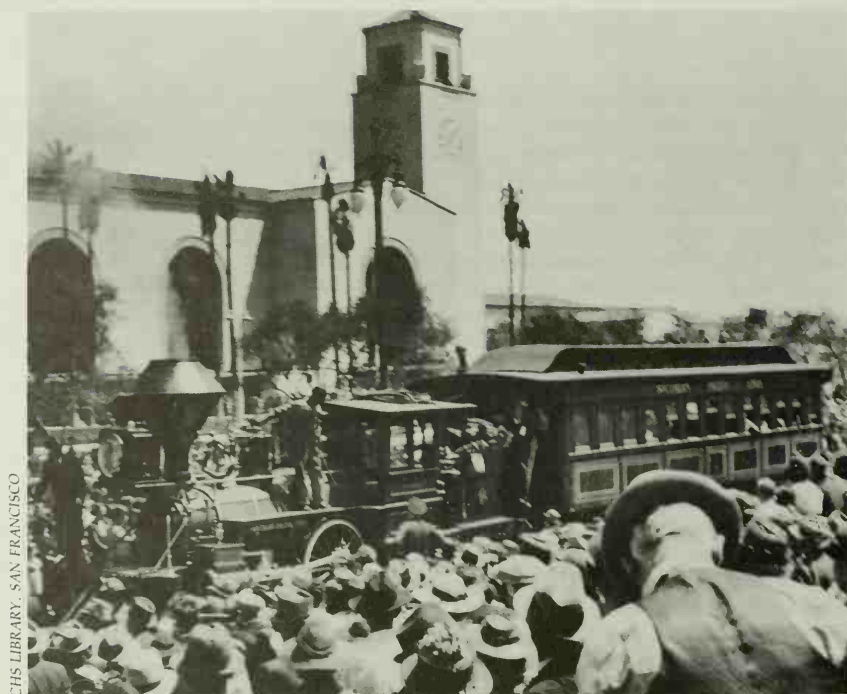
Unrestricted exploitation of fish prevailed at the outset of the period McEvoy treats. Fish were seen as there for the taking. Later, in the final quarter of the 19th century, administrative agencies were established, and legislation and court action taken, seeking ways to regulate and protect the fishing industry. Informal but pervasive patterns of ethnic regulation were also developed, helping divide up the markets and organize sources of supply.

Neither the formal nor informal measures were effective in protecting vulner-

able stocks, however, and soon the era of mechanized fishing dawned, with the ability to haul in ever-larger catches. The first half of the twentieth century saw intensified struggles as bureaucrats, politicians, fishermen, and a host of interest-group organizations fought over ways to deal with the disaster-prone industry's many problems. Meanwhile "[f]rontier ideology and frontier imagery continued to color people's thinking about the nature and future of American society."

The old myths were persistent and influential, despite all the evidence of their bankruptcy. Although a remarkable apparatus was built up in California for marine biology research, the author emphasizes how "political and economic disorder guaranteed that none of its information would have effect." This prevailing inability to take prudent action led among other things to the "sardine failure, one of the most egregious disasters in the history of U.S. wildlife management."

Effective conservation and management of marine resources had to wait for the maturing of a powerful environmental movement, whereupon in surprisingly short order a virtual "sea change" occurred. McEvoy points to the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 as a key "constitutional" building block in a whole panoply of new law and policy. This was bolstered by new public attitudes toward natural resource conservation, and a greater willingness to use the results of scientific research, including a more sophisticated understanding of marine resources and ecology. The author is consequently able to conclude his history on a relatively happy note. "A new way of approaching the fisherman's problem dissolved the contradictions that for a century or more had made it seem . . . insoluble. . . ." McEvoy's excellent book helps us understand the processes by which this finally came about, and the principal reasons why it took so long. ■



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Opening day for Los Angeles's Union Station in 1939 marked a consolidation of rail services shortly before World War II imposed extraordinary demands on all carriers.

## *The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985.*

By Don L. Hofsommer. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1986, xviii, 373 pp., \$44.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, *Instructor of History, Diablo Valley College.*

Don L. Hofsommer, one of two historians given unrestricted access to the archives of the Southern Pacific, had a unique opportunity to make a major contribution to the history of California. He chose, instead, to conceive his task within very narrow limits. He has produced a workmanlike company history, but the larger story of the impact of the railroad on the development of modern California remains untold.

Hofsommer's account of the Southern Pacific is written exclusively from the point of view of the corporate elite. Rarely does the narrative venture beyond the executive suite, and when it does the managerial perspective remains in-

tact. The book is organized chronologically, following the careers of the corporation's chief executive officers from the days of Edward H. Harriman and Julius Kruttschnitt, through "The Russell Years," to the era of Benjamin F. Biagini. Although Hofsommer is occasionally critical of the SP's leaders for their lethargy in responding to new challenges, generally his evaluation of their performance is positive.

Given the book's point of view, it is not surprising that little attention is given to the lives of the men and women who worked in the railroad's switching yards, machine shops, dining cars, and ticket offices. Labor and management relations are characterized as "a family bond," and when that bond is threatened by union activity Hofsommer's identification with the corporate managers is transparent. The book does contain some useful information, however, on the role of Mexican railworkers during World War II and the assignment of some 4,000 women to nonclerical positions formerly

held by men. We learn that in Mohave a roundhouse crew during the war was known as the "Piston Packing Mammies" and a road gang near Elko was called the "Sunbonnet Gang."

The most unsatisfactory aspect of Hof-sommer's work is his treatment of the political power of the Southern Pacific. Early in his account he acknowledges that many people came to dislike the Southern Pacific "for reasons of fantasy as much as fact." Rather than offering a thoroughgoing analysis of the charges of political corruption and domination often leveled against the Southern Pacific, Hof-sommer offers a bland and unsupported dismissal of the charges: "It is unlikely that the company ever had the power that many ascribed to it."

William F. Herrin, the head of the railroad's legal and political departments from 1893 to 1910, was arguably the most powerful official in California. He was the manager of the SP's vast political machine, yet he receives only a scant four mentions in this book and nowhere is his political role considered. Hiram Johnson, who campaigned for governor in 1910 on a platform promise to "kick the Southern Pacific Railroad out of politics," is mentioned in the narrative but once. At the conclusion of his book, Hof-sommer refers to the charges against the railroad as a part of "western folklore" and notes sadly that they have been "repeated by succeeding generations of writers and others who invented history to satisfy strangely perverse needs." It is true that the power of the Southern Pacific has sometimes been exaggerated, but Hof-sommer fails to offer a realistic reappraisal.

Don Hof-sommer succeeds well in telling the intricate story of the SP's acquisitions of other rail lines, its constant efforts at modernization, and its remarkable record of diversification. Especially valuable is his detailed account of the "unmerger" campaign of the federal government to strip the SP of its historic holding, the Central Pacific. Also valuable is Hof-sommer's analysis of the

decline in passenger revenues, the rise of new modal competition, and the "mega-merger" movement that resulted in the formation of the Santa Fe Southern Pacific Corporation in 1983.

Readers interested in a managerial history of the Southern Pacific will find this book to be thorough and comprehensive. Those who are looking for the larger story of the SP will be frustrated and disappointed. ■

### *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860-1906.*

By Terrence J. McDonald. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, xiii, 356pp., \$45.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by William Issel, Professor of History and Urban Studies at San Francisco State University.*

Terrence J. McDonald examines the history of public administration and municipal finance in San Francisco on the assumption that a thorough explanation of the development of the public sector in one city will be of use in understanding local government history in the United States more generally. McDonald makes an imaginative and original analysis of the city's *Municipal Reports* and considers these obscure data in relation to a wide variety of contemporary documents and historical literature.

In nineteenth-century San Francisco, public administrators regardless of party shared a strong belief (McDonald calls it a political ideology) in low taxes and carefully controlled spending. For forty years after 1860, the city announced surpluses averaging \$1 million at the end of every fiscal year. These long-standing patterns changed only after Mayor James Duval Phelan and his allies brought more expansive conceptions of government to city hall in 1897, reformed the city charter in 1898, and set in motion a program of

paying for public works by issuing bonds in 1899.

The San Francisco case suggests to McDonald the need to take account of unique local political developments in explaining the trajectory of twentieth century urban government. His data show that the San Francisco experience cannot be understood by deterministic socioeconomic explanations that portray the growth of public services and government spending as the automatic consequence of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Nor does the San Francisco case fit the notion that political bosses pursued profligate expansions of the public sector in contrast to reformers whose policies represented fiscal conservatism linked to beliefs in limited government. McDonald realizes that the case of San Francisco should not be generalized to cover urban America outside California. His findings will nonetheless encourage further tests of his proposition that particular local traditions, provisions of city charters, the rules and regulations pertaining to voting and elections, as well as the practices of office holders and public administrators, played a powerful role in shaping the history of municipal government. Such political realities, in McDonald's reading, ought to be given due credit alongside the "socioeconomic" and "political cultural" explanations for the development of the twentieth century public sector.

McDonald's text is studded with statistical tables filled with the results of tests of his hypotheses. Some readers may be surprised to find an historian presenting a work of formal analysis of a kind usually associated with political science. Those inclined to regard history as a branch of the storytelling art will find themselves challenged by both the density of the argument and the complexity of the statistical procedures with which McDonald develops his thesis. True believers who share his conviction that historical explanation can be reduced to evaluating "how powerfully the combi-



nation of independent variables influences the dependent variable" will find the book a vindication of their approach. Doubters who allow themselves to be guided through the work by McDonald's careful explication of his methodology will gain respect for the utility of a new departure.

High-spirited and disputatious, McDonald's book ranks as a major contribution to the growing body of California scholarship that relates the history of the Golden State's cities to the general themes of American urban development. The meticulous study that he lavishes upon the undramatic details of nineteenth century San Francisco yields a new appreciation for the power of politics to shape the evolution of municipal government in America. ■

## *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water.*

By Marc Reisner. (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc. 1986, 582 pp. \$22.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Kendrick A. Clements, Professor of History, University of South Carolina.*

Imagine, for a moment, Los Angeles crumbling into ruins, the Imperial and Central Valleys salt flats barren of all life, the skies of the Eastern United States blackened by clouds of blowing topsoil from abandoned farms of the Midwest, Hoover and Grand Coulee and hundreds of other dams silted nearly to the top, the entire United States west of the Hundredth Meridian economically shattered, its people turned into Okies. Impossible? You may not be so sure after you read Marc Reisner's disturbing *Cadillac Desert*.

Every Westerner ought to read it to understand the magnitude of an im-



Crowds turned out to celebrate the first flow of Owens Valley water into the San Fernando Valley in 1913.

pending catastrophe as inevitable as a major earthquake in California. Every taxpayer should read it to anticipate the stupendous cost of even partial solutions to the problem.

The simple fact is that there is not enough water in the West to sustain the civilization we have built there. Despite dams and aqueducts and irrigation systems that are engineering miracles, the problem keeps getting worse instead of

better. Water used and reused for irrigation becomes so salty that it is undrinkable and poisonous to that plants it is supposed to sustain; oceans of groundwater built up over millions of years are sucked up by gigantic pumps and used up almost within the lifetime of a single man; federal and state agencies build ever-vaster projects on ever-more-marginal sites because to stop building would be to admit failure and futility,

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and worse, would be to stop the greatest irrigation scheme of all, the deluge of federal dollars pouring into local economies.

Marc Reisner, a writer for the Natural Resources Defense Council before he set out in 1979 to research and write this book, is obviously no lover of the Reclamation Bureau or the Corps of Engineers, but he is a good reporter and lets his actors speak for themselves. Some of his arch-villains, such as Reclamation Commissioner Floyd Dominy, he obviously came to like and enjoy in the course of extensive interviews, which are among the most interesting and valuable parts of the book's research. Also of great importance are his extensive quotations from internal files of the Reclamation Bureau, which are astonishing and revealing. The book is thus no mere polemic; it is thoroughly and intelligently documented, although scholars might wish for some system of identifying specific quotations or references more precisely.

Beginning with a splendid retelling of John Wesley Powell's great adventure on the Colorado, and concluding with a terrifying description of the as yet unbuilt North American Water and Power Alliance, which would dam and divert over thousands of miles virtually every river of the American and Canadian northwest all the way up to the Arctic, Reisner's book is beautifully written and frightening. "We set out to make the future of the American West secure," he concludes; "what we really did was make ourselves rich and our descendants insecure." (p. 505) Those descendants, if any survive in the ravaged and unimaginably arid West of the future, may well be less temperate in their judgments. ■

### *The Mythic West in Twentieth-century America.*

By Robert G. Athearn. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1986, 319 + xi pp.)

*Reviewed by Robert V. Hine, Professor of History, University of California, Riverside.*

The last book of Robert Athearn before his death in 1983 is appropriately a personal statement, a regional rumination based on a lifetime of scholarship. It begins in 1922 in Athearn's Montana home town and on his grandfather's horse ranch south of the Missouri River. The West he writes about is that interior province, the Plains and the Mountain states, excluding the Midwest and the Pacific slope. His experience and his scholarship lead him wisely to restrict his definition of West, joining those historians who increasingly realize that it makes little sense to lump too many incongruous elements into one region.

Athearn did not conceive his book in traditional terms. It is a commentary on the twentieth-century West, not a telling of that history (such as Richard Lowitt and Gerald Nash have done). He is concerned with the way a nineteenth century myth of the West has been perpetuated in the twentieth century, not with political periods or leading figures in the region. Even in the myth he has not delved into psychological and literary criticism (as with Richard Slotkin), but has extracted major themes, exploring these from a variety of viewpoints.

One overriding theme, a myth rooted in reality, is the colonial status of the West. From the beginning Athearn's region was an appendage of the East, and sometimes of Europe. Shortly after the first comers, large speculative developers moved into Western mining, lumbering, farming, and cattle raising. Eastern railroads held farmers under their thumbs. The federal government, the source of its basic commodity, the land, became a salvation for the West, notably during the Great Depression in the form of the CCC. So between corporate power and governmental centralization, the West truly stood in economic bondage. This subjugation was also reflected in tourism, for as soon as the

"dude's West" became profitable, corporate railroads and chain hotels took charge. Even in literature, the West was used by Eastern publishers to present what Eastern readers wanted to read.

In this personal statement, Athearn has a right to portray the West as he has seen it, and that tends to be in a positive light. As a product of that "healthy provincialism" which Bernard DeVoto called for, he de-emphasizes elements of or possibilities within the myth. The cooperative West, for example—the economy of barn raisings and quilting bees—though mentioned is not explored. Violence, an overwhelming consequence and component of the Western myth, is downplayed. The West as a process of multi-acculturation, of racial conflict, is only hinted at.

In the end, however, these points seem minor, for the book is full of wonderful perception. For example, Athearn reminds our own Nixon-Reagan era that the West has been consistently conservative. He sees more myth than realism in the liberal idea of the West as "a hothouse for sprouting seeds of change." (p. 123) Even the popular Western story has remained a vehicle for "profoundly conservative" points of view. Western conservatism, he feels, is rooted in the Westerners' collective inferiority complex. But it also reveals ambivalence about their own nature and direction. As conservatives they have wanted to rid themselves of governmental interference but they have always been quick to cry for help. "As adolescents in the national family, they wanted the freedom to roam, but they still have turned up at mealtime . . ." (p. 130)

This book is exciting, witty, and thoughtful. Western readers should glory in its insights: "The mountains and deserts and great spaces, and the threat and challenge of it all, somehow have become part of our belief in who we are and where we have been, and so it feeds our faith in what we might still be." (p. 222) ■

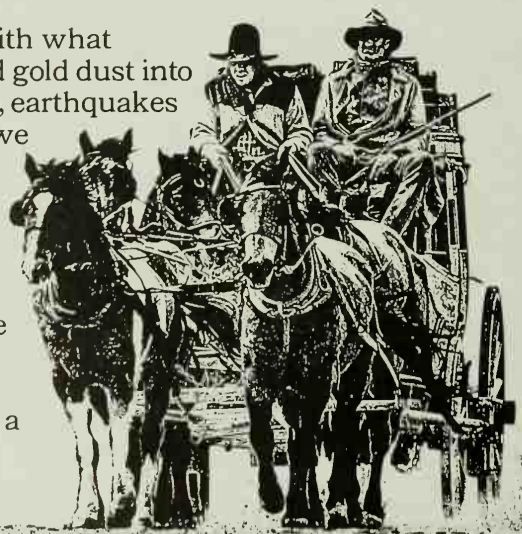


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by Bruce L. Johnson, CHS Director of Libraries

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Abril, Ben. *Images of a Golden Era: Paintings of Historical California*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987. \$40.00 (trade edition), \$175.00 (edition limited to 125 copies, each with an original oil sketch). Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.

Berger, Dan, Peter Jensen, and Margaret C. Berg. *San Diego; Where Tomorrow Begins*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987. \$29.95. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.

Cabezut-Ortiz, Delores J. *Merced County; the Golden Harvest: An Illustrated History*. Produced in Cooperation with the Merced County Chamber of Commerce. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987. \$22.95. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.

Chan, Sucheng. *This Bittersweet Soil; The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. \$40.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2110 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Company, F. Boneu. *Gaspar de Portolá, Explorer and Founder of California*. Revised and Translated by Alan K. Brown. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1983. \$42.97 (includes California state tax and postage). Order from: San Mateo County Historical Association; 1700 Hillsdale Boulevard; San Mateo, CA 94402.

Coombs, Gary B. (ed.) *Those Were the Days: Landmarks of Old Goleta*. Goleta: Institute for American Research, 1986. \$15.00 (cloth; edition limited to 500 copies), \$8.50 (paper; plus \$1.00 postage for either edition). Order from: Institute for American Research; 300 North Los Carneros Road; Goleta, CA 93117.

Coon, Reva, and Grace M. Harris (eds.). *Dunsmuir, California Centennial Book, 1886-1986: Its First Hundred Years*. Dunsmuir: Dunsmuir Centennial Committee, 1985. \$39.95 (paper, plus \$2.50 postage). Order from: Grace M. Harris; 4428 Needham Avenue; Dunsmuir, CA 96025.

Daily, Marla. *California's Channel Islands:*

*1001 Questions Answered*. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1987. \$18.50 (cloth), \$11.95 (paper). Order from: McNally & Loftin; Post Office Box 1316; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

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Eddy, J.M. (comp.). *In the Redwood's Realm . . . in Humboldt County, California*. 1893; reprinted with an Introduction by Peter Palmquist and Jack Irvine, Eureka: Peter E. Palmquist and Jack Irvine, 1987. \$18.95 (paper). Order from: Peter E. Palmquist; 1183 Union Street; Arcata, CA 95521.

Fairley, Lincoln. *Mount Tamalpais: A History*. James Heig, Picture Editor. San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1987. \$25.00 (cloth), \$18.00 (paper). Order from: Scottwall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Finberg, Howard I. (ed.). *Through Our Eyes: the 20th Century as Seen by the San Francisco Chronicle*. Foreword by Herb Caen. San Francisco: Chronicle Publishing Company, 1987. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Publishing Company; One Hallidie Plaza, Suite 806; San Francisco, CA 94102.

Forty, Ralph. *San Diego's South Bay Interurban*. Interurban's Special Publication #106. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1987. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Fremier, Allene. *Allen Knight: Beloved Eccentric*. Monterey: A. Knight Maritime Museum, 1984. \$7.25 (paper). Order

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Fuller, Theodore W. *San Diego Originals: Profiles of the Movers and Shakers of California's First Community*. Pleasant Hill: California Profiles Publications, 1987. \$19.95 (cloth), \$12.95 (paper). Order from: California Profiles Publications; Post Office Box 23727; Pleasant Hill, CA 94523.

Gillenkirk, Jeff. *Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America* [Locke, California]. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987. \$40.00 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper). Order from: University of Washington Press; Post Office Box 50096; Seattle, WA 98145-0096.

Hart, James D. *A Companion to California*. New edition, revised and expanded. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. \$38.00 (cloth), \$15.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Heckman, Marlin L. *The Gem of Lordsburg: The Lordsburg Hotel/College Building, 1887-1927*. La Verne: Gem Book, 1987. \$5.50 (plus \$1.25 postage). Order from: Gem book; 2524 Grove Street; La Verne, CA 91750.

Kennard, Charles. *San Francisco Bay Area Landmarks: Recollections of Four Centuries*. Palo Alto: Tioga Publishing Company, 1987. \$35.00. Order from: Tioga Publishing Company; Post Office Box 98; Palo Alto, CA 94302.

Langum, David J. *Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821-1846*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. \$30.00 (plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 1657; Hagerstown, MD 21741.

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- Lucas, Mildred Dowdy. *This Quiet Dust: A Genealogical History of the Ancestors and Descendants of Elbridge Gerry Halland Martha Ann Clark*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986. \$20.00. Order from: Mildred D. Lucas; 3513 Lockwood Road; Ceres, CA 95307.
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- Mulholland, Catherine. *The Owensmouth Baby: The Making of a San Fernando Valley Town*. Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1987. \$30.00. Order from: Santa Susana Press; California State University Library; 18111 Nordhoff Street; Northridge, CA 91330.
- Neff, Wallace, Jr. (comp. and editor). *Wallace Neff: Architect of California's Golden Age*. Text by Alson Clark. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1987. \$50.00. Order from: Capra Press; Post Office Box 2068; Santa Barbara, CA 93120.
- Newton, Janet. *Stories of the Vineyards and Wineries of the Livermore Valley*. Second edition, revised. Livermore: Janet Newton, 1987. \$7.00 (paper). Order from: Janet Newton; 2131 Chateau Place; Livermore, CA 94550.
- Old Whittier, 1904: *A Facsimile Reprint of the "Souvenir of Whittier," Published by Whittier Fire Department, January 1904*. Whittier: Whittier Historical Society, 1986. \$10.00 (paper; plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: Whittier Historical Society; 6755 Newlin Avenue; Whittier, CA 90601-4019.
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- Powell, Lawrence Clark. *A Good Place to Begin* [the Los Angeles Public Library]. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1987. \$2.95 (paper; plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 2037; Sacramento, CA 95809.
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- Stebbins, Beth. *The Noyo: Being an Account of the History at the Mouth of the Noyo River, on the Mendocino County Coast of California, from 1852 into 1920 and a Little Beyond*. Mendocino: Bear and Stebbins, 1986. \$13.95 (paper). Order from: Bear and Stebbins; 311 Walnut Avenue, #3; Fort Bragg, CA 95437.
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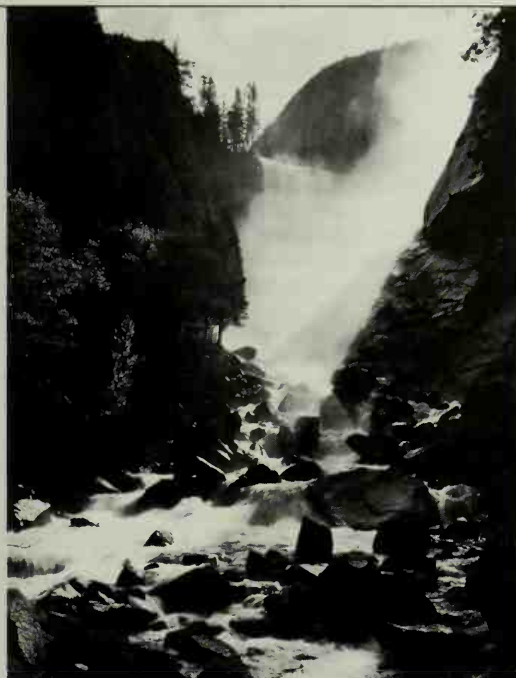
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*Victorian Classics of San Francisco*. Sausalito: Windgate Press, 1987. \$30.00.

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Walters, Shipley. *West Sacramento: The Roots of a New City*. Woodland: Yolo County Historical Society, 1987. \$8.00 (paper; plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: Yolo County Historical Society; Post Office Box 1447; Woodland, CA 95695.



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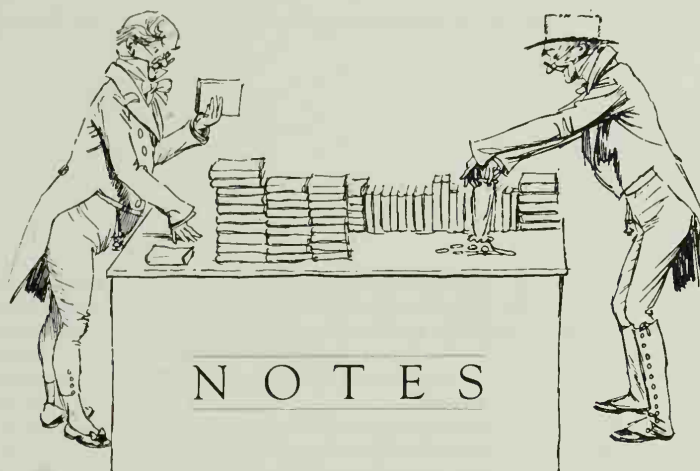
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Lapp, Mabel Craft Deering,  
pp. 162–169

1. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 8, 1901.
2. Interview with Thomas Carr Howe, Mrs. Deering's son-in-law, the retired director of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.
3. Thomas G. Barnes, *Hastings College of the Law: The First Century* (San Francisco: U.C. Hastings College of the Law Press, 1978), p. 178; Howe interview.
4. Will Irwin, *The Making of a Reporter* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), p. 54.
5. Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1936), pp. 6–7.
6. Mabel Clare Craft, *Hawaii Nei* (San Francisco: William Doxey, 1899), p. viii; Ross, pp. 577–9.
7. Ross, p. 578; Howe interview.
8. Mabel Clare Craft, "Address" *University of California Magazine* VII (April 1901), pp. 135–143. It is fitting that Craft would admire the English non-conformist woman novelist George Eliot. In 1901 the *Oakland Tribune* published Miss Craft's *Adam Bede*, a dramatization of Eliot's novel of the same name. It is not known if it was ever performed. A copy is in the Bancroft Library.
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18. Obituary notice, *Chronicle*, May 19, 1939.
19. "The Meddler," *Oakland Tribune*, January 17, 1903.
20. *California Historical Society Quarterly* LV (Summer 1976), p. 175.
21. Mabel Craft Deering, *Winning of Equal Suffrage in California* (pamphlet) 1913, 17–24.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
23. Obituary notices, *Chronicle*, July 10, 1953; May 21, 1939.
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Dias and Bertao, Rocha, pp. 188–195

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the place named 'La Brea,' " case no. 287, first filed November 15, 1852, Land Case Collection at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 113.

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3. "Livro de Nascimentos de São Tiago do Sopo 1737–1795," Book of Births no. 3, District Archives, Braga, Portugal.
4. Francisco Ferreira Drummond, *Anais da Ilha Terceira*, 4 vols. (Terceira, Azores, 1859, reprint ed. 1981), 3:58–175.
5. H. V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge: University Press, 1947), p. 386.
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8. A brief discussion of the British control of Madeira Island is in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1972 ed., 14:549. Peter Corney does not mention the north Atlantic part of the voyage in *Voyages*, but there is a reference to a stop at the island in *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, February 12, 1814, no. 13, p. 3, collection in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
9. "Provincial State Papers 1805–1815," 19:387–389, Archivo de California collection, Bancroft Library.
10. Rocha's name does not appear in the accounts of the desertion, but see "Departmental State Papers 1835–1839," 4:156–190, Archivo de Califor-

- nia collection, Bancroft Library, to connect his name to the *Columbia* and the desertion of that time. It is unlikely that he deserted the *Columbia* in 1815 during its second visit to Monterey. Corney, *Voyages*, p. 43, and "Provincial State Papers 1805-1815," 19:398-399, mention a guard being set up at the dock, and neither mention any desertions.
11. Corney, *Voyages*, p. 33 and "Provincial State Papers 1805-1815," 19:389.
12. Corney, *Voyages*, p. 43 and "Provincial State Papers 1805-1815," 19:398.
13. At least two of the *Isaac Todd* men accepted Catholic conversion before the *Columbia* arrived. See the "Mission baptism books 1798-1828" for Mission San Carlos, September 29, 1814, and November 12, 1814. These are located in the Catholic diocese office, Monterey.
14. "State Papers, Benicia—Miscellany 1773-1829," 1:51-58, Archivo de California collection, Bancroft Library.
15. "Documentos para la Historia de California," March 28, 1816, 3:228, José de la Guerra y Noriega collection, microfilm, Bancroft Library.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Fr. Juan Cabot to Gov. Pablo Vicente de Solá, April 9, 1816, San Miguel Mission collection, document no. 1111, Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.
18. Fr. Bernardo, Bishop of Sonora, to Fr. Mariano Payeras, February 16, 1819, document no. 1771, Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.
19. "Departmental State Papers 1835-1839," 4:156-160, Archivo de California collection, Bancroft Library.
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32. Rocha v. United States, pp. 11-12.
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34. Ivy B. Ross, "The Confirmation of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1928), p. 12.
35. Robert G. Cowan, *Ranchos of California*, (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1956). See the list of all known ranchos in California, along with names of grantees and dates of grants and patents, beginning on p. 12.
36. Rocha v. United States, pp. 11-12.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.
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39. J.M. Guinn, "How the Area of Los Angeles City was Enlarged," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, 9(1914):173.
40. Marie Northrup, *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California 1769-1850*, (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1976), vol. 1, p. 109.
41. Bancroft, *History of California*, 2:783.
42. Rocha v. United States, pp. 15-16.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-133.
44. For reference to Rocha's marketing live cattle, see *Ibid.*, p. 96. For his involvement in the hides traffic, see Gibson, *Yorba's Santa Ana*, for numerous letters between 1833 and 1835 referring to "el Portugués." The use of that nickname for Rocha is evidenced in the baptism record of his oldest daughter at San Gabriel, "San Gabriel Mission baptism books," Thomas Workman Temple transcription, January 24, 1828, item no. 7501, San Gabriel collection at Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.
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2. Philip Taft, *Labor Politics American Style: The California State Federation of Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 45ff.; Gerald



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3. Perhaps the two most influential studies offer middle-class interpretations: Richard Hofstadter identifies an "old" middle-class in *Age of Reform*, and Robert Wiebe a "new" middle-class in *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*.
  4. John Buenker in *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1973) concludes that old and new stock middle-class engaged in different strains of "progressive" reform; he also points to the role of labor and urban immigrants. See also, Link and McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1983), pp. 3-11, on the varieties of reform and the debate over *who* the progressives were; Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982).
  5. A good essay on the emergence of the South of Market as a predominantly working-class district is Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1850-1950," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 52 (1973):197-223. See also Issel and Cherny, chapter 3, *passim*.
  6. Michael Rogin, "Progressivism and the California Electorate," *Journal of American History* 55 (1968): 314. In an earlier essay, "Voluntarism: The Political Functions of an Anti-Political Doctrine," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 15 (1962), Rogin argued that labor leaders were incorporated into the dominant "pragmatic philosophy" of American business. See Marc Karson, *American Labor Unions and Politics, 1900-1918* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958), pp. 289ff. on the "middle-class psychology" of the working class. Like Rogin, Karson sees workers not as having their own ideology, but as embracing that of the dominant class. Karson attributes this to the fact the business class controls all opinion-forming instruments; e.g., the press, education.
  7. George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951); Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
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  9. Olin, *passim*; see also, Cross, p. 225 re: 39 of 49 bills that passed.
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  11. Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review* 34 (1965):421-438; John Shover, "The Progressives and the Working Class Vote in California," *Labor History* 10 (1969):584-601; Michael Rogin, "Progressivism."
  12. David Fischer, *Historian's Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 219-221.
  13. For a basic "conceptual" introduction to correlation analysis see chapter 3 of S. K. Kachigan, *Multivariate Statistical Analysis: A Conceptual Introduction*.
  14. The former is Shover's explanation; undoubtedly this was a factor, but I tend to favor the latter explanation.
  15. The San Francisco Labor Council censured Kahn for his voting to veto the immigration bill. See the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, February 26, 1913; for more on Kahn see *Organized Labor*, October 26, 1912; on Nolan see Taft, pp. 44, 54, 66.
  16. *Organized Labor*, October 26, 1912, October 31, 1914, September 4, 1916; *Labor Clarion*, October 23, 1914, October 27, 1916.
  17. For a discussion on the relationship between socialism and the American Labor Movement, see John Laslett, "Socialism and the American Labor Movement: Some New Reflections," *Labor History* 8 (1967): 136-155. Laslett argued that, contrary to Daniel Bell, the Socialist Party did not fail because it was too rigid. Its failure was due in part to the success of "bread-and-butter" trade-unionism and in part to such factors as the flexibility of the two-party system, relatively high wages in the American economy, and the absence of a strong sense of class-consciousness among the American workers.
  18. San Francisco voters were treated to 50 propositions in 1914 and 33 in 1916. With so many propositions, very few people voted for all propositions. An interesting study by itself might be to determine which propositions working-class voters decided to vote on and which ones they ignored and compare that to the middle- and upper-class districts.
  19. The labor press was also strongly opposed to prohibition; interestingly, it used the same argument that the wine and liquor industry used in its political advertisements—i.e., it would cost jobs. Consult any of the pre-election issues of the labor or the mainstream press for the numerous full-page ads which ran on this issue.
  20. Propositions are discussed in detail in the *Labor Clarion*, September 25, 1914, and October 27, 1916.
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  22. Jules Tygiel, "Where Unionism Held Undisputed Sway: A Reappraisal of San Francisco's Union Labor Party," *California History* 62 (1983): 197-215.
  23. Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," pp. 113-132.
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  26. *Coast Seaman's Journal*, September 18, 1912.
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  28. *Ibid.* for discussion of the platforms of the four parties in 1912. See also Philip Foner, *The AFL in the Progressive Era, 1910-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1980), pp. 101-118 for discussion on the national conventions and the campaign of 1912.
  29. Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable*

- Enemy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
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  35. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1916.

## Hyde, Sierra Club, pp. 208-219

1. William F. Bade, "Sierra Club Outing of 1904" Outing Album, 1904.
2. E. D. and M. J., "All Over the Sierra," 1921 Album.
3. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 132.
4. "Announcement of the First Annual Sierra Club Outing" (San Francisco: n.p., 1901).
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6. Charlotte Sanderson, "With the Sierra Club in King's River Canyon," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 4:1 (Feb. 1903), p. 185.
7. William F. Bade, "On the Trail With the Sierra Club," *Sierra Club Bulletin*, 5:1 (Jan. 1904), p. 53.
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21. Edward T. and Marion Parsons, "Sierra Club Outing 1912: Kern Canyon and Mt. Whitney," 1912 Album.
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23. Marion Parsons, "With the Sierra Club in the Kern Canyon," p. 29.
24. James E. Rother, "Three Weeks in the San Joaquin-Kings," 1919 Album; Russell Bacon, "Sierra Club Outing," 1920 Album; Perry Evans, "Sierra Club Annual Outing," 1922 Album.
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30. Stinchfield, 1919 Album; Evans, 1920 Album.
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- E. T. and Marion Parsons, "Sierra Club Outing," 1902 Album.
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- Edward T. Parsons, "Kern Outing," 1903 Album.
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- C. H. Holton, "Mount Rainier—Mount Shasta," 1905 Album.
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- Philip S. Carleton, "Tuolumne Meadows, 1907," 1907 Album.
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James E. Rother, "Three Weeks in the San Joaquin—King's" 1919 Album.

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Perry Evans, "1920—Evolution Basin,

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E. D. and M. J., "All Over the Sierra," 1921 Album.

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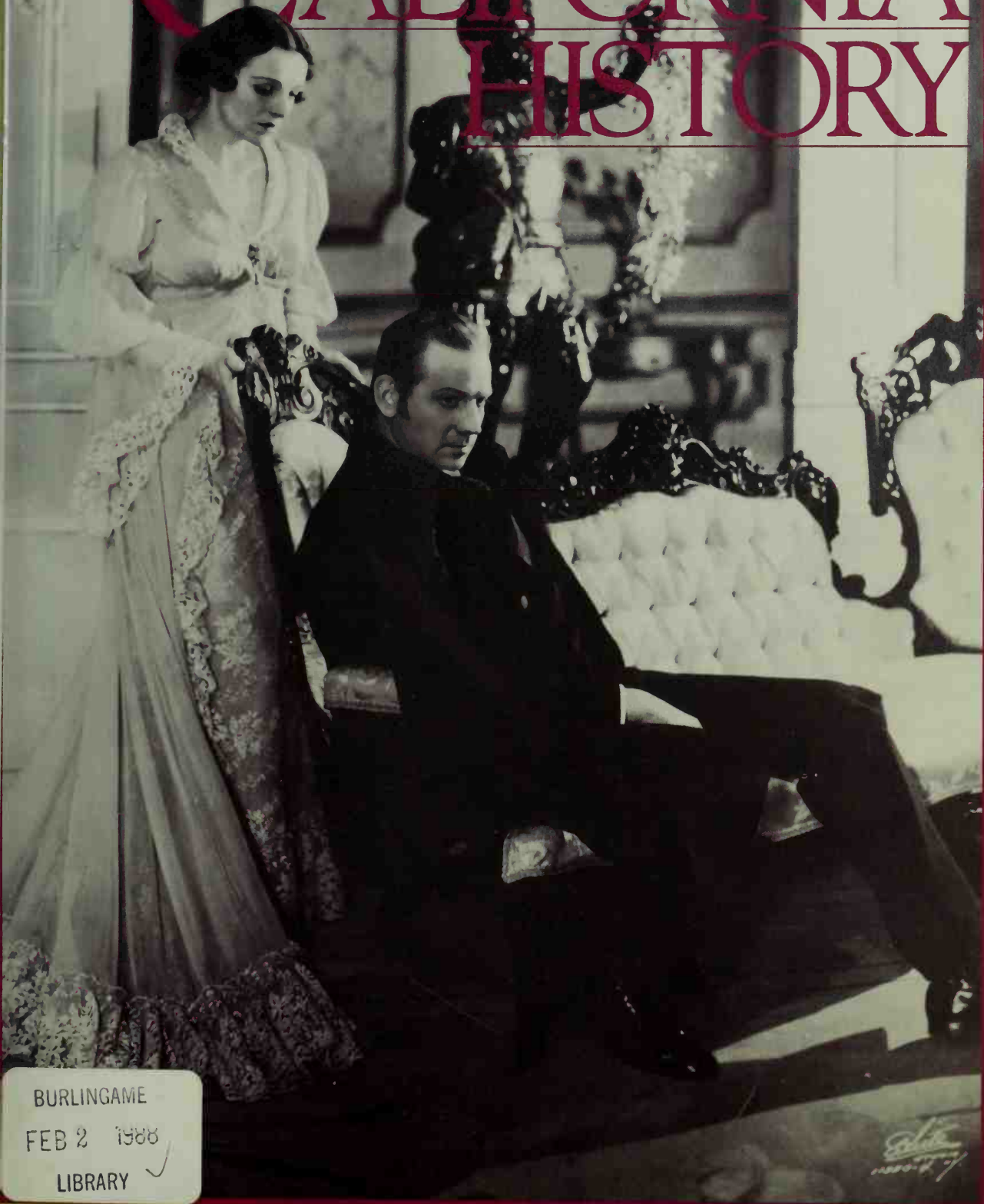
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(Above) Thanksgiving Day (November 28), 1907. Hollister 61, Pacific Grove 0. At Hollister.

The game was rugby, not American football, which had been outlawed at the University of California and Stanford in 1906. A national controversy over the violence of football came to a head in California after the 1904 "Big Game" between California and Stanford in which the Stanford team disabled eight California players. That game, according to long-time California coach Brick Morse, "was a remarkable demonstration of the bad which had crept into the American game. It was a case of concentration of attack on a weak man in the line until he could stand it no longer and was forced out of the game. . . . President Wheeler saw that something must be done. . . . Any game that has for its object the crippling of an opponent needs reform."

High school teams followed the university lead in switching from American football to rugby. The Gilroy Advocate noted on November 30, 1907, that "football seems to be revived now and the High School boys are eagerly playing the new game, Rugby." A week before coming to Hollister for its Thanksgiving Day debacle, the Pacific Grove team had hosted Gilroy in a game for which Gilroy had been practicing "every afternoon."

Pacific Grove, one of four high schools in Monterey County, had an enrollment of eighty-three students and four teachers in 1905. The San Benito County High School in Hollister had a graduating class of twenty in 1909, the year it moved into the two-story brick-and-steel building designed by architect W.H. Weeks. A 1915 photograph of the Hollister football team shows nineteen players and three teachers on the steps of the new high school buildings. That year the school had 165 students. The players are wearing rugby uniforms—shorts, jerseys displaying a large "H," and cleated, high-top shoes. Athletic change was in the air in 1915, however, as the University of California returned to American football after fielding a 1914 team whose members "had been trained from boyhood in the English type of play," according to Morse. In a dispute over freshman eligibility for varsity teams, Stanford and the University of California severed athletic relations, and California found a new "big game" rival—the University of Washington, which played American football. By 1918, when California and Stanford Student Army Training Corps teams resumed the traditional contest, American football was again the college game.

(Cover) Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas in a scene from *Mother Lode*, a play by California playwright Dan Totheroh, in 1934. Photo courtesy of Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma.



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242

242  
Helen Gahagan Douglas  
Broadway Star as California Politician  
*by Ingrid Winthur Scobie*

262  
The Portraits of Signor Barbieri  
*by Bruce Kamerling*

278  
The Philanthropist and the Artist  
The Letters of Phoebe A. Hearst  
to Orrin M. Peck  
*by Richard H. Peterson*

286  
To the Source  
Archival Collections for  
California Labor History  
*compiled by Lynn A. Bonfield*

301  
Reviews

308  
California Checklist

317  
Table of Contents—1987

321  
Index—1987

Notice to Our Readers:  
Beginning with the March, 1988, issue, *California History* will include a "Correspondence" section. Letters commenting on, adding to, or correcting articles or photographs we have published are welcome. Please address your typed, double-spaced letters to "Editor, *California History*" and indicate that you intend for this material to be published.



262



286



Ingrid Winther Scobie

# HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

BROADWAY STAR  
AS  
CALIFORNIA POLITICIAN

**H**elen Gahagan Douglas died of cancer on June 28, 1980, at the age of seventy-nine. Newspapers across the country reminded readers that in 1950 this actress-turned-politician lost her race against Richard M. Nixon for the United States Senate seat in California in perhaps the most celebrated red-smear campaign of the cold war years. The Los Angeles *Times*, which virtually shut Douglas out of its news coverage during her six-year congressional career, commented that Nixon's campaign "was a model of its kind—innuendo piled on innuendo." The paper cited Douglas's political courage as her most significant contribution to American politics. In a letter to the *Times* editor, Stanley Mosk, a prominent San Francisco judge, commented that to lose both the noted California writer Carey McWilliams and Douglas in the same week was "a tragic loss for

American democracy" and called for a "requiem for the demise of an era." Former congressman Jerry Voorhis, himself a political loser to Nixon in 1946, predicted that this "noble" woman would live on as a "symbol of the Gallant American Lady." Tenant farm worker organizer H.L. Mitchell called Douglas a "sainted person." United States senators Alan Cranston and Howard Metzenbaum inserted lengthy newspaper obituaries in the *Congressional Record* with preliminary adulatory remarks of their own.<sup>1</sup>

Melvyn Douglas, Helen's husband of forty-nine years, received several hundred letters which revealed in a more private way the esteem and affection both friends and strangers felt for Helen. The son of New Dealer David Lilienthal, Ernest, who knew Helen as a child, wrote that he still had the copy of *Mary Poppins* that Helen had given him as a child, and, "very simply, I worshipped her."

Congressman Claude Pepper called her "one of the greatest and loveliest ladies whom our land has known." Motivated by an "overriding purpose" to build a better world, he said, she "contributed enormously to helping people . . . walk

on higher ground." One person who wrote had attended college in 1950 and had been profoundly affected by the senate campaign. He said that "among the little people of America there were those who remember Helen's grandeur" and feel a great loss. "I was one of those whose life was illuminated by her leadership and principles."<sup>2</sup>

**I**n 1897, Walter Gahagan, a civil engineer born and raised in Ohio, and his bride Lillian, a teacher who had grown up in Wisconsin, moved to Brooklyn. In the summer of 1900, Lillian, Walter, and their two-year-old twins, Frederick and William, took up temporary residence in Boonton where Walter had a contract to build a large reservoir. On November 20, Lillian gave birth to Helen shortly before the family moved back into their Brooklyn home. Two years later a second girl, Lillian, was born, and the Gahagans moved their growing and active family into an imposing brownstone house in the city's posh Park Slope area adjacent to Brooklyn Park

*Helen Gahagan Douglas emerging from a voting booth during the 1950 primary election in California in which she won the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Senator.*



and Grand Army Plaza. In 1910, a fifth child, Walter Jr., added even more bustle to the busy household.

Walter viewed hard work, constant reading, and education as the essentials of a successful life for men and women, but that did not mean that women should pursue careers. He engrained in his children a series of rules stemming from his business principles. One which made a particular impression on Helen was the directive to "make everybody's life and every place you've been better because you've been there." His wife Lillian also believed in education as well as exposure to the arts and a good religious upbringing in the Presbyterian Church. Unlike some of her contemporaries, Lillian disagreed with her husband over careers for women, and had begun a promising singing career in opera which Walter prohibited her from pursuing. Yet when Helen developed an early interest in the theatre, Lillian was as adamant as Walter in opposing it.

Aside from continual friction over her acting ambitions, Helen grew up feeling a close bond to her parents and enjoyed family activities. Walter

often took the children to his construction sites. Lillian invited musicians to the house to perform. She took the children down the street to the Brooklyn Art Museum and the public library on Saturdays. Helen went with her mother to the Metropolitan Opera but did not enjoy it. Helen recalled, "I would be so unhappy sitting through long operas and I'd complain, 'They're all so *fat*, Mother.'" When Helen said she wanted to be an actress, her mother responded, "Why do you want to be an actress? 'Why don't you want to be something really worthwhile—a singer?'"<sup>3</sup>

Summers were special times for the Gahagans. They visited family in the Midwest and when the children became teenagers, the family travelled to Europe. In 1914, Walter bought Cliff Mull, a lovely Victorian house on a hill above Lake Morey near Fairlee, Vermont. After that, the family spent at least part of every summer in Vermont. Although the girls had to endure lessons, including piano and poetry reading, they had their afternoons free to play tennis, swim, hike, and read. Helen regularly found a secluded spot where she read and daydreamed. Even in the last year of her life, Helen found Vermont an escape, a critical source of nourishment, beauty, and repose.

It was always a letdown for Helen to return to Brooklyn to begin school. She and her sister attended Berkeley Institute, a private school in the neighborhood designed to prepare young women for college. Helen's perpetual dislike of school began in kindergarten when Berkeley dropped her behind a grade because she could not spell, a problem

that continued to plague her as an adult. Helen hated both her academic courses and the rules outlining proper behavior for "young ladies," and she consistently performed poorly. Helen much preferred to spend her time making up stories and acting them out, but theatre had no place at Berkeley until Helen's freshman year when Elizabeth Grimball, a drama coach by training, joined the faculty. She quickly realized that this academically rebellious teenager had exceptional acting talent and considerable intelligence. Before long, Helen began starring in plays and participating on the debate team. Helen's grades improved in Grimball's class, but deteriorated in others. Much to Grimball's dismay, not to mention Helen's, the irate Gahagans pulled their daughter out of Berkeley and sent her to the Capon School in Northampton, Massachusetts, a similar school which primarily prepared students for admission into Smith College. Against her parents' instructions, Helen immediately involved herself in play productions and did little better academically. She managed to graduate, but it took a summer of tutoring at Dartmouth for her to pass the entrance examinations for Barnard College, the only school Helen was permitted to consider. Her parents wanted her in New York at a women's college so they could attempt to keep track of their prodigal daughter.<sup>4</sup>

Barnard, a coordinate college with Columbia University, provided a stimulating intellectual environment and prepared women for a wide variety of employment opportunities. Helen never became part of the intellectual swirl of activity, but to

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Gahagan with Glenn Hunter in a scene from *Young Woodley*, 1925.

her delight, the college had a strong tradition of dramatic activity, quite unusual for colleges and universities at that time. Helen entered in 1920 and soon discovered a place for herself in the students' tradition of Greek games which had become an elaborate annual pageant. She also had opportunities to act and direct in Wigs and Cues, the student organization for play production.

Helen's most rewarding theatrical adventure at Barnard took place in an Irish literature course that she took with close friend Alis De Sola. In 1922 the two dramatized an episode from an Irish epic which eventually became a one-act play, *The Shadow of the Moon*. The girls showed the script to Grimbail, Helen's high school mentor, who arranged to have the play produced off-Broadway with Helen in the lead role. This production led to two more off-Broadway plays for Helen. The noted

actress Grace George, who had a reputation for finding young actors and actresses, saw her in a performance and insisted that her husband, the crusty, established Broadway producer William Brady, see Helen perform. Brady was so enthusiastic he asked the starry-eyed Helen to play the lead role in *Dreams for Sale*, a new Owen Davis play about to go into rehearsal in August 1922. Brady also offered her, on the eve of opening night, a five-year contract for starring Broadway roles, which Helen accepted. Few actors, no matter how talented, stepped directly from any preparatory environment—stock company, drama school, or college theatre—into a leading role contract with a New York producer. The time could not have been more propitious, since one of the most vibrant decades in the history of American drama was just beginning. Helen paid a per-

sonal price for her dizzying success, nevertheless, because her decision enraged her father. Although Brady eventually convinced Walter that his daughter was not entering an "improper" profession for ladies from fine families, Walter was deeply disappointed over Helen's decision to leave school.<sup>5</sup>

Despite poor reviews for *Dreams for Sale*, Gahagan caught critics' attention. In a comment typical of most of his colleagues, the eminent critic Alexander Woollcott called her an "indisputable talent." When the show closed, Gahagan moved on to starring roles which spanned the next several years, including Leah in C.M.P. McLellan's *Leah Kleschna*, a part originally written for the famed actress Minnie Maddern Fiske. From her debut, critics compared her style to that of Ethel Barrymore. They rarely failed to mention her uncommon beauty—tall at 5'7" and well-proportioned with a regal bearing. After several years, she was often included in the handful of actresses considered Broadway's best. Gahagan, however, never hesitated to turn down a role that did not interest her. Unlike other fledgling stars, she still had financial backing from her family and spent most summers in Europe with her mother. In 1925, Gahagan left Brady for George Tyler, another veteran producer whose gentle personality and innovative productions suited her better. She did several plays with Tyler, including a long tour in 1925–26 with John Van Druten's *Young Woodley* in which she starred with Glenn Hunter. But by 1927 Helen was restless with the

Gahagan in a publicity shot for her first European concert tour, 1929.

stage and, under pressure from her mother to develop her singing, decided to take voice lessons.<sup>6</sup>

Gahagan began instruction with voice coach Sophia Cehanovska, a Russian immigrant, and eventually immersed herself fulltime in her lessons. In 1929 Cehanovska arranged for her hardworking student to tour Europe during the summer. Her repertoire included the lead roles in *Tosca*, *Aida*, and *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Although her reviews were less than superlative, Gahagan had visions of auditioning for the Met and a variety of American engagements. When none of this materialized, she sailed again to Europe in the summer of 1930 with the idea of staying two years.<sup>7</sup>

This plan evaporated several months later when the aging theatre legend David Belasco offered Helen the lead role in a new play by Lili Hatvany entitled *Tonight or Never*. Belasco thought Gahagan ideal to play an opera singer whose agent is convinced she could sing better if she would only have an affair. The agent's predictions prove correct after the diva has a passionate evening with an "unknown gentleman" who turns out to be a Met scout. With Gahagan's consent Belasco selected an accomplished actor but a relative newcomer to Broadway, Melvyn Douglas, as the irresistible lover. During the rehearsal period, Gahagan and Douglas fell in love, and in April, 1931, near the end of the play's long run, they married.<sup>8</sup>

The newlyweds' lives took an unexpected turn a month later when Hollywood producer Samuel Gold-

wyn purchased the movie rights to *Tonight or Never* as a means for Gloria Swanson to launch her singing career. The entire cast moved to Hollywood for the filming. The Douglasses initially viewed this trip to California as a temporary one, but movie offers continued to come Melvyn's way and Helen had some singing and acting opportunities with theatres in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The couple did two plays together on Broadway but both plays closed early. In general, however, appealing offers came only sporadically for Helen. She had little luck getting into film, making only one movie, *She* with RKO in 1935. The science fiction fantasy failed at the box office. A radio contract also proved disappointing. The Douglasses' lives were further complicated by the birth of two children, Peter in 1933 and Mary Helen in 1938.<sup>9</sup>

In the summer of 1937 Helen looked forward to a European singing tour culminating with a performance at the Salzburg Festival. Rather than operatic roles, she had developed a solid repertoire of songs, including German lieder and the music of Joseph Marx, a popular Austrian composer. Audiences were enthusiastic, although once again the reviews were mixed. Despite the tense political situation resulting from the rapid spread of Nazism, no unpleasant incidents occurred until Helen's stay in Salzburg. There an individual introduced by a friend asked Helen to provide reports on anti-Nazi activity in the United States. Horrified at the request, she cancelled a fall engagement with the Vienna Opera and returned home, determined to involve herself in anti-fascist activities in Hollywood. Helen and Melvyn both joined the five-thou-







Helen Gahagan with "the unknown gentleman" in *Tonight or Never*, 1930. At the end of its New York run, Gahagan married Melvyn Douglas.

The Douglasses' heightened awareness coincided with a change in the political atmosphere in Hollywood. In the early 1930s, the movie colony had been a center of political indifference, but by 1937, it had become a hotbed of radical and liberal activity. The political awakening in Hollywood paralleled the awakening around the country.

Helen Douglas's move into politics began unexpectedly in the early fall of 1938. Melvyn, who had become active in the Democratic party and other organizations during the previous year, offered the patio of the Douglasses' spacious home to the John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers for a meeting. Sitting in, Helen found herself fascinated with the problems being discussed.<sup>13</sup> Her initial curiosity soon evolved into a commitment to action, and she organized a Christmas party for migrant children, which attracted thousands. Then she began to tour migrant camps and attend government hearings and meetings of concerned citizens. In early 1939 she became the committee's chair, working hard to publicize the problem, solicit money, and encourage the public to push for labor laws and social security that would include the migrants. She also urged improvements in housing, health services, and food distribution centers. She constantly asked questions, drawing information from experts, particularly Paul Taylor, professor of

sand-member Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.<sup>10</sup>

Helen initially considered her political activity to be of secondary interest, but her career as a performer was fading. Her cousin Walter Pick, who lived with the Douglasses in the late 1930s, commented that after Helen returned from Europe she no longer had the "same great drive as before."<sup>11</sup> Part of the explanation lies in diminished opportunities. Chances to sing in the United States had always been limited, and existing European doors were closing fast in 1938 and 1939. Professional theatre opportunities on both coasts continued to decline as the depression wore on. But another part of the explanation involved Melvyn. By the end of the 1930s, he had become one of the highest paid leading men, known for his fine comic timing, his handsome looks, and his ability to play

well against Hollywood's female stars. While not all of his films offered him a chance to demonstrate his talent, *Ninotchka*, produced in 1939, certainly eliminated any questions about his talent as a screen actor.<sup>12</sup> Although Helen never resented Melvyn's success, she had always felt their careers should be equally successful. With his star rising and hers on the decline, she was ready to be pulled off in another direction. Within eighteen months after Helen made her first step into the political arena, she had become a leading figure in the California Democratic party with considerable national visibility. Except for a few minor engagements, Helen neither acted nor sang again until the early 1950s. But she did not set aside her theatrical skills. Her rapid political climb was due in large part to her ability to shift her acting skills from the dramatic to the political stage.

*Entering the political arena by taking on projects to aid migrant workers, Gahagan visited camps to see for herself what the situation was. The San Joaquin Valley camp for cotton pickers where this pump was the only source of water in 1936 was typical of what she saw.*

economics at the University of California, Berkeley.<sup>14</sup> Soon she was on the lecture circuit as her activities made her a sought-after speaker for concerned groups. She eventually drew the attention of migrant experts in Washington, including Arthur Goldschmidt, who worked for the Department of the Interior under Harold Ickes. Goldschmidt described his first encounter with Helen: "I found myself subjected to an intense cross-examination—grilling might not be too strong a word. She accepted no vague generalities. . . . Her questions were not naive; . . . I came away . . . enchanted with a sense of wonder at Helen's display of energy—at the physical, emotional and mental drive of this beautiful and glamorous person."<sup>15</sup>

By mid-1939 Helen had been noticed by Aubrey Williams, head of the National Youth Authority, who frequently told Eleanor Roosevelt about interesting people around the country whom he thought she and FDR would like to meet. In the summer of 1939, Williams wrote to the Roosevelts about the California political activities of the Douglasses. He mentioned to FDR that Melvyn could be a political asset for the 1940 campaign and that Helen's information about migrants would be useful to both Roosevelts. Eleanor Roosevelt was quick to respond; she invited the Douglasses to dinner and to spend the night at the end of



November 1939. The evening proved delightful; the two couples were drawn to each other, and a genuine friendship from which both couples stood to benefit took shape almost immediately.<sup>16</sup>

During the next few days, the Douglasses met a large group of high-ranking New Dealers including cabinet members Frances Perkins and Harold Ickes, who were as eager to rub shoulders with the bright, enthusiastic, and glamorous Hollywood couple as the Douglasses were to meet Washington's political elite. The Douglasses left Washington exhilarated and carrying a standing invitation to stay at the White House when business brought them to Washington. Thereafter, Eleanor Roosevelt began to visit and often stay with her new friends on her trips west. Neither Douglas hesitated to contact the Roosevelts or the cabinet members they had met concerning their political activities. The President appointed both Douglasses to

various White House boards and remained in close touch with what each was doing. In turn the Douglasses became outspoken supporters of Roosevelt's policies.

When the Douglasses returned to Los Angeles, Helen turned her attention to planning the Steinbeck Committee's second Christmas party, a massive gathering that attracted over eight thousand migrants. Shortly after the party Helen resigned from the committee because she learned of Communist infiltration into the organization.<sup>17</sup> Before the Soviet-Nazi pact of September 1939 liberals of all persuasions were virtually indistinguishable from each other; they formed a United Front that supported the New Deal and opposed fascism. But after the pact, American Communists began to object to the anti-Fascist stands of liberal organizations. The United Front fell apart quickly as non-Communist liberals dropped their membership. After Helen resigned, she wrote her friend





*Eleanor Roosevelt and California Governor Culbert L. Olson greeting guests on the Douglasses' patio after a performance by the California National Youth Authority orchestra, 1941.*

Douglas. Despite her novice status in the party, liberals found Douglas's flamboyant style and attractive appearance, her political views, and her friendship with the Roosevelts much more appealing than the prickly conservative Jones's party credentials. When Douglas won, it was not surprising that Jones resented Helen's lack of the traditional credentials required for this position.<sup>21</sup>

Douglas enjoyed the publicity surrounding her appointment, which drew national attention, and felt comfortable mingling with the Democratic power structure. When she and Melvyn returned to California they both plunged into a hectic campaign speaking schedule—Melvyn nationally and Helen throughout California. When Roosevelt took California by a landslide, party officials in Washington singled out the Douglasses for their contributions to the victory. Helen's speaking ability surpassed that of more seasoned politicians, and she had proved that she had the power to draw and hold a crowd. Together the Douglasses had led the campaign efforts of Hollywood Democrats, persuading many actors to give political speeches and make substantial campaign contributions.<sup>22</sup>

After a week of festivities during the January inauguration, Melvyn plunged back into his studio work while Helen decided to let her political activities absorb her energies. Through state party chairman William Malone she gained two additional Democratic Party positions.

Congressman Jerry Voorhis that she found herself in the "absurd position . . . of most liberals today. The Communists call us reactionaries and the reactionaries call us Communists!"<sup>18</sup> At this juncture, Helen Douglas took her initial steps into the Women's Division of the Democratic Party in a process that brought her closer to Eleanor Roosevelt and also provided an entry into the power structure of Democratic politics. In so doing, she placed herself right in the middle of party feuds between northern and southern California and between the party's liberals and conservatives. In an article for the February 1940 issue of the *Democratic Digest*, the widely read monthly magazine of the national Women's Division office, Helen urged state and local governments to respond to migrant needs and communities to assimilate the migrant and "recognize him for his true worth—a vital and necessary ele-

ment in the agriculture structure [and] a human being. . . whose welfare affects the country at large."<sup>19</sup> This impelled Dorothy McAllister, national director of the Women's Division, to invite Douglas to speak at the division's first National Institute of Government in Washington, a conference to educate party women about campaign issues and party organization in preparation for the 1940 fall campaign. That spring Mrs. Roosevelt came to California to visit migrant camps on a trip arranged by Helen and Melvyn.<sup>20</sup>

In July, the Douglasses journeyed to Chicago for the party's nominating convention. Melvyn went as a delegate, Helen as an alternate. When it came time to choose California's Democratic Party Committeewoman there were two principal candidates: long-time party worker, head of the Women's Division in California, and conservative Nettie Jones, and Helen



*Douglas campaigning for Congress in 1944. Although she had continued to use her maiden name professionally after her marriage to Melvyn Douglas, she believed her status as the wife of a man on active military duty was a political asset in her first campaign for elected office and began to identify herself as Helen Gahagan Douglas.*

She became vice-chair of the state organization and replaced Nettie Jones as head of the Women's Division. Malone claimed to have appointed her to these jobs so that he would not have to deal with more than one woman; in retrospect he admitted that he had underestimated her abilities.<sup>23</sup>

In the first few months of 1941, Douglas spent most of her time strengthening the existing structure of the statewide Women's Division and making new appointments down to the county level. She appointed two women to head the North while she and an assistant took responsibility for the South. Her appointees were bright professional women, many of whom had never before been active in the Women's Division and were not involved in the rampant factionalism within the division. With her structure in place, Douglas turned her attention to the major focus of the national Women's Division office—home-front defense plans and fundraising. She organized, in conjunction with the Washington office, a regional conference held in September 1941 for party women's education. Invitations were extended to men as well as women from the eleven-state area. She added glamor by including such movie stars on the program as Melvyn, Jackie Gleason, and Douglas Fairbanks. National party figures also addressed the three-day confer-



ence, and Douglas enjoyed the aftermath of praise for her "efficient organization and showmanship." Gladys Tillett, who had replaced McAllister as head of the Women's Division, wrote that she would have to place Douglas "apart as the standard among National Committee-women toward which others can work."<sup>24</sup>

**A**lthough the conference demonstrated Douglas's organizational ability, a more significant test of her political acumen lay ahead, the mobilization of California Democratic women for the 1942 election. Nationally the picture looked gloomy. The congressional coalition between Republicans and conservative Democrats had continued to grow in strength since the 1936 election. After American entry into the war, hostility to-

wards the number of federal controls and the extension of social reforms had intensified and Democrats feared losing their congressional majority.

Douglas was concerned about all the southern California congressional seats but six in particular. She directed the Women's Division to work outside the regular party structure because she thought the women would be more effective this way.<sup>25</sup> They wrote and distributed thousands of fliers, registered voters, raised money, and canvassed precincts. In the final election, despite Governor Culbert Olson's loss to Republican Earl Warren in the gubernatorial race, Democrats won three of the six critical districts and several others as well. Particularly satisfying to Douglas was the ouster of Representative Leland Ford, an arch-conservative who had viciously rebaited Melvyn in the spring of 1942 when he had assumed a volunteer position with the Office of Ci-



*House meetings were an effective way for Douglas to win support among her district's middle- and upper-class constituents. This one was typical of her 1944 campaign.*

vilian Defense in Washington.<sup>26</sup> The Washington Democrats were delighted with the southern California victories in an election in which the party had lost 70 of its 318 House seats. Although it is difficult to assess Douglas's role in these victories, many gave her credit. The Secretary of the Democratic National Committee wrote: "You, personally, did a magnificent job. At least we could have come out much worse in our Congressional Districts and where we did come out successfully I am sure the results were due to your efforts. I want you to know that all of us in Washington appreciate this immensely."<sup>27</sup>

Douglas's goal in 1943 was to coordinate the women to develop an education program directed primarily to postwar reconversion, a project she considered critical as groundwork for the 1944 election. Meanwhile, the 1942 campaign had given her close ties to the southern California congressional delegation, and Douglas cultivated these and other Washington contacts. She became particularly close to New Dealer Thomas Ford, who represented the fourteenth congressional district in Los Angeles, and his wife Lillian.<sup>28</sup>

Late in 1943 the Fords suggested that Douglas consider running for Tom's seat. He had long planned to retire in 1944, and Douglas seemed to him an excellent replacement. She, however, had mixed feelings. The idea of running seemed at first somewhat overwhelming. Not only was she a woman, but Helen's credentials did not resemble those of other congressional candidates, male or female. In addition, she did not live in the fourteenth district but in the affluent residential hills of the adjacent fifteenth district. She was, in fact, a total stranger to the fourteenth, which encompassed the downtown core of Los Angeles. Furthermore, state assemblyman Augustus Hawkins had waited patiently for Ford's retirement. In many ways, Hawkins, the second black man to be elected to the state legislature, was a logical successor. He had a distinguished record in his fight for labor and civil rights. During the war years, the Los Angeles black population, which concentrated primarily in the assembly district Hawkins represented, grew substantially, and Hawkins had become an increasingly powerful voice in the community. But Ford and his

political advisers in the district felt Douglas would stand a better chance of winning. Despite her unfamiliarity with the district's problems, Ford believed the majority of his constituents would identify with her enthusiasm for the New Deal and Roosevelt. Furthermore, as he put it, the "people of the 14th are not going to vote for a Negro, however light-colored he may be."<sup>29</sup> In December, 1943, Douglas agreed to run.

Ford's district surrounded the heart of Los Angeles. It was comprised of four state assembly districts, the forty-fourth, fifty-fifth, sixty-second and the sixty-fourth, with constituents ranging from the poorest of minority families to some of the wealthiest individuals in Los Angeles County. Douglas once described the slums in her district as areas where a "chicken coop would be considered a high-priority dwelling—especially if you could have it all to yourself."<sup>30</sup> Over two dozen racial and ethnic communities, including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and the city's oldest Mexican district, nestled next to each other and in between commercial districts. Two politically conservative, wealthy areas surrounded LaFayette Park and ran along Wilshire Boulevard. A tiny section of Hollywood intersected at the northwest corner. By 1945, 86,000 black people lived in the district and constituted almost twenty-five percent of the district's total population of 346,000.<sup>31</sup>

Ford passed on to Douglas a strong campaign structure. Its prin-



Election night, November 7, 1944, at Douglas's campaign headquarters. In front, left to right: Susie Clifton, Douglas, and Ed Lybeck (with cigarette).

cial figures included Ford's manager Ed Lybeck, his wife Ruth, and secretary Florence Reynolds. Susie Clifton, an active Democrat in several elections and an astute campaign worker, joined the group when Douglas ran. The team began to get organized when the primary campaign began in March.

Hawkins decided not to run, but Loren Miller, a prominent black lawyer in the district filed, as did several other candidates. Vicious literature from various candidates began circulating immediately. One flier reminded voters that Douglas was married to a Jew and asserted that she was a Communist. After all, twelve years of the "communistic Tom Ford" was enough. The Los Angeles Times accused her of Communist ties because the national Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) backed her and because of her friendship with Vice-President Henry Wallace. A poster from a Democratic opponent depicted Douglas, labelled "Lady Bountiful," coming down out of the hills of the fifteenth district and asking a passerby, "Where's the Fourteenth District?"<sup>32</sup> None of this criticism bothered Ford. He wrote to a friend that Douglas would "carry on in the tradition of *Stand by the President* [and] put the 14th on the map." Douglas wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, "Well, I am really in the campaign and I never knew anything could be quite so repulsive."<sup>33</sup>

Douglas conducted an issue-oriented race, championing the New



Deal record and emphasizing her confidence in FDR's leadership. In true Women's Division style she went armed with facts, figures, and simple language while refusing to run down her opponents. Although she only hinted that as a member of Congress she would see herself as representing a national constituency, she communicated that what was good for the country was good for her district. Its problems, she argued, mirrored the challenges facing America. She held dozens of meetings in homes, an effort which helped dissipate some of the hostility from housewives who could not envision a woman in Congress. The key to her success lay both in her message and her means of communicating. She knew how to read an audience and emotionally charge a group by using colorful language, vivid analogies, and large dramatic gestures.

Douglas did not let her campaign interrupt her Women's Division work which included campaigning for

other congressional candidates. She wrote Mollie Dewson, the first director of the national Women's Division and still a political power, "I feel sometimes that with the weight of the entire state on my shoulders, as well as my personal campaign, that I'm not going to quite last the day or night, and I begin praying for strength." Douglas won the primary even though they "threw everything at me they could get their hands on," she told Alis De Sola. The Fords were jubilant.<sup>34</sup>

After the Democratic nominating convention in July, where she was the principal woman speaker, Douglas began planning the fall campaign. Her strategy was similar to the one she used in the spring although her campaign committee worked harder to target particular groups, particularly the black community. In the primary, she and Miller had split the black vote, and she wanted to win it in the fall election. She went beyond FDR's position on civil rights by urging a per-





*Douglas at her desk in the bedroom of her Los Angeles home on Senalga Road, 1944. The photo on the left shows Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas in *Tonight or Never*; on the right is Melvyn; and on the wall is Eleanor Roosevelt.*

manent Fair Employment Practices Commission and abolition of the poll tax. She also pressed for more general issues—better housing, job training for wartime workers, respect for the rights of organized labor, full protection for small farmers and small business, government support for the physically handicapped, and veterans' benefits.

The Republicans, like her Democratic opponents in the primary, conducted a red-baiting campaign. They also emphasized the fact that she lived outside the district and pointed out her connections with Hollywood. Nonetheless, with the hard work of the Lybecks and Fords, Douglas pulled off a victory as Roosevelt swept California. But her margin

was less than four thousand votes out of approximately 137,500 cast. Although Douglas gained a majority of the black votes, few black leaders had rallied to her support. Not even the liberal black *California Eagle*, which later became her strong advocate, did much for her candidacy. Clearly she had a difficult challenge ahead of her to keep her district.<sup>35</sup>

**D**ouglas arrived in Washington early in January, 1945. Congress and the President faced two major responsibilities—to direct the economic re-conversion of wartime America and to formulate policy for the nation in

its role as a new world leader. The contours of the critical debates had begun to take shape late in 1943 and 1944. Home-front questions centered on the appropriate role of government in controlling the cost of living, combating the housing shortage, placing unemployed veterans in jobs, and converting factories from the production of wartime goods back to the manufacture of domestic goods. Blacks demanded that a country which fought for freedom abroad with their help should guarantee them equality at home. Many women had developed both a different consciousness of their own abilities as a result of employment in wartime factories and a new sense of independence after long-term separation from their husbands. These women sought the right to economic and personal equality within the legal structure. The demands of labor, blacks, veterans, and women often conflicted, however, with the desire of business to increase rapidly the production of consumer goods with maximum profits.

The United States also faced new responsibilities abroad. Returning to an isolationist position was not an option as it had been after World War I. Assuming a major role in developing an international body to bring countries together to preserve world peace, the American government also accepted an obligation to rebuild its European allies which had

*Douglas with her eighteen-month-old son Peter Gahagan Douglas before she entered politics.*

emerged from war burdened by weakened economies and massive physical destruction. The United States had to develop guidelines for dealing with the Soviet Union, another new world power whose status as an American ally during the war developed into an adversary relationship once the war had ended. An American attitude of toughness and mistrust of the Russians led to strong anti-Communist sentiment at home and the development of a Cold War between the two countries. Americans also had to decide how to cope with atomic energy, whether it should be controlled by the military or civilians, whether knowledge should be shared with other countries, specifically the Soviet Union, and how this new source of energy should be developed.

In 1945, the Democrats controlled Congress, but the combination of conservative Democrats and Republicans formed a majority. Thus liberals, including Douglas, feared that Congress would not support a program to promise what they believed every American deserved—the right to a decent way of life including employment, adequate housing, food, and health care—while at the same time preventing rampant inflation. In foreign affairs, liberals argued that Americans should guarantee that the idealistic goals for which the country had fought in the war become a reality. Most initially viewed the Soviet Union if not as a friend at least as a country with which the United States had to work in order to ensure world peace.<sup>36</sup>



Douglas discovered quickly that in order to have any impact as a new member of Congress, she would have to play a nontraditional role. She was too impatient to wait the length of time dictated by the conventions of the House for new members wishing to assume a position of power. She did not wish to spend an inordinate amount of time learning the fine points of legislative procedure, and she realized that even time did not guarantee power to women. Furthermore, she had a purist's theoretical notion of representative government. Viewing political issues in terms of right and wrong, she believed that government, run for and by the American people, should be improved by voters who elected legislators to vote

for the right programs. This philosophy set her apart from those who believed that legislative success came only with compromise.

Modelling herself after Eleanor Roosevelt, Douglas set out to develop policy for a national and often an international constituency of "ordinary people." She believed the economic interests of the national groups she deemed important, particularly labor and blacks, were identical to those of the key groups in her district. In foreign affairs, she saw herself speaking for every American who wanted peace. What was good for the world, therefore, was good for the country and for the district. She worked hard towards her goals on the floor of Congress, often lecturing her colleagues and inserting





*Douglas with her daughter Mary Helen during the 1950 campaign. Her need to spend more time with her children added a note of relief to her disappointment at being defeated.*

articles and speeches in the *Congressional Record*. She took her assignment to the Foreign Affairs Committee seriously. She also spoke before dozens of groups of concerned citizens all over the country urging them to pressure members of Congress.<sup>37</sup>

The outlines of Douglas's liberal philosophy took shape and matured during her first term, the 79th Congress. Initially she had looked to FDR for policy guidelines, and after his death in April, 1945, her ideals came principally from Truman's Fair Deal program.<sup>38</sup> She developed numerous statements including demands for creation of a homeland for the Jews, support for the United Nations, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), the end of the poll tax, a full employment bill, extension of social security, construction of low-cost housing, continuation of wartime rent and price controls, additional funds for day care programs and school lunches, more farm loans, an increase in the minimum wage, support for labor's right to strike, and funding for cancer research. She called the economic need of the vet-

erans a national crisis, began a long-term investigation of the problems of water in California's Central Valley, and demanded more attention to the problems of migrant workers. Her principal legislative success was her co-sponsorship of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, a law which placed the development of atomic energy in civilian rather than military hands. Douglas struck out against those who red baited her with a statement she entitled "My Democratic Credo" in which she explained that the way to keep communism out of the United States was by building a strong economy, controlling inflation, and providing jobs and affordable housing for all Americans.<sup>39</sup>

Douglas's approach to the issue of civil rights illustrates her political style. She was a civil rights proponent in a manner reflective of Eleanor Roosevelt. In the upper-class Brooklyn society of her childhood, her Republican family did not mix with blacks, and Douglas became responsive to blacks only after she entered politics. Eleanor Roosevelt played a key role in introducing

Douglas to black leaders during the war, including Mary McLeod Bethune, head of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). In 1942, at the First Lady's request, Douglas called a meeting to discuss the employment and housing problems of Los Angeles blacks. She worked with FEPC investigations in defense industries. Once in Congress, Douglas aligned herself with a small handful of congressmen (including the two black representatives, Adam Clayton Powell and William Dawson) who persistently introduced FEPC, anti-lynching, and anti-poll tax bills, despite continual failure to get bills passed. Douglas not only tried to generate public pressure on Congress to pass civil rights legislation, but she also gave speeches for national and local branches of the NAACP and helped the NCNW raise funds. Blacks throughout the country recognized her contributions. The Scroll of Honor that she received in 1946 from the NCNW acclaimed her "superb statesmanship" in her first term in Congress.<sup>40</sup>

Douglas's attitude toward civil rights was also politically astute. Her black community was an identifiable audience, and she needed to play to it. She and Lybeck made certain that the blacks in her district knew exactly what she was doing. After a speech in June, 1945, on FEPC, for example, she sent copies of the speech out to the black precincts while the issue was "hot." She reprinted tens of thousands of "The Negro Soldier," a series of speeches



*Douglas on the balcony of her home in the 1940s.*

she made in Congress at the end of 1945 in which she listed many of the war efforts of blacks, and had Lybeck blanket the black precincts with them. She also worked to bring increased services for blacks into her district. For example, she worked with the Los Angeles Committee for Interracial Progress, a coalition of fifty organizations, to direct federal housing funds into Los Angeles County, particularly into the fourteenth district, and she secured funding to expand post office facilities in the heart of the sixty-second assembly district.<sup>41</sup>

Douglas hoped that her civil rights activities would help her credibility in the 1946 campaign. Although she won the primary easily, the fall campaign proved more challenging. Her Republican opponent Frederick W. Roberts, a long-time state assemblyman, was black, and Roberts's candidacy split the black community. Basing his campaign on the argument that blacks should send blacks to Congress, Roberts supported a platform identical to Douglas's even though it varied from his legislative record. The Republican National Committee helped him financially and even sent Joe Louis to the district to campaign. As in 1944, red-baiting issues surfaced. One group, the 14th District League for the Preservation of the American Way of Life, circulated a flier asking Douglas why she had made a "secret trip to Moscow" the previous year. Douglas could not campaign in person to counter charges against her, because Truman had appointed her to the 1946 General Assembly of the United



Nations. Although this added to her prestige it kept her out of her district during the fall. She spoke weekly on the radio but left Lybeck to make all the daily decisions about campaign strategy.<sup>42</sup>

Douglas's liberal stance on issues in general, her work on behalf of blacks nationally, and her careful cultivation of the black community paid off. In the midst of a landslide Republican victory nationwide in which the party took control of both the House and the Senate for the first time in sixteen years, Douglas almost doubled her margin from 1944. She was particularly delighted that she gained the majority of votes in the black precincts and interpreted this to mean that she had won the confidence of blacks that their interests would be more effectively served by a white Democrat with a liberal record than by a black Republican.<sup>43</sup>

When the 80th Congress opened in January, 1947, the Democrats lost control of committee chairs and the House speaker. Frustrated from the start, liberal Democrats became increasingly angry as the 80th Congress progressed.<sup>44</sup> The conservatives refused to pass any of Truman's Fair Deal legislation; furthermore, they passed the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto. Republican support for some reform legislation, including the extension of social security, increases in minimum wage, and a housing bill, was not satisfactory to the Democrats, who objected to the diluted versions of these bills which were enacted. In the arena of foreign affairs Congress gave bipartisan support to aid in Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan for rebuilding Europe, and the National Security Act.



Douglas used this posed photograph to publicize her "Market Basket" speech in March, 1947.

Liberal groups clamored for Douglas's attention, and she played a leading role in the futile attempts to buck the Republicans. She stepped up her speaking schedule, addressing a wide range of issues in an effort to reduce voter apathy.

Douglas considered inflation to be the most pressing domestic problem and high rents and the lack of inexpensive houses on the market to be its principal cause. She did not, however, ignore other contributing factors. Her most dramatic and memorable speech in the 80th Congress addressed the rising costs of food. In March, 1947, she delivered a carefully prepared speech which she called her "Market Basket" speech. Her staff filled a basket of groceries which Douglas placed over her arm as she strode to the front of the chamber, announcing that she had just come from the "lowest-priced chain store in the city" located only three blocks from Congress. It took \$15, she pointed out, to buy the same items that had cost \$10 in June, 1946,

shortly before the removal of price controls.<sup>45</sup>

Although Douglas viewed her fight for housing and against inflation as the most important contribution she could make to her district, she continued to seek federal funds for other district needs. She also responded to pressure from Bethune, Lybeck, and black district leaders to hire a black secretary. Douglas was enthusiastic about the idea despite the fact that the woman's salary would have to come from Douglas's personal funds. She had used up her staff funding and did not want to replace existing staff. She and Lybeck eventually agreed to hire Juanita Terry, the daughter of active campaign worker Jessie Terry.<sup>46</sup>

During the 80th Congress Douglas became more outspoken on women's issues, attacked the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and took strong positions on foreign policy issues. She urged the extension of social security to cover more women and supported

legislation for equal pay for equal work. She opposed Equal Rights Amendment efforts, as did all pro-labor legislators who feared that such an amendment would kill hard-earned special interest legislation favoring working women. Her opposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee focused on its mode of investigation, particularly its use of contempt citations during its 1947 investigations of Hollywood. In foreign affairs, she deviated from Truman in opposing aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947 (on the grounds that the aid should come from the United Nations), but she regularly spoke out in favor of the Marshall Plan and numerous related issues.

By early 1948, Douglas not only had blacks solidly behind her but labor as well. She had worked more closely with labor union leaders during the 80th Congress and had campaigned against the Taft-Hartley bill. Labor unions and liberal magazines like the *Nation* and the *New Republic* gave her top ratings for her voting record. As labor stepped up efforts to influence the 1948 elections, she stood to benefit from the unions' careful political organization. Nonetheless, Douglas entered the campaign facing two unknown quantities—how hard the Republican National Committee would work to defeat her and how much support Henry Wallace's newly-organized Independent Progressive Party (IPP) would draw.<sup>47</sup> Neither threat hurt her primary campaign. In September, the IPP candidate withdrew from the race, although Wallace and local IPP



*Douglas addressing a session of the twelfth annual convention of the National Council of Negro Women, November 13, 1947, in Washington, D.C. Seated left, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive director of the NCNW; right, Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president of the NCNW.*



supporters gave Douglas only lukewarm support. Campaigners for her Republican opponent, William Braden, once again raised redbaiting issues. "Doctors for Braden," for example, implied that Douglas was part of the left-wing influences in Congress. Braden also played up her fifteenth congressional district residence—referring to her as the Hollywood representative who lived in the "hotsy-totsy area of Hollywood" as compared to the "modest home of our good neighbor and friend" Braden in the fourteenth district. Lybeck responded with widely-distributed speeches and pamphlets tailored to different constituencies. Despite Braden's attacks, Douglas took each assembly district, even the conservative fifty-fifth. Her vote of approximately 88,000 to Braden's 43,000 surprised even Douglas.<sup>48</sup>

In January, 1949, at the opening of the 81st Congress, Douglas enjoyed enormous popularity in the eyes of labor, blacks, Jews and other minority groups, and civil libertarians. Many of her supporters agreed with Douglas's somewhat egotistical evaluation of herself as possibly the most conscientious member of Congress. She saw herself as a "people's representative" fighting for America's working class. She had grown accustomed to letters telling her that she was the only hope left for America. Organizations frequently presented her with laudatory awards and cita-

tions, reinforcing her self-image. Local, state, and national Democratic Party organizations as well as liberal special interest groups regarded her as an unusually persuasive public speaker as indicated by the constant stream of speaking invitations that came into her office.<sup>49</sup>

At the same time that she had built herself a national support group, Douglas had gained the confidence of a broad majority of her constituents. The vast majority in her district, low income and poorly housed, agreed with her position on veterans, housing, unemployment, inflation, and civil rights. In addition, her forthright stand in favor of Israel and her willingness to defend the civil liberties of accused Communists attracted local support, both volunteer hours and financial contributions, among the more elite pressure groups including Jewish associations, Hollywood political groups, and univer-

sity faculty. She also generated loyal and enthusiastic support among her key group of core campaign workers.<sup>50</sup>

When Douglas announced late in 1949 that she intended to run for the United States Senate, she found that many of her supporters were dismayed and concerned. Many who believed she could continue as long as she wished to represent the fourteenth district did not think she had much of a chance to win a statewide race. Lybeck, for example, knew she did not have the statewide political base or the experience to run for the Senate. Further, while her political views suited her district, they did not reflect majority opinion in the state. Another long-term backer took a





*Douglas presenting trophies to the two top members of the Sixth Engineers National Guard in 1950. Governor Earl Warren had signed a bill on July 18, 1949, outlawing discrimination in the National Guard, but the legacy of California's two segregated units remained.*

trip up and down the state in late 1949 to sound out support. He came back discouraged and urged Douglas not to run. But she remained undaunted.<sup>51</sup>

Douglas explained her decision to run by her intense dislike for the aging incumbent, Sheridan Downey. Although Downey had enjoyed liberal support in the late 1930s and early 1940s, he had become progressively more conservative after the war. Douglas believed Downey's vulnerability lay in his opposition to the 160-acre limitation on water usage, and she justified her entry into the race on this issue alone. As she told Malone, still a political power in the party, the issue was not going to the Senate but prohibiting Downey from destroying "a program that is essential to the well-being of the West Coast."<sup>52</sup> When Douglas entered the race, however, she quickly broadened the issues. She portrayed herself as representing the lower- and lower-middle-income people of California—veter-

ans, small farmers, women, blacks, ethnics and small businessmen—and Downey as favoring the big farmer, private utilities, oil, and big business.

Despite Downey's strong corporate support, Douglas made him nervous. His health was failing as well. At the end of February, rumors circulated that he planned to back out. A month later he formally withdrew, throwing his campaign support behind Manchester Boddy, the editor of the liberal Los Angeles *Daily News* who had provided critical support to Douglas during her first two terms. Boddy took Douglas and many Democrats aback when he not only made clear that his views suddenly reflected Downey's but also turned to redbaiting as the key to his campaign strategy. Although Douglas's reason for entering the race had vanished, her enthusiasm for winning did not.

As she had before, Douglas campaigned strictly on issues. She cited her continuous support for Truman's

Fair Deal program. She also pointed out that she believed she had played an instrumental role in the refining of foreign policy as the fourth-ranking member of the House Foreign Relations Committee. She insisted that while she opposed HUAC, she hated communism as she had explained in her "Democratic Credo." Douglas also emphasized her support for federal rather than state control of tidelands oil reserves.

Douglas's views cut her off from the major funding sources. The oil industry, big business, and corporate farmers all backed Boddy. Although the Democratic party could not formally take sides during the primary, Boddy enjoyed the informal support of its power structure. None of this bothered Douglas; she had never sought corporate support but had claimed it would compromise her voting. Many union friends offered considerable assistance, although labor could not play a formal role in the spring election. Douglas also got help throughout the state from ethnic groups, academics, Jews, farmers, blacks, and liberal women's groups. Eleanor Roosevelt conducted a major fundraising effort in her behalf, and many Hollywood friends offered time and money. Conservative Democratic women found Douglas's views, particularly her stand against the Equal Rights Amendment, distasteful.

Despite Boddy's financial edge

*Douglas with supporters at a luncheon in San Francisco's Chinatown during the 1950 Senate campaign.*

and his potentially devastating allegations that Douglas had Communist sympathies, Douglas won the primary by a comfortable margin; her 730,000 votes were nearly double Boddy's. She won for several reasons. Boddy did not have as effective a campaign organization as Douglas, who took advantage of her contacts from Women's Division days to set up strong offices in each county. Boddy's late entry in the campaign and sudden conservative turnaround after years of state-wide reputation as the well-respected editor of a liberal paper cost him votes. Nor did he have Douglas's charismatic appeal as a speaker and ability to articulate issues clearly.<sup>53</sup>

But Douglas's victory did not bode well for the fall. Congressman Richard M. Nixon, the leading Republican senatorial candidate, cross-filed on the Democratic ticket with the hope that he might pull conservative Democrats away from Boddy, since their political positions were similar. Nixon and his campaign strategist Murray Chotiner viewed Douglas as a far less threatening candidate than Boddy for the fall campaign. Nixon won more than 300,000 Democratic votes, which boosted his total over the million mark. If he could take most of Boddy's votes in the fall, he had an easy edge over Douglas.<sup>54</sup>

A member of the House since 1946, Nixon had attained significant national visibility as a member of HUAC, particularly in the committee's investigation of Alger Hiss and as the co-sponsor of the Mundt-



Nixon Communist control bill. Nixon and Douglas, as members of the southern California congressional delegation, had shared concerns over nonpartisan issues, but Douglas had developed considerable antipathy towards HUAC committee members, particularly Nixon. In 1946 he and Chotiner had conducted what Douglas and many others considered a ruthless redbaiting campaign against New Dealer Jerry Voorhis, Douglas's close friend and colleague.

Over the summer, Nixon and Chotiner decided to follow Boddy's lead and concentrate on Douglas's vulnerability on the issue of "red-blooded Americanism." Both domestic and foreign events fed this decision. Americans were up in arms about the so-called fall of China to communism, blaming it on Truman's incompetence. In early 1950 United States Senator Joseph McCarthy embarked on his search for American Communists. McCarthy's "revelations" heightened irrational fears about internal security and re-

sulted in a bipartisan Congress passing the Internal Security Act over Truman's veto with Douglas one of the few voting against the bill. In June, 1950, the Korean War began when Americans aided the South Koreans in their struggle against invading communist troops from North Korea. All these events made Nixon's dubbing of Douglas as the "Pink Lady" an effective device.

Nixon won the election by a margin of 2,200,000 to 1,500,000. Most commentators credited the victory to what they called a dirty and ruthless "red smear" campaign.<sup>55</sup> Other leading liberals who lost in redbaiting races that year included Senator Claude Pepper in the primary and senators John Carroll and Elbert Thomas, Senate majority leader Scott Lucas, and several other House members in the fall. Even without the "dirty campaign" issue, however, it seems clear that Nixon still had an edge on Douglas. Republicans swept most of the statewide California races—Earl Warren, for example, easily beat Jimmy Roose-





*Although she never ran for office again, Douglas remained active in Democratic politics in the 1950s and 1960s. She campaigned for John F. Kennedy in 1960.*

velt for governor without raising the cry of "Communist fellow-traveller." Nixon's position on issues such as taxation, government spending, labor, and farm policy more accurately reflected the general sentiment of Californians. Nixon matched Douglas's skill as a speaker; though their styles were different, Nixon could work a crowd as effectively as his opponent. The Republicans also profited from a substantial financial edge, particularly in the Nixon campaign, and from poor Democratic party organization. Nixon also had the luxury of many "Democrats for Nixon" campaign workers, many of whom had initially backed Downey and Boddy. One of the most effective organizers of this group was George Creel, a prominent member of Woodrow Wilson's administrations, who went beyond Nixon in his redbaiting. Finally, the fact that California had not elected a woman to high state-wide or national office for twenty years was cause enough for Douglas's loss.

Although Douglas later denied it, she believed into election night that she would win, despite all evidence to the contrary and the decline of her support around the state. Once the primary ended, her organization tended to melt away because many of those who viewed her as a more attractive alternative than Nixon saw her as a losing candidate and turned away to work for others. Even the numerous Washington luminaries, including Vice-president Alben W. Barkley and cabinet members Charles P. Brannan, J. Howard McGrath, and Oscar Chapman, who came to California principally to support Douglas, could not change what seemed a foregone conclusion.<sup>56</sup>

Douglas had mixed feelings about her Senate loss. Winning would have thrust her into a very unusual spot for a political woman, but she also felt relieved. Although her marriage was still intact, the previous eight years had placed a strain on Helen's relationship with Melvyn and the children. Melvyn had spent

three years in India during the war. When he returned, he based himself in Los Angeles, but he also toured with several productions. The children, after several months with Helen in Washington at the beginning of her first term in Congress, attended boarding school in Los Angeles. In 1950 Helen knew it was critical to reassemble the family. She and Melvyn decided to make New York their home base as Melvyn had decided he wanted to leave movie production and return to the theatre. Helen also wanted to begin spending as much time as possible in Vermont at the family home in Fairlee.<sup>57</sup>

Douglas never wielded significant political power in Congress; she could not make or break presidents or legislation. Yet she stood out among her colleagues as an idealist who spoke and stood for goals that more pragmatic politicians hesitated to embrace. She had a magic as a speaker, and her passionate appeals gave hope to the citizens she represented—not only those in her own district but "little people" around the country—that someone cared. It is unlikely that there will ever be a count of those for whom her inspiration tipped the balance between political involvement and apathy at a grassroots level. But the outpouring of expression which marked her death suggests that Helen Gahagan Douglas forged a durable legacy of political principle. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 310.*



# CALIFORNIA'S LEONARDO

Bruce Kamerling

## The Portraits of Signor Barbieri

The Italian painter Leonardo Barbieri has always seemed to be something of a phantom in the annals of California's art history. He arrived as if from nowhere in the late 1840s only to disappear a few years later. His legacy is an impressive series of portraits, the majority depicting members of prominent *Californio* families or Americans who married into those families. Over the years, various legends have circulated about Barbieri, few of which have been based on fact.

Generally, the story is told that the artist was brought to California from Mexico to paint the portraits of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention held in Monterey. After painting about a dozen portraits (none of which are of delegates to the Convention), he disappeared from the scene about 1853. Possibly he accompanied the French filibusterer Count Raousset-Boulbon on his ill-fated campaign to Sonora and met with the same fate as the count (Raousset-Boulbon was executed in 1854). As it now becomes apparent, not much of even this scant information is correct.<sup>1</sup>

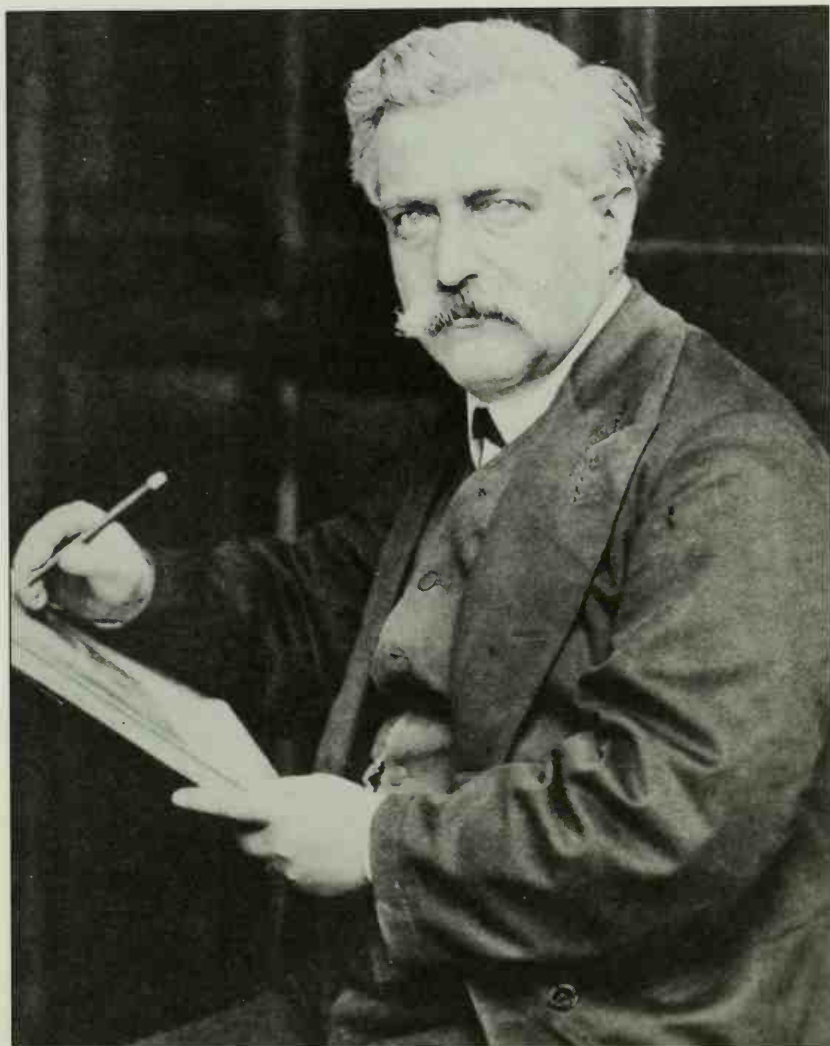
Recent research has revealed enough data to provide a clearer picture of Barbieri's life, although the story is still far from complete. The list of portraits done in California now contains over thirty names and includes members of the Carrillo, Castro, Estudillo, de la Guerra, and Pacheco families. Recently located and translated documents, including several letters from Barbieri to the Count de Monclar, shed new light on the artist and his activities.<sup>2</sup> What emerges is the story of an adventurous yet humble man who crossed three continents seeking, but never really finding, fame and fortune.

According to de Monclar, who knew Barbieri late in life, the artist was born in Savoy sometime around 1810.<sup>3</sup> Many Italian artists have had the name Barbieri, and Leonardo is known to have had a brother who also studied art.<sup>4</sup>

The most famous artist with this surname was the 17th century Bolognese painter Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591 - 1666), called "Il Guercino." So far, however, no connection has been established between Leonardo and any of these other artists.

The Duchy of Savoy was ruled by Italians until the battle of Marengo in 1800 when Napoleon annexed Savoy and Nice directly into France. After Napoleon's decisive defeat at Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna ordered the two provinces to be returned to the Italian Kingdom of Sardinia in 1815. These confusing political events provided the context in which the young artist was raised and educated, perhaps feeling ties to both Italy and France. Certainly he was fluent in both French and Italian, and eventually Spanish as well.<sup>5</sup>

The barrier formed by the Alps between Savoy on the western slope and Italy to the east may have contributed to Barbieri's decision to study art in Lyon rather than one of the centers in Italy. Whatever his reason for going there, while in Lyon the artist suffered some personal disappointment or humiliation that was serious enough to make him want to leave Europe completely.<sup>6</sup> He departed for South America and by the fall of 1844 was recorded in Buenos Aires, Argentina, residing in the home of the Italian artist Sauveur Ottolenghi. *La Gaceta Mercantil* of October 14, 1844, announced that Barbieri made "portraits in oil in all sizes with complete resemblance to the model." Another announcement in March of 1845 mentions his ability to paint portraits, teach drawing, and produce "all types of paintings particularly of a religious nature for churches."<sup>7</sup> How long Barbieri stayed in Argentina is not known, but de Monclar states that he also taught drawing at the university in La Paz, Bolivia, for a time. When word of the California gold strike reached him, however, Barbieri apparently left to seek new adventures.<sup>8</sup>



LEONARDO BARBIERI IN A CARTE-DE-VISITE PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED  
BY THE ARTIST TO THE COUNT DE MONCLAR IN LIMA, PERU, 1870  
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY





PORTRAIT OF ROSARIO ESTUDILLO AGUIRRE PAINTED IN SAN DIEGO, 1850  
 PRIVATE COLLECTION, LOMPOC, CALIFORNIA



Like so many others, the artist discovered that gold was not so easily found as the extravagant stories would have it, and he soon returned to his easel to make a living. It has been claimed that Barbieri was commissioned to paint portraits of the forty-eight delegates to California's Constitutional Convention held in Monterey in September and October of 1849 and that this was even his reason for coming to California.<sup>9</sup> Since no portraits by Barbieri of any participant in this convention have ever been located or even recorded, it seems doubtful that such a commission was actually made.

The first reference to Barbieri in California is in the San Francisco newspaper, *Alta California*, December 31, 1849, which reported:

*We visited the studio of Signor Leonardo Barbieri [sic], an Italian artist who has established himself in San Francisco and were much pleased with the evidence of his talent. He has on hand several portraits of residents of this place and some of them most excellent likenesses. Among them is one of Edward H. Harrison, Esq., ex-collector of this port, who leaves for the United States on the 1st proximo. The friends of Mr. H. . . . solicited him to sit for his portrait and employed Sig. Barbieri to place him upon canvas. He has succeeded and the friends of Mr. H. will have an agreeable memento in their possession. We commend the artist to the patronage of the public.*

Two additional notices in the same paper on January 2, 1850, state:

*We would call attention to the advertisement of Sig. Leonardo Barbieri [sic] in another column, announcing his change of residence. We have already spoken in praise of the Signor's abilities as an artist and*

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commend him to the consideration of the public.

*Signor Barbieri has changed his residence from the house of Mr. Pendergrast to the building known as the Lafayette Restaurant, up stairs, where he will be happy to receive calls.*

So far, none of Barbieri's portraits from this early period have been located, and it may be that they fell victim to one of the fires that often ravaged San Francisco.

The earliest known dated portrait by Barbieri is his likeness of Rosario Estudillo Aguirre done in San Diego in 1850. Rosario's husband, José Antonio Aguirre, was a prosperous merchant and rancher. Aguirre is known to have been in San Francisco in 1849 on business with his partner William Heath Davis. Don Antonio must have seen some of Barbieri's work while in San Francisco and asked the artist to paint his wife. Aguirre returned to San Diego in 1850 with his partner Davis when they and four associates attempted to start a "New Town" closer to San Diego's bay.

The portrait of Rosario was probably painted in the Casa de Estudillo as the Aguirre home was not completed until at least a year later.<sup>10</sup> According to family tradition, the artist stayed with the family and received \$500.00 for his work. Doña Rosario is depicted as a lovely young lady of twenty-two, seated in an armchair and holding a fan. The artist has paid special attention to her costume and jewelry such as the long gold chain around her neck, bracelet set with a cameo, embroidered mitts, and rings. The sitter's face is animated by the slightest hint of a smile, making the portrait one of Barbieri's most charming.

Another portrait which must date to this same period is the apparently unsigned likeness of María de Jesús Estudillo, wife of William Heath Davis and cousin of Rosario Aguirre.<sup>11</sup> Like Rosario, Doña María is depicted seated in an armchair and holding a fan. She



PORTRAIT OF MARIA DE JESUS ESTUDILLO, CA. 1850  
COURTESY, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY





PORTRAIT OF LT. THOMAS W. SWEENEY  
 SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY



is wearing embroidered mitts identical to those worn by Rosario, and both paintings are exactly the same size. Davis was in San Diego in 1850, and it seems likely that he would have had his wife accompany him, since she had relatives in San Diego and was particularly close to Rosario. It is also possible that Doña María had been painted earlier in San Francisco, where Aguirre could have seen the painting of Rosario and been inspired to have his own wife portrayed.

While in San Diego, Barbieri may also have been the author of a bust-length portrait of Lt. Thomas "Fighting Tom" Sweeny. The lieutenant arrived from Monterey on April 8, 1849, and some time later quartered with the U.S. Army troops stationed at the San Diego Mission. Since he did not leave the area until October of the following year, he would have been in San Diego at the same time as the artist.<sup>12</sup> After extensive recent conservation, this painting now appears to be stylistically close to other early portraits by Barbieri, the major difference being in the pose. Nearly all of the artist's subjects are depicted three-quarter length, seated before a monochromatic background, with both hands showing. Lt. Sweeny had lost his right arm in the war with Mexico, and this may have been the reason for the smaller format. Shown in a dark blue uniform with high collar, epaulettes, and silver buttons against a dull-green background, the sitter displays a rosey-cheeked boyish face which belies the fact that he was a stern disciplinarian who was later court-martialed for use of excessive force in controlling his troops.

When next we hear of Signor Barbieri, he has set up a studio in the Carrillo Adobe in Santa Barbara for the three summer months of 1850. Although several portraits of Carrillo family members are known, the only one dated 1850 is the likeness of Don José Antonio Julián de la Guerra y Noriega, husband of María

Antonio Carrillo. Don José is depicted seated with one hand on the arm of his chair and the other tucked into his dark green jacket with black velvet trim. A small cap rests on his head. The portrait is firmly painted, and its stern facial expression is appropriate to this patriarch who was twice *commandante* of the Presidio of Santa Barbara.

At least two other Carrillo family portraits, neither of which is signed or dated, appear to belong to the summer of 1850. One of these depicts María Josepha Raymundo Castro y Romero, wife of Carlos Antonio Carrillo. She is shown wearing a close-fitting black hat and shawl fastened with a pin of clustered pearls, and her hands are clasped over a handkerchief in her lap. The second painting is a likeness of Judge Joaquín Carrillo, nephew of Carlos Antonio Carrillo and godson of José de la Guerra y Noriega.

Although he spoke no English, Joaquín was named first District Judge of Southern California in 1850 because of his fine record. His direct gaze and formal attire fortify his image as prominent judge and prosperous rancher.

A fourth Santa Barbara portrait which survives in fragmentary condition depicts Ramona de los Angeles Lorenzana. Although only the face, neck, and upper portion of the dress survive from Barbieri's original, the treatment is very similar to the portraits of Rosario Aguirre and María Estudillo, indicating an early date. We can assume that the original followed Barbieri's usual format of a three-quarter length figure seated with both hands showing. As it now exists, the remaining fragment has been inserted into a larger bust-length canvas and inpainted to diminish the damage. Ramona's thin headband, jewel and teardrop earrings, and pearl necklace with pendant provide clues to the portrait's original detail.

In the fall of 1850, the people of Santa Barbara asked Barbieri to paint Father José Gonzales Rubio of the Santa Barbara Mission. Rubio had arrived in California in 1833 and was initially as-



PORTRAIT OF JOAQUIN CARRILLO, 1850  
SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY







PORTRAIT OF PADRE JOSE GONZALES RUBIO, 1850  
 SANTA BARBARA MISSION



signed to Mission San José. In 1842 he was reassigned to Santa Barbara, where in addition to serving as parish priest he became in 1850 administrator of the Diocese and vicar general. Today the Mission Archives contain the original document, dated September 25, 1850, which lists the names of all the donors who contributed toward the \$300.00 Barbieri asked for the portrait. On this list are the names of at least four people who also sat for Barbieri portraits.<sup>13</sup>

Father Rubio is depicted in the habit and tonsure of the Franciscan order. He is seated at a cloth-covered table holding a quill pen in his beautifully painted right hand. His left hand rests on an open book, the spine of which is inscribed with the artist's signature. The priest's rich brown eyes are full of intensity and compassion. In the lower corner is the painted inscription in Spanish:

*The Most Illustrious Father José María de Jesús Gonzales Rubio of the Franciscan Order, Ruler of the Diocese of Both Californias, which the people of Santa Barbara had painted in testimony of their warm affection and public appreciation and which is to be preserved as a precious memorial of his eminent virtues and as a grateful memento of his unquenchable charity towards the poor and his love for everyone.*<sup>14</sup>

No Barbieri portraits dated 1851 have come to light, and the artist drops from view for over a year. Some sources claim that Barbieri painted in Sonoma, but so far no works have been located so dates cannot be checked.<sup>15</sup> It seems likely that he returned to the San Francisco Bay area, for a signed portrait of General Guillermo Castro dated 1852 exists; it may have been started late in 1851.

Castro owned the extensive Rancho San Lorenzo Alto in the valley north of Mission San Jose now occupied by the city of Hayward. Besides his career as soldier and rancher, Castro was also a judge, politician, and, unfortunately, gambler. We can assume that the portrait was painted early in 1852, because

in that year Castro lost most of his fortune in a high-stakes card game. Seated in a blue jacket holding a cigar, Castro displays soft, almost sad, eyes accentuated by a long aristocratic nose and generous sideburns.

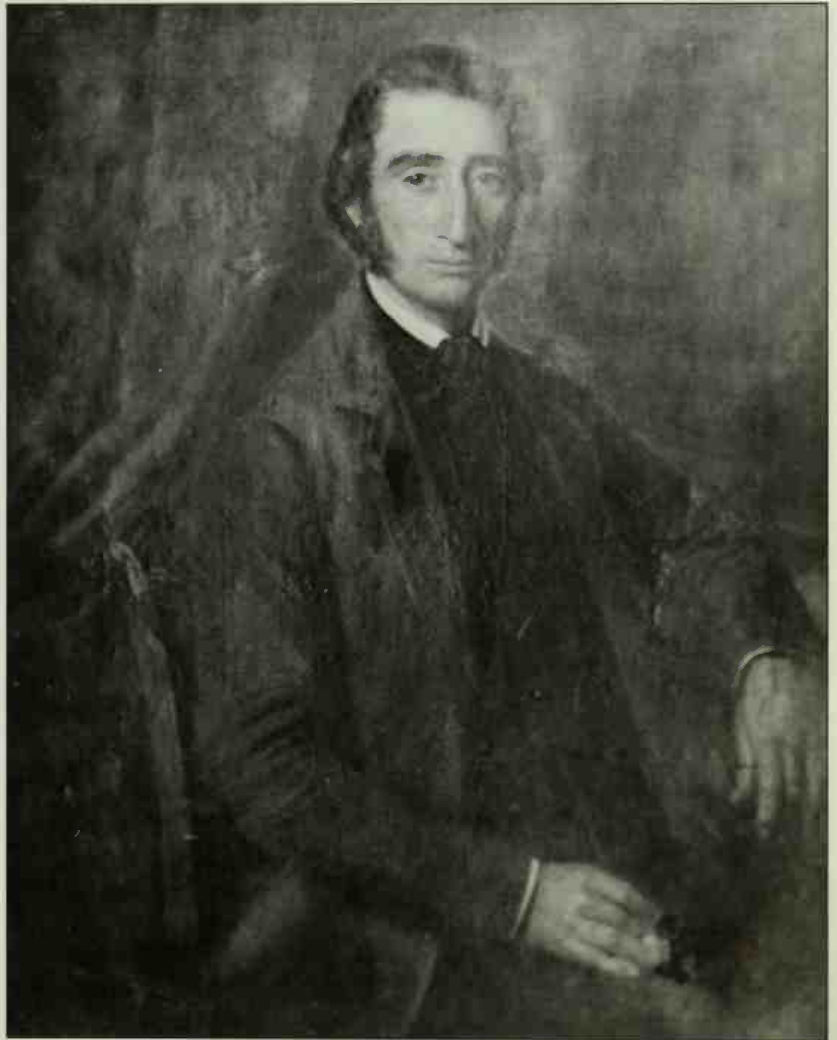
A letter from Henry Halleck in San Francisco to Pablo de la Guerra in Santa Barbara dated January 29, 1852, states:

*Mr. Barbieri has this morning paid the sum of fifty dollars on your Note and Mr. Joe Thompson has promised to pay the other hundred as soon as he is informed that Mr. Barbieri has painted a portrait of Don Carlos Carrillo. Mr. B goes down in the steamer today and is the bearer of this.*<sup>16</sup>

The nature of Barbieri's debt to de la Guerra is not specified in this or subsequent correspondence, but it was completely paid by March 17.<sup>17</sup> We do know from this letter that by early February Barbieri must have been back in Santa Barbara to paint the portrait of Carlos Antonio Carrillo, whose wife he had already depicted. Don Carlos was a highly regarded scholar and politician, holding the office of Governor of California in 1837. His fancy black hat and jacket stand out against the dull red background, and the pleated shirt, generous sideburns, and cigar-ette held in his right hand add a distinguished air to this portrait, painted in the last year of the sitter's life.

Barbieri spent the remainder of 1852 in Monterey, where he produced a remarkable number of portraits. Although several of these are undated, they were probably all painted in 1852 or early in 1853. All but two of the Monterey portraits presently known fall into four family groups. Apparently, as was the case in San Diego and Santa Barbara, Barbieri took up residence with a family and produced portraits of several of its members.

One family which was the subject of four presently known portraits is the Munras/McKee family. It seems likely that other portraits from this family may once have existed, as the 1850 census shows that the household con-



PORTRAIT OF GUILLERMO CASTRO, 1852  
HAYWARD AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY





PORTRAIT OF CARLOS ANTONIO CARRILLO, 1852  
 SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



sisted of thirteen people. Catalina Manzanelli de Munras was the wife of Esteban Carlos Munras, patriarch of the family, who had died in 1850. Doña Catalina was portrayed seated with hands folded in her lap, her right hand holding a white handkerchief. The severity of her black dress and black lace shawl are set off by a string of cut jet beads, gold filigree earrings, and several gold finger rings with diamonds and pearls.

Dr. William McKee, who had an office on Alvarado Street in Monterey, married Concepcion Munras, eldest daughter of Catalina and Esteban Munras, and lived with the Munras family. The companion portraits of the McKees can now be seen in the Munras room at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel. Both subjects are seated, she facing toward the right, he toward the left. Concepcion, wearing a long gold chain around her neck, is holding a book in her right hand; her left arm rests on a wooden shelf. William is seated at a table writing with a quill pen, and his left hand holds a cigar.

The McKees had two children, and there is a portrait of Roberto McKee. Barbieri's only known painting of a child, it is unusual for several reasons. The corners of the canvas have been painted to give the appearance of an oval mat. It is also the only known Barbieri work where the subject is shown standing and outdoors; a vague hilly landscape can be seen in the background. Young Roberto is dressed in a green outfit with red braid trim and a white collar with ruffled edge. In his right hand the child holds a toy riding crop, while the left holds a green ribbon, presumably attached to a toy horse he is pulling.

A second group of Monterey portraits centers around the Amesti family. Out of what may have originally been five or six paintings, three survive. José Amesti was a prominent merchant and rancher whose two-story adobe is a Monterey landmark, now owned by the National Trust for Historic Preserva-



tion. Although the paintings are currently not available for viewing, photographs taken while they were on loan to the Old Custom House in Monterey many years ago reveal the likenesses of Don José, his wife Prudenciana, daughter of Ignacio Vallejo, and their daughter Celedonia Amesti de Arano.<sup>18</sup>

The companion portraits of Don José and Prudenciana are penetrating character studies, remarkable for their simplicity. With hands resting on his legs, José engages the viewer with an open gaze and a slight smile beneath his long Spanish nose. One can sense the presence of a shrewd businessman. Prudenciana's face, on the other hand, appears tired and care-worn. She looks uncomfortable sitting on the side of a chair with her left arm resting on the chair back and her right hand holding a handkerchief in her lap. Prudenciana barely survived the birth of her first child, and for the remainder of her life suffered from a hunched back. Certainly sitting for the portrait must have been an ordeal, and Barbieri has masterfully captured her inner strength.

Celedonia's portrait appears from the photograph to survive in poor condition. She is seated facing toward the left, her right hand resting on an open book, a string of beads around her neck. The hint of a smile perhaps reflects her recent marriage to Francisco Arano. It has been reported that Barbieri also painted the Amestis' other daughters, Carmen, Epitecia (Santa), and Tomasa Madariga, the orphaned child of Prudenciana's sister, who had been adopted by the Amestis. These paintings were in such poor condition that they were discarded many years ago.<sup>19</sup>

The largest surviving group of family portraits by Barbieri are the seven he painted for the Pacheco/Malarín family. Six of the seven were dated, five to 1852 and one to 1853, indicating that they were probably begun in the later months of 1852. Francisco Pérez Pacheco was one of the region's weal-



PORTRAIT OF ROBERTO MCKEE, 1852  
PRIVATE COLLECTION, DUBLIN, OHIO





PORTRAIT OF JOSE GALO AMESTI, 1852  
 COURTESY, MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION



thiest rancheros. Don Francisco is seated dressed in a black jacket and tan vest, his right hand on his leg and his left resting on a small table holding a book with green binding and gold decoration. His wife, Feliciano Gonzáles y Torres Pacheco, is seated with hands folded in her lap and, like the other family matriarchs depicted by Barbieri, she holds a white handkerchief. A double string of pearls is partially hidden by a figured black net collar, and she wears a gold pin and rings as well as a small black cap.

Don Francisco and Doña Feliciano had eight children, three of whom survived childhood to be painted by Barbieri. Juan Pérez Pacheco was the owner of Rancho San Luis Gonzaga. Seated with his left arm resting on the back of a chair and his right hand on his leg, Juan is dressed in a white shirt with black jacket, vest and tie. His ruddy, handsome face, with piercing brown eyes, is framed by curly hair and chin whiskers. His sister, María Encarnación Teodora Pacheco, is seated in a red velvet dress with embroidered white net collar and cuffs.

A second daughter, María Isidora (Lola) Pacheco, married Joseph Mariano Pablo Malarín, a wealthy rancher who served as judge, coroner, supervisor and member of the assembly. Isadora wears a purple velvet dress with white sleeves and white lace collar and cuffs. Her right arm rests on a small table, and in her left hand she holds a piece of sheet music inscribed with the artist's signature and date. Barbieri's eye for realism carried even to the slight shadow of a moustache on the sitter's upper lip. Mariano's right arm rests on a table draped in blue that is stacked with books and a mounted globe, perhaps indicating his education in Peru. For some unknown reason, Barbieri has painted a *trompe-l'oeil* fly on the sitter's right hand.<sup>20</sup>

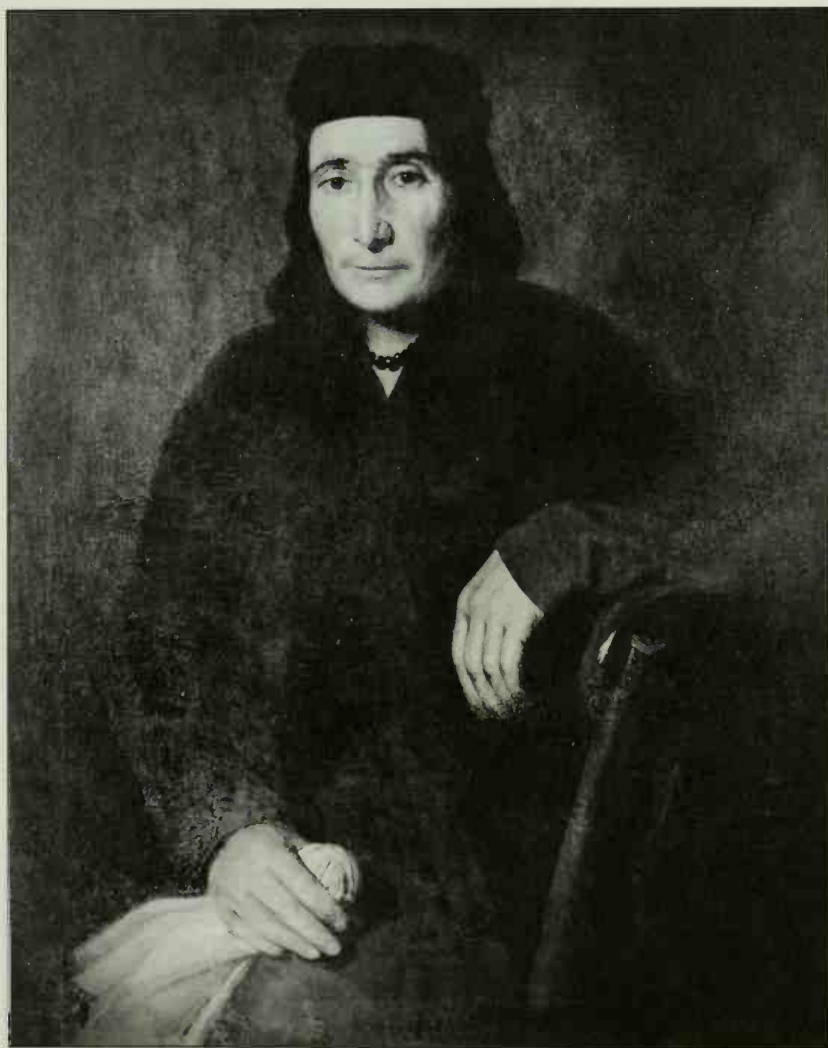
The final portrait in this group depicts Mariano's mother, María Josepha Joaquina Estrada Malarín, and is dated 1853. Doña Josepha was the wife of

Juan Malarín who had died in 1849. Her plump face is framed by two pairs of perfect log-curls and a small cap, with a string of pearls around her neck. She is wearing an elaborately pleated black silk dress with black net sleeves. Both hands are in her lap, her left hand holding some white flowers.

Apparently it was also in 1853 that Barbieri painted the portraits of William E.P. Hartnell, grantee of Alisal Rancho and first inspector of the Custom House in Monterey, and his wife, Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell.<sup>21</sup> Barbieri had painted Doña Teresa's father, José de la Guerra y Noriega, in Santa Barbara in 1850. Doña Teresa appears wrapped in black satin wearing a small cap and string of pearls, her arms crossed in her lap. William rests the knuckles of his left hand against his leg while his right hand, resting on a table, grasps a scroll of paper.

Two isolated portraits also belong to Barbieri's Monterey period and should be mentioned here. One of these was the likeness of María Ignacia Bonifacio dressed in a red velvet gown. María was the daughter of Juan B. Bonifacio who, before his death in the 1830s, had been employed by William Hartnell. Sadly for today's art historians, at the sitter's request, the painting was unframed and placed in her coffin when she was buried in 1916.<sup>22</sup> The second portrait has the distinction of being the only known Barbieri portrait of an Anglo woman. Born in England, Mrs. Jane Bushton Allen came to Monterey via Australia in 1850. In order to support her children from two marriages, she operated a boarding house, and it is probable that Barbieri painted her portrait in exchange for room and board. Dressed in black with her right arm resting on a draped table, Jane, her hair pulled tightly back in the fashion of the time, gazes out with a look of firm determination.

After finishing the portrait commissions in Monterey, Barbieri may have returned to San Francisco before leaving California forever. Why he left is not



PORTRAIT OF PRUDENCIANA VALLEJO AMESTI, 1852  
COURTESY, MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION







PORTRAIT OF JANE BUSTON ALLEN, CA. 1852-53  
 MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION,  
 PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY MONTEREY HERALD



known, but by July of 1853 he had taken a steamer to Acapulco.<sup>23</sup> From there he traveled to Mexico City in the company of Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon. Whether Barbieri had known Raousset-Boulbon in San Francisco is uncertain, but by the time they reached Mexico City, they were good friends. Both men stayed at the same hotel, La Grande Sociedad, and the two Europeans shared artistic interests.<sup>24</sup>

In the last months of 1853, Barbieri painted a bust-length portrait of the count. Barbieri's own description of Raousset-Boulbon best describes the image in this painting:

*His character was jovial; nevertheless you could feel something was wrong, a quiet sadness that on several occasions made me worry, and I used to ask him if I could help him, and he used to answer: I'm satiated of life, I have enjoyed too much in my youth ruining myself. I search for amusements, emotions and I don't find them, everything is monotonous and repetitious.*<sup>25</sup>

Barbieri admirably succeeded in capturing this complex personality, even though he later wrote:

*How could I, a simple peasant [serrano], express his character with my weak brush? Only a genius such as Titian or Raphael could have managed . . .*<sup>26</sup>

Mexico was still in chaos from the war with the United States. The Americans had failed to prevent the incursions of raiding Apaches into Sonora as promised, and customs revenues had been greatly reduced by smuggling. The Mexican government's precarious financial situation resulted in almost total abandonment of protection for the northern frontier. Raousset-Boulbon developed a plan to settle Sonora in exchange for sharing mineral rights in the gold-rich state, but president Antonio López de Santa Ana was becoming suspicious of the French and began to stall in accepting Raousset-Boulbon's plan. Angered by what he felt was a broken agreement, Raousset-Boulbon and his men set out for Guaymas, the

port of Sonora, where on July 13, 1854, they staged an ill-fated attack. Called a hero by the French and a pirate by the Mexicans, Raousset-Boulbon was taken prisoner and executed on August 13, 1854.<sup>27</sup>

Although de Monclar later referred to Barbieri as a lieutenant in Raousset-Boulbon's *petit armée*, it is not known if the artist was actually with Raousset-Boulbon at Guaymas. In January, 1854, José Abrego of Monterey wrote to Pablo de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, mentioning that Malarín had received a letter from Barbieri who was in Acapulco at the time.<sup>28</sup> Due to the unstable political and economic situation in Mexico, Barbieri probably did not remain long in that country, and if he was indeed with Raousset-Boulbon at Guaymas, he may have been forced to leave.

Barbieri's lean trail of clues next places him in Peru, where a drawing from his hand of the Andes Mountains is dated May 18, 1856.<sup>29</sup> By January, 1860, he had opened an academy of painting and drawing, the only one of its kind in Lima. There was no tuition for the poor, and those who could afford it were charged ten pesos a month.<sup>30</sup> Barbieri's first students were all non-paying, but this did not discourage him. He even approached the government with a plan to start a Free Public Academy.<sup>31</sup>

In order to kindle some interest in the arts and call attention to the artists of Peru, Barbieri proposed a collective exhibition of paintings, the first ever to be held in Lima. Although he received little encouragement from official sources, Barbieri was allowed to use two leaky rooms in the ancient convent of San Pedro. Assisted by the Peruvian artists Montero and Laso, Barbieri was able to bring together fifty-eight paintings and numerous objects of local craftsmanship. The exhibit opened on August 7, 1860, and remained on view for twenty days, receiving excellent reviews. Barbieri exhibited nine of his own portraits, including one of his black servant, shown cleaning brushes



PORTRAIT OF COUNT GASTON DE RAOUSSET-BOULBON, 1853  
CHS ART AND ARTIFACTS COLLECTION



and preparing colors, which was considered to be particularly excellent.<sup>32</sup>

Barbieri apparently stayed in Peru for more than ten years, teaching and painting portraits to support himself. Among his students were the Peruvian artists Federico del Campo (1837 - 1914), José Effio (1840 - 1900?), and Daniel Hernández (1856 - 1932), who took charge of Barbieri's classes when the artist returned to Europe.<sup>33</sup> In 1863, Barbieri became a professor of drawing at the Colegio Nacional de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.<sup>34</sup> It was while he was in Peru that Barbieri met the Count de Monclar, who was attached to the French Embassy in Lima. In later correspondence, Barbieri refers to Monclar's wife as his "friend and pupil," so she must have taken instruction from him at some time.<sup>35</sup>

Barbieri's dream of a municipal school finally became a reality about 1870, and he was named Head Director and given authority to appoint professors.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, it came too late. From Barbieri's letters we learn that his final years in Peru were marred by poverty and ill health. In total discouragement, he wrote:

*... the present is the most pitiful situation I've ever lived in my life, poor, with miserable revenue, and so you see me without servants, without furniture, without work and without talent.*

He continued:

*... I'm only waiting for the money in order to make the trip to regain my health, waiting for months in the same condition, vegetating, suffering and my illness getting worse ...*

And, finally:

*... I, completely lost physically and morally, I only want to put an end to this mournful life because there is no longer help for me anymore, my life doesn't belong to me.*<sup>37</sup>

It appears from the surviving correspondence that both Barbieri and de Monclar returned to France in 1871.

France at this time was in the midst of a major political crisis that saw its defeat at the hands of the Prussians, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and the birth of the Third Republic. A letter from Barbieri to Madame de Monclar dated February 17, 1871, inquires about her father in Paris and asks if the "damned Prussians" respected their houses.

The Barbieri letters are somewhat confusing, parts of them written in Spanish, French, and Italian, because, as he wrote, "I like the variety, even in the furniture!!!"<sup>38</sup> Two final letters are dated December 21 and 29, 1871, the latter sent from Paris. In them, Barbieri stated that his health had returned, and that every day he was growing a bit more corpulent (*panciu*to; literally "big-bellied"). He also mentions his intention to leave for Froustignon after the first of the year. Barbieri's brother had married the daughter of a businessman at Froustignon, and de Monclar records that Barbieri stayed with the couple for "some months" before returning to die in his native village in Savoy. Presumably he died there some time in 1872 or 1873.

Leonardo Barbieri was one of the first professionally trained artists to produce a significant body of work in California.<sup>39</sup> Although he was in California for less than four years, Barbieri's portraits are almost the only contemporary visual record, by an artist possessing both insight and ability, of the players in one of the most dramatic periods of California's history. Not only did he capture the features of his subjects with realism and compassion, without stooping to flattery, he also preserved a wealth of important details of costume, jewelry, furniture, hair styles, and even mourning customs, since many of his sitters were recently widowed and dressed in black mourning clothes. His ability to grasp and portray the inner character of his sitters is ably demonstrated by the penetrating likenesses of Father Rubio, Juan Pacheco, José and Prudenciana Amesti, and Count Raousset-Boulbon, among

others. Perhaps even more remarkable, of the nearly thirty portraits presently known to have been painted by Barbieri, there is not a single one with an unidentified sitter. Such care indicates that his work was revered by the descendants of those portrayed for many generations. [CHS]

Known Portraits by (or here attributed to) Leonardo Barbieri

Note: All dimensions are in inches, height x width.

Edward H. Harrison  
present location unknown

Rosario Estudillo Aguirre (1828 - 1895)  
oil on fabric, 32 x 26  
signed and dated 1850  
private collection, Lompoc, California  
illustrated in:

*Exhibition of Historic Art*, catalogue,  
California Centennial Celebration,  
San Diego, 1950

Mary Hagglund "Don Jose Antonio  
Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and  
Ranchero"  
*Journal of San Diego History*, XXIX: 1  
(Winter, 1983), 58

María de Jesús Estudillo (1829 - 1906)  
oil on fabric, 32 x 26  
The Bancroft Library, Berkeley,  
California

illustrated in:  
Edwin A. Beilharz, *San Jose,  
California's First City* (San Jose:  
Continental Heritage Press, 1980), p.  
55

Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny (1820 - 1892)  
oil on fabric, 26 x 22  
San Diego Historical Society

illustrated in:  
Norman Neuerburg, and Iris W.  
Engstrand *Early California Reflections*  
catalogue #112, San Juan Capistrano  
Regional Library, 1986

José de la Guerra y Noriega (1779 - 1858)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 25  
signed and dated 1850  
Santa Barbara Historical Society

illustrated in:  
Fr. Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M. *El  
Gran Capitan*, (Los Angeles:  
Franciscan Fathers of California



- Corporation, Cabrera & Sons, 1961),  
facing title page
- María Josepha Raymundo Castro y Romero*  
(1792 - 1853)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 25  
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- Joaquín Carrillo* (1813 - 1868)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 27  
Santa Barbara Historical Society  
illustrated in:  
*Noticias*, 3: 2 (Apr. - Dec., 1957), 4
- Ramona de los Angeles Lorenzana* (1828 - 1904)  
oil on fabric, original fragment  
approximately 15 x 6 now set into a  
larger canvas 20 x 16 and inpainted by  
Helmer Ericson  
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- Padre José Gonzales Rubio* (1804 - 1875)  
oil on fabric, 39 x 31  
signed and dated 1850  
Mission Santa Barbara  
illustrated in:  
Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at  
Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington,  
D.C.: Academy of American  
Franciscan History, Monograph  
Series, Vol. 3, 1955), p. 125  
Thompson, *El Gran Capitan*, facing  
page 218
- Guillermo Castro* (b. 1810)  
oil on fabric, 32 x 26  
signed and dated 1852  
Hayward Area Historical Society
- Carlos Antonio Carrillo* (1783 - 1852)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 26  
signed  
Santa Barbara Historical Society  
illustrated in:  
*Noiticias*, IX: 2 (Summer, 1963), 25
- Catalina Manzanelli Munras* (1798 - 1894)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 22  
private collection, Dublin, Ohio
- Dr. William McKee*  
oil on fabric, 39 x 33  
Munras Room, Mission San Carlos  
Borromeo
- Concepcion Munras McKee* (1823 - 1914)  
oil on fabric, 39 x 33  
Munras Room, Mission San Carlos  
Borromeo
- Roberto McKee* (b. ca. 1848)  
oil on fabric, 24 x 29  
private collection, Dublin, Ohio
- José Galo Amesti* (1788 - 1855)  
present location unknown
- Prudenciana Vallejo Amesti* (1805 - 1883)  
present location unknown  
illustrated in:  
*Antiques Magazine*, November, 1953:  
37
- Celedonia Amesti Arano* (1828 - 1915)  
present location unknown
- Francesco Perez Pacheco* (1790 - 1860)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara  
illustrated in:  
Albert Shumate, *Mariano Malarín: A  
Life that Spanned Two Cultures*  
(Cupertino: California History  
Center, 1980), p. 3  
Albert Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of  
Pacheco Pass*, (Stockton: University of  
the Pacific, 1977), facing title page
- Feliciana Gonzáles y Torres Pacheco*  
(ca. 1798 - 1857)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara  
illustrated in:  
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco  
Pass*, facing page 1
- Juan Pérez Pacheco* (1823 - 1855)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara
- María Encarnación Teodora Pacheco*  
(1826 - 1857)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara
- María Isidora (Lola) Pacheco Malarín*  
(1829 - 1892)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara  
illustrated in:  
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco  
Pass*, facing page 28
- Joseph Mariano Pablo Malarín* (1827 - 1895)  
oil on fabric, 40 x 32  
signed and dated 1852  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara  
illustrated in:  
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco  
Pass*, facing page 14
- María Josepha Joaquina Estrada Malarín*  
(b. 1808)  
oil on fabric, 35 x 27  
signed and dated 1853  
de Saisset Museum, University of  
Santa Clara
- William Edward Petty Hartnell* (1798 - 1854)  
present location unknown  
illustrated in:  
Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of  
William, Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford  
University Press, 1949), facing title  
page
- Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell* (b. 1809)  
present location unknown  
illustrated in:  
Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell*
- María Ignacia Bonifacio* (d. 1916)  
painting buried with the sitter
- Jane Bushton Allen* (ca. 1813 - 1904)  
oil on fabric, 34 x 26  
Casa Serrano, Monterey History and  
Art Association  
illustrated in:  
*Monterey Herald*, February 17, 1981
- Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon*  
(1817 - 1854)  
oil on fabric, 19 x 15  
signed and dated 1853  
California Historical Society  
illustrated in:  
Helen Broughall Metcalf "The  
California French Filibusters in  
Sonora" *California Historical Society  
Quarterly*, XVIII: 1 (March, 1939), 2  
Museo Italo Americano *Italian-  
American Artists in California 1850 to  
1925*, (San Francisco, no date).  
Reports that Barbieri painted portraits  
of Francisco de Haro and family are  
probably erroneous as Don Francisco  
died in 1848.  
See notes beginning on page 314.

# THE PHILANTHROPIST AND THE ARTIST THE LETTERS OF PHOEBE A. HEARST TO ORRIN M. PECK

*Richard H. Peterson*

In 1862, Phoebe Apperson Hearst was on her way to San Francisco as the young pregnant wife of millionaire miner and later United States Senator George Hearst.<sup>1</sup> On the boat trip via Panama to California, she began a friendship with Mrs. David Peck and her young son Orrin. She was especially taken with the two-year-old boy, with whom she eventually developed a strong personal bond and lifelong correspondence. In effect, he became a member of the famous Hearst family.<sup>2</sup>

Peck also became a respected California artist, especially in San Francisco. However, he lived, studied, and worked much of the time in Munich, Germany, where he earned a reputation as an accomplished portrait and landscape painter.<sup>3</sup> When World War I began, Peck returned permanently to San Francisco. A rotund, good-natured friend of Phoebe's only child, newspaper

magnate William Randolph Hearst, Peck was hired in 1920 to design the landscaping for the fabulous Hearst estate at San Simeon, California. His sudden death in 1921 denied him the opportunity to complete the project, but his portraits of George, Phoebe, and William Randolph and his son, George, remain as a legacy of his close personal and professional relationship with the Hearst family.<sup>4</sup>

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Peck and Mrs. Hearst kept in close communication. Indeed, she referred to herself on many occasions as his "Other Mother."<sup>5</sup> Although the letters that she wrote contain references to such mundane matters as lost luggage, mutual friends, and shopping sprees, they also reveal much about the personal character, lifestyle, and philanthropic and cultural interests of one of California's most memorable women, who donated about \$21 mil-

lion to various individuals, charities, and educational institutions, many of which still bear her name.<sup>6</sup> According to Gloria R. Lothrop, she is one of the women most frequently cited in California history.<sup>7</sup> Yet, relatively little is known about her today and no scholarly biography has chronicled her public benefactions and personal activities.<sup>8</sup> In a more general sense, the Hearst-Peck correspondence, including letters to Peck's sister and mother, at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in California typically shows how the super-rich lived in the Gilded Age and Progressive era.

Standard behavior for America's wealthy in this period included the socially obligatory grand tour of Europe. As early as the 1870s, Phoebe took an extensive trip abroad, tour-

*Correspondence between Orrin Peck and Phoebe Hearst frequently used family terms of endearment.*

Thomas. Hotel  
Berkeley Square  
London  
England  
April 27/93

My dear other boy.

We arrived this  
afternoon about three  
o'clock. and I was much  
pleased to find a letter  
from you waiting for me.

The voyage was rough.  
cold and wet only one  
fair day. but I slept  
and rested. and feel  
much better than

when I started. This  
evening I am a little  
tired. As I wrote up  
three A. M. - when

1515 Santa Barbara St.  
Santa Barbara.

dear other mother.  
(Your second telegram  
the other abouts of  
starts just arrived  
I answered it &

has a fitting on  
from me by this time).  
Am very sorry you cannot

be here for Xmas - I wish  
that you could come by  
the Los Angeles route & in  
could all have a jollification  
in that town. (Soo A.)

May Furrey's people would  
like us & as many friends  
as we could bring for Xmas

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ing museums, cathedrals, and art galleries with her ten-year-old son.<sup>9</sup> On still many other occasions she travelled the continent, including visits with Peck in Munich. This she had to do alone or with relatives and friends other than her husband. As she wrote in 1885, "Mr. Hearst will never cross the ocean with us. Even if he should, he would disapprove of all that we might enjoy."<sup>10</sup> Unlike many American elites of the era, Phoebe toured and enjoyed India, Egypt, and the Orient and seemed especially intrigued by Japan, as indicated in a 1903 letter to Peck from the Kanaya Hotel in Nikko, a resort town and center for both Shinto and Buddhist pilgrims in central Honshu Island:

*We came yesterday to this beautiful place among the mountains and expect to stay four days. I should like to stay a week at least but it is late in the season and the hotels close soon. The scenery is fine, and the autumn foliage wonderful, especially the maple is at its best. The little Japanese Princesses looked very small in European dress. They wore wonderful gowns and jewels. One was extremely pretty but it is dreadful that they should not dress in their own exquisite costumes. The Prince and high officials were gorgeous in gold embroidered coats and many decorations.*<sup>11</sup>

The materialistic Mrs. Hearst was duly impressed with the embellishments of costume and dress. But she was also open-minded enough to appreciate the merits of other countries and culture in an age when

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many Americans were not only deeply nationalistic, but strongly nativistic. In California, in particular, Japanese immigrants suffered much discrimination with opportunities for naturalization, land ownership, and even immigration to the United States eventually denied.<sup>12</sup> Although Mrs. Hearst's positive perception may have been partially due to her association with local officials and elites rather than the working class abroad, including in Japan, she did not travel in a cocoon. After touring a poverty-stricken country like India, including teeming Bombay and Delhi, she wrote Orrin emphatically "that no description can do justice to the wonders of India."<sup>13</sup>

Despite some problems adjusting to unfamiliar living conditions, she even found roughing it in Egypt a worthy educational experience. In

1905, she wrote to Janet, Orrin's sister: "The air is very pure and good at the Pyramids and there is plenty of it. The views also are fine. It is most interesting to be there, but a bit uncomfortable at times. I don't at all mind living in mud and stone houses, but the lack of conveniences in such places are a little trying at times. However, it is all very good discipline and makes us appreciate home more than ever."<sup>14</sup> From Cairo, in a letter to Orrin, she seemed ecstatic: "We saw a tomb opened where they found two statues. If you had seen me hanging over the edge of the place looking down to see the figures as they were uncovered, you might have thought it right to class me with excavators. I was more excited than any one."<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding some criticisms of foreign locations, it would certainly appear that



*Artist Orrin Peck as a young man. Phoebe Hearst became a friend of his mother's and took a special interest in Orrin when he was two. Eventually she contributed substantially to support the entire Peck family.*

*Phoebe Apperson Hearst.*

Mrs. Hearst was a cultural relativist rather than an American chauvinist, and as such a woman ahead of her time. The world outside America did not appear to be culturally inferior in her eyes.

Like other wealthy women of America's Gilded Age, Phoebe delighted in entertaining public officials and affluent individuals, and she played hostess to high society in California and especially in Washington, D.C., when her husband served in the United States Senate from 1886 until his death in 1891.<sup>16</sup> She also relished attending social functions. For example, she noted that she tried to help a Washington friend put on a concert by taking "two boxes (\$50.00)" and giving him "cards to some of the best people."<sup>17</sup> Abroad she found similar social opportunities and contacts among the

elites. In 1903, she wrote to Orrin from Japan: "It is difficult to write many or long letters when travelling. It is doubly so if one goes in for a little society."<sup>18</sup>

Despite her extensive social and charitable interests, she always found time for precious private periods with her family at her hacienda estate in Pleasanton, thirty miles east of San Francisco.<sup>19</sup> On one occasion, she wrote Orrin of the happiness her grandson provided: "Little George is a dear child. He and his Grandma Hearst are great friends. Wm (William Randolph) and Millicent (his wife) go east, but George will stay with me until Dec. and I hope, all winter and all next spring, summer and fall."<sup>20</sup> Although best remembered for her public services and reputation, she had a soft private side typical of doting grandmothers

and mothers perhaps everywhere. In her own son's case, she made available something approaching \$10 million to support his newspaper career and empire.<sup>21</sup> A complaining letter from Paris to Orrin in 1899 suggested, however, that William's ambition tested even her generosity:

*Will is insisting upon buying a paper in Chicago. Says he will come over to see me if I do not go home very soon. It is impossible for me to throw away more money in any way for the simple reason that he has already absorbed almost all. . . . It is madness. I never know when or how Wm will break out into some additional expensive scheme . . . no argument can induce me to commit such a folly as that of starting another newspaper.*<sup>22</sup>

Nonetheless, charity, even for the publicly generous and spirited Mrs. Hearst, began substantially at home.

Insight into Phoebe's personal character is offered by her devotion to children, which she did not reserve only for her grandson and son. The author received a letter from a seventy-nine-year-old California woman who related a childhood experience expressing Mrs. Hearst's private thoughtfulness:

*When I was eleven years old, I travelled by train from S.F. [San Francisco] across the continent with my parents. I think I slept in the upper berth above Mrs. Hearst. At any rate, daytimes she sat across the aisle from my parents and me. She was a charming lady to a little girl, asked me to sit with her, talked and played with me. At the end of our jour-*

ney, she said she would like to give me a present—but I must promise to use it always. Naturally, I said I would gladly accept her present. I was surprised, but very honored, when she gave me her name for my middle name. So I was Helena Phoebe Duryea until I married when I thought I should sign only my legal name."<sup>23</sup>

This gesture appears to have been much more an act of caring than conceit. As with young Orrin Peck, Phoebe had a special rapport with and fondness for youth.

She also had varied cultural interests, many of which she pursued abroad. On one occasion, she wrote Janet about her eager anticipation at attending some notable European theatric and operatic performances: "[I] will be glad if you can engage seats for the performances. I will enclose a list. If the seats are not all together it will not matter."<sup>24</sup> For Phoebe, the cultural experience seemed temporarily to take precedence over the close and good company of fine friends. On another occasion she informed Orrin that she had "been to the Luxembourg [Palace and Gardens] and three times to the Louvre—each day spending two hours."<sup>25</sup>

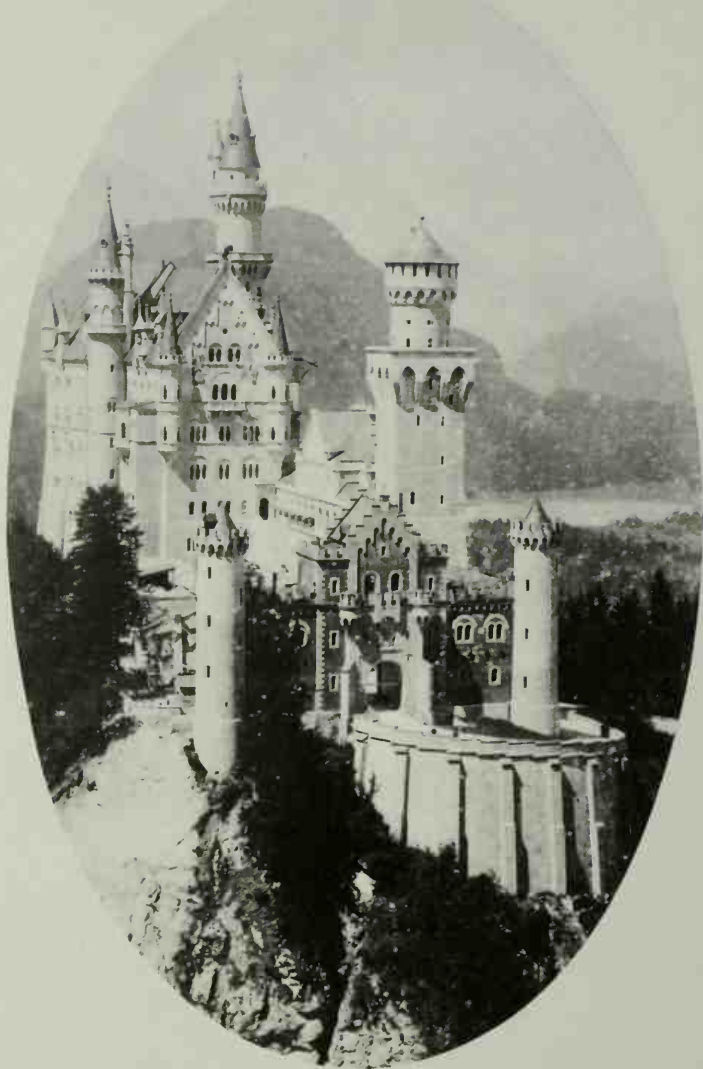
Despite her fascination with foreign travel and culture, she still loved California and had a great stake in its educational future as the first female regent of the University of California from 1897 until her death in 1919. She was a major financial donor to students, free kindergartens, libraries, hospitals, orphanages, and, of course, university facilities, including the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, the Museum and Department of Anthropology, the women's social and ath-

letic center known as Hearst Hall, and a comprehensive campus architectural plan at Berkeley, among many other gifts.<sup>26</sup> However, in 1904, she cut back support for some university programs, including the Hearst Domestic Industries (a work-study experimental program) and some women's clubs and found herself the target of criticism as well as praise from the local press.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the consensus was best expressed by the *Oakland Tribune*, June 9, 1904:

*She is under no obligation to give her money to the University or to anything or anybody else. But her very generosity has made her subject to comment, which, if not openly critical, is at least covertly invidious. Other rich people who have given nothing at all are exempt from this invidious comment. Never was there a more flagrant instance of looking a gift*

*horse in the mouth and complaining of its points. A sense of decency and propriety should stifle further comment on Mrs. Hearst's refusal to contribute further to this or that benefaction or enterprise. Her privacy should be respected even if her generosity is indifferently appreciated.*

In 1905, she wrote Janet from her beloved retreat Wyntoon on the McCloud River in northern California: *My special reason for going to town [San Francisco] is to attend a very important meeting of the [University of California] Regents. I will return here on the 10th and stay until the last of the month. I should like to stay until October. This country is so beautiful. It has been a joy to live among the pines and near the river that I really love. The air is perfect. I am thankful that my home is in California.*<sup>28</sup>



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*Phoebe Hearst and the Pecks traveled frequently in Europe and were particularly fond of Bavaria. Orrin Peck lived for years in Munich. According to an anonymous friend or relative who penciled notes on the back of many of Janet Peck's family photographs, the castle of Ludwig, the "mad king" was a favorite excursion.*

*Orrin Peck did not travel as far or frequently as his benefactress, but various photographs depicting him in picturesque costumes indicate that he shared her taste for the exotic. This image is annotated, "Orrin Peck in his Chinese costume."*

Even one who had travelled the world, experienced the culture and met the officials of cosmopolitan European cities and exotic countries, could delight in the pleasure of life amongst the pines, albeit in a rubble-stone castle with servants to attend her every need.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps, Wyntoon, though infrequently used, offered a kind of physical and emotional renewal from an engaging social and public life.

Not surprisingly, Phoebe was very vigilant when hiring those who waited on or served her, whether at Wyntoon or elsewhere. An interesting letter to Orrin's mother in 1899, while Mrs. Hearst was in London, suggests the need to research carefully a prospective employee's credentials and character:

*I am thinking of engaging a girl who is*

*at present in London, to go to America as maid, she is a great friend of Mrs. [John] Spreckel's maid who recommends her highly and she has a good letter from a family in Munich whose name and address I enclose, and will you please write at once in German asking Mrs. Allerstein [her apparent former employer] if she was thoroughly honest, good tempered and all particulars. She is a decent and rather bright looking girl but I am so afraid of taking anybody that I do not know about.<sup>30</sup>*

In an age known especially for its crass materialism and corruption, a wealthy widow such as Mrs. Hearst had to temper her goodwill with caution and discretion. Such were the concerns of the always vulnerable rich.

Her money, of course, was used for more meaningful altruistic purposes

than the hiring of domestic help. Throughout her long life, Phoebe took an avid personal and financial interest in the education and careers of young and struggling but talented artists, writers, musicians, architects, and others.<sup>31</sup> Orrin Peck was no exception. Like so many others she helped him receive instruction abroad. In fact, he was originally sent to Munich at Phoebe's expense in appreciation for the kindness shown her by Peck's mother on the trip to San Francisco years before.<sup>32</sup> Not only did he paint portraits of the Hearst family, but she commissioned him to do her father and mother as well and apparently arranged for portraits of friends.<sup>33</sup> On one occasion, she wrote "I hope he may receive orders for pictures. He takes over to SF a picture for Mr. Furry. 'My Girl in a Pumpkin Patch' is in the salon."<sup>34</sup> Yet, she admonished him: "Are you really doing lots of work? I don't mean *working* one or two days and then doing none for a week or two. You may say or think that your O.M. ["Other Mother"] should not doubt your doing work. I am anxious for your success. If you do not [sic] the lovely home cannot possibly be maintained. You must realize that."<sup>35</sup>

It would appear that Mrs. Hearst was willing to pay for some of Peck's occupational and living expenses judging by a letter to "my dear other son": "I hope Wm [William Randolph Hearst] will arrive in Munich very soon. We will settle for all the studio chairs when I return, also pay your bill for clothes."<sup>36</sup> Although Orrin Peck had a very special relationship with Phoebe, it was not unusual for the wealthy to patronize or subsidize the arts or to have themselves immortalized on canvas. In fact, Phoebe indicated a desire to have the famous American painter, John Singer Sargent, do her portrait. In a letter from Paris to Janet, she wrote:

*Has Sargent returned to London yet? Wm told me that he wanted him to paint a portrait of me, also of him (Wm) and family. I suppose one must try to arrange with Sargent a year or more in advance. That is if he would do the work at all. If he should have time and be willing to paint a portrait of me, I could go to London anytime next Spring or Fall. I am not growing younger and do not care to wait very long.*<sup>37</sup>

Many members of the Gilded Age elite owned art collections which were usually more distinguished by their cost than by their quality. Phoebe made her extensive collection available for public viewing in 1916 at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco.<sup>38</sup> However, her fascination with art went beyond social custom to personal fulfillment and pleasure, with Orrin Peck as the favorite beneficiary of her genuine artistic interest.

In 1906, from Rome, the peripatetic Mrs. Hearst urged him to "hurry up, get ready some things for the Royal Academy and see where you can hold an exhibition of your work in the Spring."<sup>39</sup> However, in the same letter she seemed insulted by his

infrequent correspondence: "Have you been so very busy working on those pictures, that you could not send me a line. You don't paint in the evenings and there is an occasional dull light after five p.m."<sup>40</sup> Several years earlier, regarding a possible New York exhibition of his work, Phoebe pleaded with Orrin: "Do come east soon. I miss you very much. You will surely have to come and help me give entertainments after your exhibition. . . . I shall expect a letter. You see I do not ask for much—a letter now and you later."<sup>41</sup>

Obviously, Peck was not just another protégé. He was more like a surrogate son, perhaps the kind she wanted but never had. In a bitter letter to Orrin in 1885, she complained that Will "is selfish, indifferent and undemonstrative as his father. Both

have their good qualities, but the other side of their natures are most trying."<sup>42</sup> Certainly, some of her son's female companions displeased Phoebe. She anxiously wrote Mrs. Peck (Orrin's mother): "I am so distressed about Will that I don't really know how I can *live* if he marries Eleanor Calhoun. *She* is determined to marry him and it seems as if he must be in the toils of the Devilfish."<sup>43</sup> The marriage never took place, but her son's fascination with then socially suspect dramatic actresses and theatre people like Miss Calhoun caused much consternation for the proper Mrs. Hearst.<sup>44</sup>

Although Mrs. Hearst could be domineering toward Orrin, the Hearst-Peck correspondence reveals a deep personal bond between two friends, especially as expressed by



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*Orrin Peck in middle age.*

*Phoebe Hearst doted on her grandchildren, shown here sitting on the "Pozo" at her Pleasanton hacienda.*

Phoebe. In addition, what emerges from the letters is the fact that Mrs. Hearst, particularly after 1900, was an extensive and expensive world traveller, when not plagued by periodic illness such as neuralgia or rheumatic fever.<sup>45</sup> Rather than a member of the idle rich, she was nearly always on the move on sometimes uncomfortable steamer trips across the Atlantic and from city to city in Europe, particularly London, Paris, Rome, and Naples. Although she kept an apartment in Paris, it would be inappropriate to call her an expatriate, for she spent considerable time in California and Washington, D.C. But her letters to the Peck family are full of references to unidentified people undoubtedly of the European upper class. She was acquainted with such aristocrats as

Baroness Franchetti in Paris and frequently met such Americans traveling abroad as various members of the famous Spreckels family.<sup>46</sup> She obviously delighted in good friends, new experiences, and increased knowledge. At one time, she even stayed in a makeshift hospital tent to observe a University of California archaeological excavation she had financed in Egypt.<sup>47</sup> In short, the sprightly Mrs. Hearst liked to be where the action was, and if nothing interesting was taking place, she was apt to create her own kind of excitement.

Notwithstanding substantial self-indulgent travel, she always found time to help others. Free kindergartens, orphanages, libraries, hospitals, charity organizations, service clubs, struggling students, and es-

pecially the University of California at Berkeley benefitted from her willingness to give. Artist Orrin Peck is a revealing case study of her personal devotion and ample generosity toward others and her patronage of the arts throughout her life. In an age when American women were still handicapped by many Victorian taboos and traditions, Mrs. Hearst was a peripatetic philanthropist who dared to assert her interests and independence at home and abroad. Yet, her letters to the Peck family often suggest ambivalent behavior. Her self-centered materialistic flourish, social snobbery, and world travel were consistent with elitist activities of the Gilded Age. Nonetheless, her life, above all else, was a consummate act of public and private kindness and compassion typical of the heightened social consciousness of America's turn-of-the-century Progressive era. This was the paradox of Phoebe Hearst—a kind of self-indulgent altruism. In sum, she enjoyed herself, but she also enjoyed helping others, perhaps even more. Although not unique, her considerable charity substantially set her apart from many other wealthy women of her generation who, like women generally, are only now beginning to find their way deservedly into California history texts.<sup>48</sup> [CHS]

*The author would like to thank the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California, for permission to publish portions of letters from the Orrin M. Peck manuscript collection.*

*See notes beginning on page 316.*





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# TO THE SOURCE

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*The founding of labor-oriented archival programs in the 1950s and 1960s coincided with the rise of interest in social history and the study of the American labor movement and worker. Labor studies courses, such as those at San Francisco Community College, San Francisco State University, Merritt College, and San Jose State University; new publications such as Labor History; and the establishment of labor history societies, such as the San Francisco Bay Area Labor History Workshop, brought together historians, labor leaders, and rank-and-file trade unionists. With the help of archivists, these same people made considerable progress during this period in locating and preserving the historical documentation of working men and women and their unions.*

*Before 1950, archival repositories consisted mainly of public archives on the national and state levels. Beginning with the 1970s many new archival programs were established and some already in existence were expanded—especially those affiliated with colleges and universities. These archives branched out into new fields of study, often with a geographical area or region as their focal*

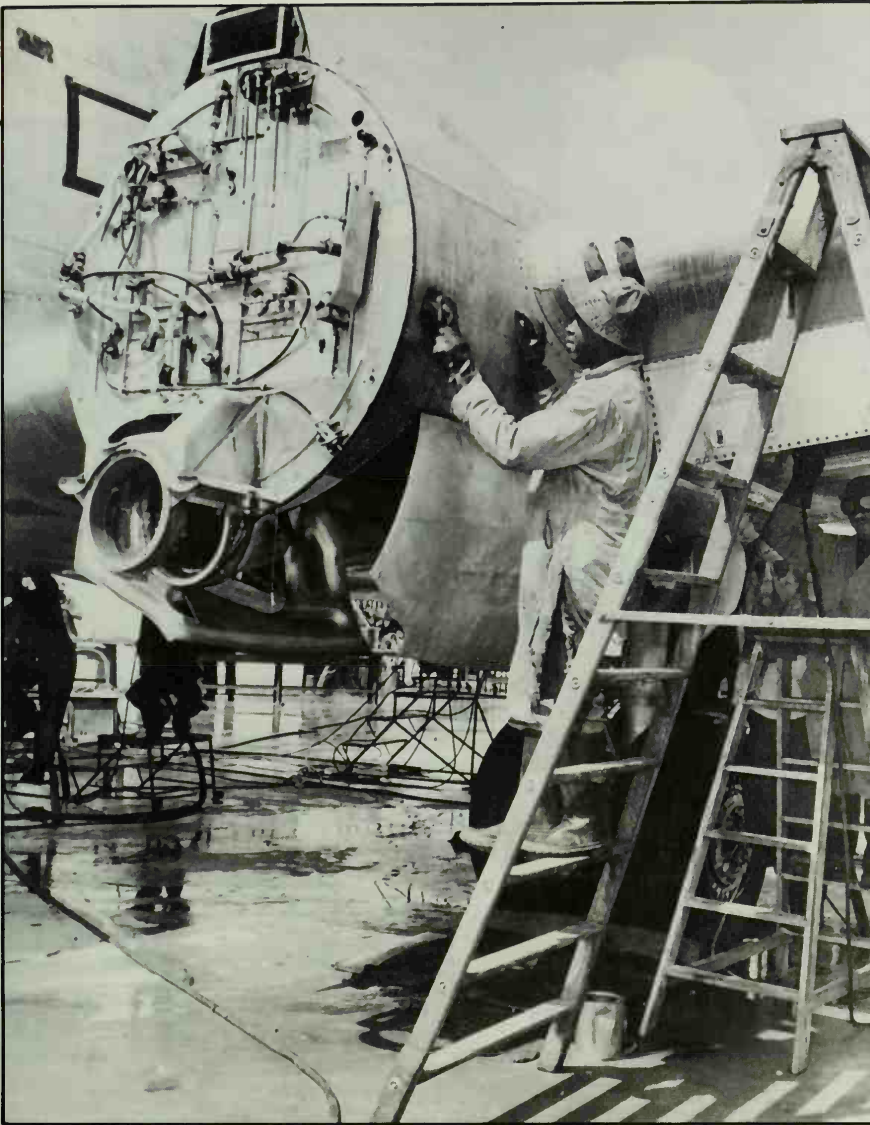
*point of collecting. Others selected a subject theme around which to develop an archives not linked to spatial boundaries. The best examples of these subject oriented programs are the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America (formerly The Women's Archives) at Radcliffe College and the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (formerly the Labor Archives) at Wayne State University.*

*Since the opening at Wayne of a first-rate archival program devoted to labor, over a dozen others have been established across the country, including the Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, a part of the Tamiment Institute Library at New York University; the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University; the Texas Labor Archives at the University of Texas, Arlington; the Pennsylvania Historical Collections and Labor Archives at Pennsylvania State University; the George Meany Memorial Archives at Silver Spring, Maryland, established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council; and the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University, the newest library devoted exclusively to labor.*

*In addition to these theme-oriented*



SOUTHERN LABOR ARCHIVES, GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY



*The central role of "labor history" in all history is dramatically illustrated by this image of workers at the Lockheed Air Terminal in Los Angeles doing maintenance work on planes flying the Berlin Airlift in 1949.*

# ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS FOR CALIFORNIA LABOR HISTORY

*compiled by Lynn A. Bonfield*



collections, other libraries with more general collecting policies began to search out and acquire labor related material. In fact, most college and university collections as well as historical societies became aware of the importance of material relating to working men and women.

In California, we are fortunate to have a wide range of these general collections which embrace labor topics. The University of California, Los Angeles, Stanford, and San Diego State University have the personal papers of individuals and the archives of organizations connected with labor. The California Historical Society has the Burnette Haskell papers as well as broadsides and photographs from the building trades and P. H. McCarthy's years as San Francisco mayor and head of the San Francisco Building Trades Council. Eighty oral histories with California labor leaders were conducted and transcripts with some supporting manuscript materials were deposited in the Society's library. The Sacramento History Center has a fine collection from the local typographical union to complement its strong newspa-

per archives. California labor unions, too, have maintained libraries through the years, often collecting their archives at the international and local level, such as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP), both in San Francisco.

Labor organizations and issues cross state boundaries, as do individual labor leaders and workers, so many materials relating to California are located outside of the state. The University of Oregon, Special Collections, for instance, has the papers of Morris Watson, longtime editor of the ILWU newspaper; the University of Washington's Manuscript and University Archives has the Inlandboatmen's records, which include early material from the time when the union was simply the Ferryboatmen's Union of California. Although the union is now headquartered in Seattle, its records continue to reflect the California scene as well.

Going east, a researcher of California labor would want to visit the Western Historical Collections at the University of Colorado, Boulder, to see the Western

Federation of Miners (WFM) and the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW) collections. In Madison, Wisconsin, a researcher can identify collections using "A Guide to Labor Papers in the Historical Society of Wisconsin."

The Bentley Library at the University of Michigan has many oral histories which relate to California labor, including those in the Twentieth Century Trade Union Woman Project. At Pennsylvania State University researchers can see collections on the San Francisco General Strike of 1934 and on District 38 of the United Steelworkers of America in Los Angeles. In Atlanta at Georgia State University, a researcher would find the papers of the International Association of Machinists with its large membership from the California aerospace and airlines industries. The Southern Labor Archives there has also acquired the archives of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) whose records were seized by the court when PATCO was forced into bankruptcy in 1981 as a result of President Reagan's response to the air controllers strike.

The following pages contain a description of the California labor collections at five California libraries and Wayne State University's Walter P. Reuther Library. These presentations were part of a panel at the annual meeting of the Southwest Labor Studies Conference on March 14, 1986, at San Francisco State University. At the time many people in the audience expressed an interest in obtaining written copies of the presentations, and the Labor Archives took on the job of transcribing and editing the talks. Those not directly relating to California—the University of Colorado, Georgia State University, and University of Washington—are not included here but may be obtained by writing directly to the archivists of those repositories.

Most archival repositories, including those connected with business, cultural programs, and associations, have material relating to the men and women who

Lynn A. Bonfield has been director of the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University since it opened in January, 1985. She previously held archival positions at Harvard, Radcliffe, and Temple universities and at the California Historical Society.

Sarah Cooper became director of the Southern California Library in 1983. She has been archivist at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and coordinator of the society's Social Action Collection.

Bonnie Hardwick became head of the Manuscript Division of the Bancroft Library in 1986. She was previously a manuscript specialist in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library. She holds a Ph.D. in American Literature from the University of Pennsylvania and a Master's degree in Library and Information

Science from the University of Denver.

Robert Marshall is archivist for the Urban Archives Center at California State University, Northridge. Previously he was archival specialist in Special Collections at the Chicago Public Library where he established the Neighborhood History Research Collection.

Philip P. Mason is Professor of History and director of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University. He is past president of the Society of American Archivists, and has written on and taught labor history and archival administration.

Carol Schwartz was librarian and archivist for the ILWU until 1985. She has represented the ILWU in the San Francisco Labor Foundation, which was instrumental in establishing the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University.





*Instrumentation equipment for a rocket test stand begins as a collection of precisely engineered but unconnected parts. Mrs. Goldie Berardino of Aerojet-General Corporation performs one of the assembly steps at the company's plant in Foothill, California.*

made the activity function. These collections and photographs may not be labelled as "workers" or "labor," so researchers will need to talk personally with the archivists and librarians in charge. Never assume that a collection has ignored the employees or the trades and skills needed to run the organization. Archivists, too, need to put aside their assumptions that historians are our only researchers or our only important researchers. Today, more often than not, the researcher in an archival repository is a media specialist, and in collections relating to labor, the researchers may be rank-and-file workers finding their place in history.

**The Archives of Labor  
and Urban Affairs  
Walter P. Reuther Library  
Wayne State University**

*by Philip P. Mason  
Director*

The Archives of Labor and Urban

Affairs was established in 1960 to collect the records of the American labor movement, with special emphasis upon industrial unionism and related social, economic, and political reform movements in the United States. A second major theme has been workers, working conditions, and the nature of work. Later, the theme of urban affairs was added to the collecting scope, limited primarily to the southeastern Michigan region. The majority of archival collections relate to the period after 1920, though there are some significant materials from the early twentieth century. As of 1982, the Archives contained about 45,000 linear feet of records, 500,000 photographs, broadsides, posters, and illustrations; more than 20,000 films, tape recordings and other audio-visual materials; and a reference library of 10,000 volumes.

As a part of its agreement with various international unions, the Archives accepted responsibility for affiliated local unions in all parts of the United States and Canada. In some cases, the archival collection of all locals was solicited—such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the United Farm Workers (UFW), and the United Auto Workers (UAW). A more selective policy was adopted for the local union records of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and The Newspaper Guild (TNG). Interestingly, the largest single group of records generated by unions, especially on the local level, relates to the grievance process. For all General Motors plants of the UAW, more than 300,000 grievances are handled each year. In all, the Archives has received more than 2,000 linear feet of such files. Local union records are vital in understanding



the origin of many international union policies and programs, especially those representing unions with local dissident elements. Local union records also document the nature of work, working conditions, the employment of minorities and women, and the relationship of unions to community activities and politics.

Detailed guides to all our collections are available to researchers at Wayne State University and also at the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University. It is impossible to mention even a fraction of our collections in this space, but among our highlights are the records of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), consisting of 120 linear feet of material covering the years 1935 to 1955. The internal operation of the CIO is reflected in these files as well as the organization's involvement in a wide variety of activities such as civil rights, social security, housing, universal military training, southern organizing campaigns, international affairs, World War II, communism, and union racketeering.

Another major collecting area has been reform organizations particularly involved with the American labor movement. Among collections in this area are the Workers Defense League, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the National Farm Worker Ministry, National Sharecroppers Fund, the People's Song Library, Center for Community Change, Committee For National Health Insurance, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Obtaining the papers of union reform and dissident movements is also a major collecting goal of the Archives. Among those which it now holds are: The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM); Miners for Democracy; Steelworkers

Fight Back; Teamsters for a Democratic Union; and the Association for Union Democracy.

The personal files of the labor leaders at the national, regional and local level, rank-and-file union members, reformers, community leaders, labor journalists, church leaders, public officials, and others involved in related reform movements match the organizational files in importance and research value. Happily, detailed information on the hundreds of such collections here is available in Pflug's *A Guide to the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs*, the *Archives Newsletter*, and other publications.

Because of the interest of a large number of researchers in the subject of women's rights and the role of women in unions, the Archives has established a high priority for such collections. The records of women's departments and women's auxiliary groups of unions have great research value, as do the personal papers of women. The Mary Heaton Vorse papers, for example, represent one of the largest and most important collections in the Archives. Ms. Vorse, who was born in 1874 and raised in Amherst, Massachusetts, achieved her initial success as a writer of light fiction. She also wrote news articles for the International News Service, United Press, Labor Press Association, Federated Press, and newspapers in New York, Washington and Paris. From 1912 to her death in 1966, Vorse traveled throughout the United States and abroad observing and reporting on strikes, civil disturbances, wars, revolutions, and political upheavals. Her activities, views and interests, especially on women's rights, are described in her voluminous correspondence with the political and literary intelligentsia of the first six decades of the 20th century.

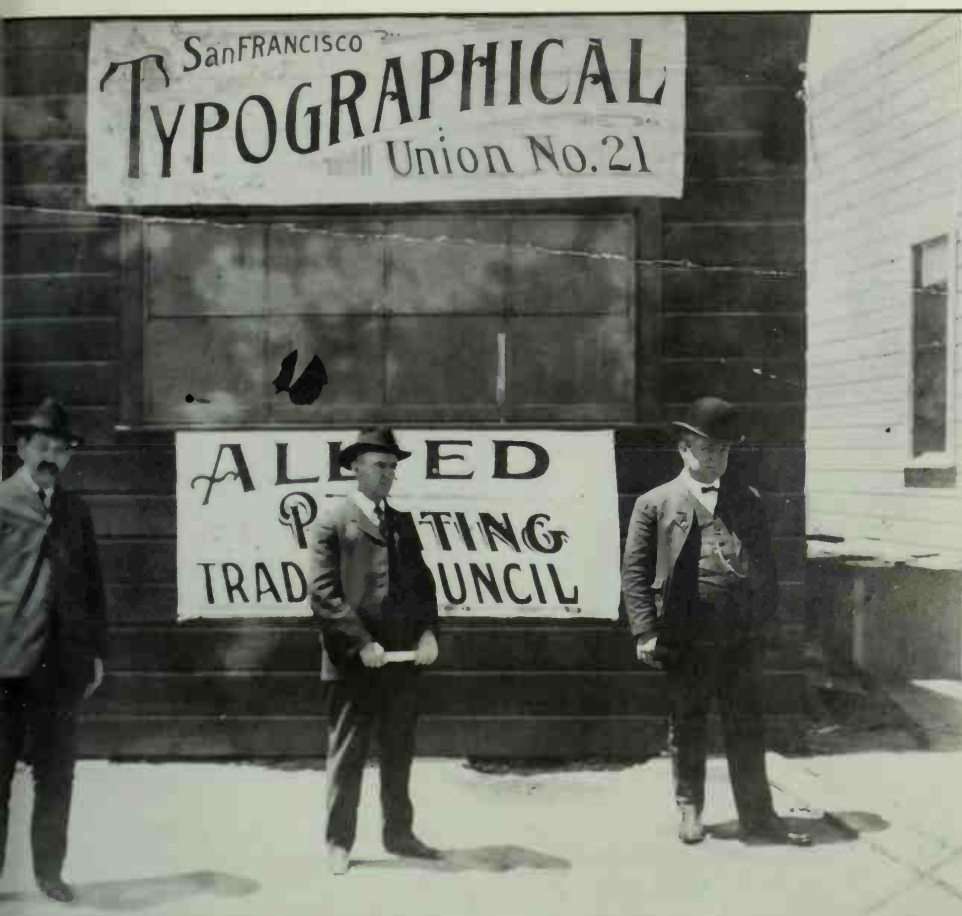
Other important women's collections include: Ann Blankenhorn,

Phyllis Collier, Edith Christenson, Katherine Pollack Ellickson, Jean Gould, Lillian Hatcher, Dorothy Haener, Mildred Jeffrey, Dolores Huerte, Mary Herrick, Selma Borchartt, Mary Van Kleek, Olga Madar, Loretta Moore, Matilda Robbins, Carrie Overton, Mary White Ovington, Moragh Simchak, Marjorie Stern, Mary Wheeler, and Raya Dunayavskaya.

The Archives, from its establishment, has utilized oral history to supplement its holdings of archival, manuscript, and library materials. The first oral history project related to the unionization of the automobile industry. More than 140 people active in the founding and early history of the UAW were interviewed. Other oral history projects sponsored by the Archives deal with the role of women and minorities in the labor movement, and the histories of the American Federation of State, County

LABOR ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH CENTER, SF STATE UNIVERSITY





*Publishing is one of San Francisco's oldest industries, and typesetters and printers have played a variety of important roles in the city's cultural and labor history.*

and Municipal Employees, the American Federation of Teachers, the Newspaper Guild, and the United Farm Workers.

The audio-visual section of the Archives contains extensive source material on labor. More than half a million photographs have been collected from a variety of sources—unions, union members, personal donors, newspapers, and commercial photographers. They document important strikes and other events, conventions, meetings, parades, and Labor Day and other celebrations. Among the IWW-related collections, for example, are unique photographs of the funerals of Joe Hill, Frank Little, and other union martyrs, the Everett "massacre," the deportation of "Wobblies" from Bisbee, and the famous Wheatland, Patterson, and Lawrence strikes. The Ludlow Massacre is shown in fifteen rare glass negatives. Interior

scenes of mills and factories, stores and shops, mines and mining camps, as well as photographs of work in lumber camps and other outdoor settings depict work places, tools, and workers. Acquisition of 140 photographs by the distinguished artist Lewis W. Hine adds immeasurably to the Archives holdings.

Broadside, strike posters, bulletins, cartoons, murals and paintings, and other illustrations represent another important segment of the audio-visual collection. The cartoons of Ernest Reibe, originator of the "Mr. Block Series," which appeared in the *Industrial Worker* and other IWW publications, are a rich source for the education and propaganda policies of the IWW. In 1981, the Archives obtained four postcards written by Joe Hill between 1911 and 1914, each containing a cartoon. One, drawn in color while Hill was awaiting execution in the penitentiary in

Salt Lake City in 1914, depicts a Christmas scene celebrated by Hill the year before.

The film collection is also rich, and, for the most part, an untapped source. Several thousand films—mostly raw footage—depict strikes, work scenes, conventions, meetings, parades, and other historic events. These sources have been used extensively by television and documentary film producers but seldom by historians.

Access to union and other records is controlled by legal agreement with each donor. The UAW, for example, has opened to scholarly research all its inactive records that are ten years or older; those files less than ten years old are closed except by special permission of the union. All published materials are available without restriction. Other unions, organizations, and personal donors have adopted access provisions which





range from twenty years of closure to no restrictions.

The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs has a Kaiser Family Foundation Travel Grant Program whereby researchers can be awarded up to \$700 for expenses to come to Detroit to use the Archives. Application forms can be obtained from the Director of the Archives.

### **The Bancroft Library University of California, Berkeley**

*by Bonnie Hardwick  
Head, Manuscript Division*

The Bancroft Library, on the University of California campus at Berkeley, is one of the largest collections of manuscripts, rare books, and special collections in the United States. Hubert Howe Bancroft began gathering Western Americana in the 1850s, concentrating first on California and the Pacific states but soon extending his collection to encompass the entire western region from Alaska to Panama and east to the

Rocky Mountain states. Included among the Bancroft's more than 12,000 collections today are the papers of individuals and organizations representing such diverse fields as literature, politics, journalism, theater, conservation, education, science, and business.

From these vast holdings, I have compiled a highly selective bibliography of materials relating to the labor movement. Not listed are larger collections of personal papers in which only small sections deal with labor relations; but I have included small collections of very early materials, such as the Eureka Typographical Union of San Francisco for which we have a record book of minutes for 1853-1859, and a handful of early records of the Knights of Labor. Various other unions are represented. Most of them are fairly predictable in terms of California geography and history, with emphasis on sailors and maritime unions, printing, mining, and agriculture. There is also much material relating to labor strife in agriculture. Business papers of other industries, too, often contain

information on labor relations, presenting management points of view. Also held are some personal papers of labor activists, such as Tom Mooney, and papers of legal firms that dealt with labor-related cases, such as the Gladstein, Leonard, Patsey and Anderson firm. The latter contains 100 cartons of Norman Leonard's cases, mainly dealing with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

The Bancroft's Regional Oral History Office has been active for over thirty years and during that time has conducted a number of interviews dealing with labor issues. The catalog of oral histories completed by the office between 1954 and 1979 describes twenty-three oral history projects relating directly to business and labor, including, for example, interviews with Warren Billings and Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU. Another group concerns the wine industry in California; and among the many oral histories of the Earl Warren Era Project are the views of labor leaders of that time.

The following list indicates some of the labor-related manuscript collections in the Bancroft Library. By fully utilizing various catalogs and finding aids, as well as the able assistance of the reference librarian, a creative researcher will discover additional caches of labor movement materials in other Bancroft special collections, such as sound recordings of speeches by Cesar Chavez and a fine group of 247 photographs of the ILWU strike and the San Francisco General Strike of 1934.

California Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Immigration and Housing. Records, ca. 1913-1937. 92 cartons, 9 packages, and 8 card files. Preliminary inventory available.

Coast Seamen's Union of the Pacific

*Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs*  
Walter P. Reuther Library  
Wayne State University  
Detroit, MI 48202  
(313) 577-4024

*The Bancroft Library*  
University of California  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
(415) 643-8153

*Labor Archives and Research Center*  
San Francisco State University  
480 Winston Drive  
San Francisco, CA 94132  
(415) 564-4010

*Anne Rand Memorial Library*  
1188 Franklin Street  
San Francisco, CA 94109  
(415) 775-0533

*Southern California Library for  
Social Studies and Research*  
6120 South Vermont Avenue

Los Angeles, CA 90044  
(213) 759-6063

*Southern Labor Archives*  
Alumni Hall  
Georgia State University  
Atlanta, GA 30303  
(404) 658-2477

*University of Washington Libraries*  
Manuscripts and Archives  
Seattle, WA 98195  
(206) 543-1879

*Urban History Center*  
California State University  
Northridge, CA 91324  
(818) 885-2487

*Western Historical Collections*  
University Libraries  
Campus Box 184  
Boulder, CO 80309  
(303) 492-7242



*The iron workers who built the Golden Gate Bridge were among those whose dramatic roles were celebrated in the 1987 commemoration of the bridge's fiftieth anniversary.*

Coast. Treasurer's ledger, 1885–1887. 1 volume.

Cross, Ira Brown. California labor notes, ca. 1847–1932. 4 cartons. Notes, clippings, and correspondence gathered for his book, *History of the Labor Movement in California*. Inventory available.

Dellums, Cottrell L. Correspondence and papers. 43 cartons. Includes records of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Preliminary inventory available.

Eggleston, Arthur Dupuy. Correspondence and papers, 1935–1941. 2 boxes and 2 cartons. Labor editor on the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Inventory available.

Eureka Typographical Union, No. 21, San Francisco. Record book, 1853–1859. 1 volume.

Federal Writers' Project, Oakland,

Calif. Source material gathered by Federal Writers' Project on Migratory Labor, District No. 8, ca. 1936–1939. 36 cartons and 3 card file boxes.

Gladstein, Leonard, Patsey and Anderson, Attorneys at Law, San Francisco. Legal files, ca. 1933–1957. 7 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.

The Green Rising, 1910–1977: A Supplement to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Project. 17 reels of microfilm. Published guide available.

Gold Hill Miners' Union. Organizational papers, Gold Hill, Nevada, 1876–1921. 4 volumes and 2 portfolios.

International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America. Records, ca. 1938–1951. 21 cartons. Preliminary

inventory available.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Subject files relating to seamen's and maritime unions, ca. 1936–1976. 21 cartons. Inventory available.

International Typographical Union of North America, Union No. 46, Sacramento. Minutes of meetings, 1859–1940. 10 volumes.

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, No. 61, Bodie, Calif. Records, 1890–1913. 2 volumes.

International Workmen's Association. Records, 1882–1887. 1 box. See Haskell Family Papers for related materials.

Ireland, Luis Arthurs. Correspondence and papers, 1910–1960. 3 boxes, 3 cartons, and 1 volume. Secretary of the Printers' Board of



Trade and the Employing Printers' Association.

Knights of Labor. Records, 1886–1892. 1 portfolio and 1 volume.

Lewis, Austin. Correspondence and papers, 1913–1944. 1 box and 4 cartons. Materials re: Tom Mooney and Warren Billings; California's criminal syndicalism law. Inventory available.

Macarthur, Walter. Correspondence and papers, ca. 1905–1944. 7 cartons. Materials on the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

Mooney, Thomas J. Correspondence and papers, 1906–1942. 50 cartons, 84 volumes, 37 scrapbooks, 15 packages, and 1 portfolio. Inventory available.

National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Records, ca. 1938–1955. 21 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.

Roney, Frank. Correspondence and papers, 1870–1925. 2 boxes. Early labor movement in San Francisco, with emphasis on the iron industry and the Federated Trades Council.

San Francisco CIO Council. Records, ca. 1939–1949. 21 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.

San Francisco Labor Council. Records, 1906–1965. 175 cartons and 4 packages. Temporary inventory available.

Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Papers, 1934–1970. 60 reels of microfilm. Originals in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C. Published guide available.

Taylor, Paul Shuster. Material concerning Mexican labor in the United States, collected ca. 1927–1932. 2 cartons. Also: Field notes for his book, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, 1927–1930. 1 box.

## Labor Archives and Research Center San Francisco State University

By Lynn A. Bonfield  
Director

The Labor Archives and Research Center collects archival and printed materials which document the lives of Northern California working men and women and their unions. It houses, for example, the eighty-box archives of the Bay Area Typographical Union, Local 21, the oldest continually existing union in the Bay Area, and the first to admit women on an equal basis with men. Papers of unionists and friends of labor have also been collected: among them 25 boxes of the papers of David Selvin, labor journalist and historian, and 160 boxes of the papers of Norman Leonard, labor lawyer for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Material dealing with women workers can be found in the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union W.A.G.E.) Collection which fills twenty boxes, including minutes, subject files, and testimony before the California Industrial Welfare Commission, 1971–1982. An earlier collection focusing on women is the Bookbinders and Bindery Women's Union papers. The minutes begin in 1902 when there were separate locals for men and "girls." In 1917 they merged into Local 31–125, and the minutes in the collection continue through 1970. This year the Department Store Employees, Local 1100, in San Francisco celebrates its fiftieth anniversary and retired officers Larry Vail and Walter Johnson have donated over two cubic feet of records from this predominantly female union, including complete documentation of the Sears strike, 1973–1975.

A large collection from the United Professors of California, the first fac-

ulty union in the California State University system, is on permanent deposit at the Archives. Its predecessor, the California Faculty Association, has also been approached to designate the Archives as its official repository. A similar arrangement has been made with the San Francisco Labor Council; Sign, Display, and Allied Crafts Union; and Household Workers' Rights.

Visual materials are a high priority in the collecting policy of the Archives. A major donation from *The People's World* of five boxes of photographs, 1935–1955, includes a dozen photos by Dorothea Lange. Several photographs from the collection will be featured as book covers and illustrations in articles in the next year. Photographs are also found in the collections of the San Francisco Labor Council and the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. Another compelling visual item is the 1907 Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) Charter of a North Beach Italian bakery, which is displayed in the reading room. Archie Green, the donor of the IWW charter, also gave the Archives the original 1916 sheet music to "The Rebel Girl," the song Joe Hill wrote for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. A reproduction of the front cover is available at the Archives.

The maritime industry is represented in the many International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union pamphlets as well as in the thirty boxes containing the papers of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific for the years 1935–1942. The Archives' poster collection includes several Rockwell Kent images used during the Harry Bridges era. From the same period are three Ben Shahn posters which are being deacidified and encapsulated in order to ensure their existence for future exhibition.

Other gifts of broadsides, glass-plate negatives, buttons, newspa-





*World War II was an industrial war, fought with enormous quantities of weaponry, ammunition, and other equipment, and women who worked in factories were as much a part of the war effort as the men who fought in the field. Photographs from the People's World collection provide exceptional documentation of the variety and conditions of these women's work.*

pers, books, films, videos, tapes, long-playing records, histories of locals, and biographies of people in the labor movement are available for researchers to use.

The Archives is co-sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Labor Foundation, a non-profit corporation whose charter authorizes it to receive funds and properties from private and public sources for purposes relating to labor education. The Labor Foundation worked for many years to establish a repository for the documents of the Bay Area labor movement. In 1984, the Labor Foundation concluded an agreement with San Francisco State University to house the Archives. At the official opening of the Archives on February 13, 1986, over 300 labor officials, union members, retirees, and university faculty and staff joined in the celebration.

The Archives maintains exhibit

cases displaying photographs, ephemera, labor art, and union records from its collection. Plans are underway to host programs, special events, and exhibits on a regular basis. The first program in the spring of 1986 honored P.H. McCarthy of the Building Trades Council in San Francisco, who was elected mayor of the city in 1909. Later programs have highlighted New Deal arts, IWW "rebel art," and the building of the Golden Gate Bridge.

#### **Southern California Library For Social Studies and Research**

*by Sarah Cooper  
Director*

I would like to do three things: to explain what I consider to be the *political* nature of the labor collections at SCL; to highlight a few of our collections and mention the varying forms of archival materials we

have; and to discuss the role our institution has played and can play in documenting Southern California labor history. What do I mean by the political nature of our labor collections? I mean two things primarily.

First, our labor archives are not primarily the official records of unions or locals of unions. Rather they are the correspondence, legal files, and pamphlets of labor activists battling the government or employers in fighting for the political right to protest and to organize. These are papers of individuals as well as support organizations.

Second, I mean by the political nature of our collections that the library itself has a political origin. It was founded by Emil Freed, a longtime Los Angeles activist and member of the Communist Party, who participated in or observed many of the movements the library documents, such as the organizing of the CIO,



the Hollywood Studio strikes, and the fight against McCarthyism in the 1950s. Over the past year we have been sorting through and organizing materials he collected from the thirties until his death in 1982. Indeed, Freed's personal papers at the library reflect his political experience: they consist mainly of his correspondence from the Lincoln Heights Jail, where he served ten months in 1949 for having picketed during the 1946 Hollywood Studio Strike.

In reflecting on the history of our library, I have found a statement by Howard Zinn to be particularly appropriate. Addressing a meeting of archivists in 1970, he said "knowledge has a social origin and a social use. It comes out of a divided, embattled world and is poured into such a world." Viewing archives as a concrete part of a larger body of human knowledge, I see the historical materials we all collect as having a social origin and social use. Certainly the collections at the Southern California Library come out of a divided, embattled world.

Let me highlight a few of our labor collections to illustrate how much they reflect the political battles California labor activists have faced over the past fifty to sixty years. What is very well documented in them is a form of political harassment that could be used against only foreign-born labor activists: that is, of course, the threat of deportation. This threat is the genesis of the most significant archival collection we have: the legal files of lawyer Richard Gladstein pertaining to the many attempts by the U.S. government to deport his well-known client, longshore leader Harry Bridges.

Bridges was never deported, but other labor activists of the same period were, such as Guatemalan-born Luisa Moreno, who had been an organizer for the cannery and agricultural workers union. Her unsuc-

cessful fight against deportation is documented in the papers of her lawyer, Robert Kenny, a civil liberties champion and one-time California Attorney General. Other civil rights and civil liberties collections we have document the struggle of minorities as well as labor people fighting for their rights. This theme runs through our collections from the Los Angeles chapters of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Civil Rights Congress.

The library also maintains materials on Los Angeles organizations currently involved in protecting the rights of foreign-born residents, in particular Mexican and Central American immigrants to Los Angeles. Though we do not as yet have full-blown archival collections on these groups, we do have the literature files of a number of local support organizations, such as *El Rescate*, *Casa El Salvador*, Guatemala Information Center, and the Central American Refugee Center. These are part of our contemporary Heritage Project.

We have about 20,000 catalogued pamphlets, many of which date from the 1930s. I view our pamphlets as primary source materials, as archival materials, really, because political pamphlets have not been systematically collected by research libraries. Our labor or union pamphlets are diverse, though there is a preponderance of pamphlets from unions in which the Communist Party played a significant role such as the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the United Electrical Workers, and the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union. We also have scattered pamphlets from the Trade Union Unity League and the International Labor Defense.

In highlighting the different forms of archival materials at SCL, I need to mention our documentary film collection, which includes a number

of labor films from the 1930s and 1940s. Under a grant from the American Film Institute/National Endowment for the Arts preservation programs, we have been able to have preservation negatives made of several of our films, as well as positive prints that can be used for reference. Included in this collection are short films on the El Monte berry pickers and Kern County cotton strikes of the thirties, demonstrations in San Pedro and Los Angeles, and demonstrations in support of Tom Mooney.

As far as I can tell, SCL and the Urban Archives at Northridge are the only two southern California institutions that have articulated a focused collecting interest in labor history, though there is of course some good labor material at other regional institutions, particularly UCLA. Thus, small as we are, SCL has an important role to play in doing what we can to document some aspects of labor history in our region of the state. We can be encouraged by what has happened in northern California with the development of the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University. It is my hope that in due course southern California will develop a similar consciousness of its own labor history and seriously begin the task of preserving it.

### **The Anne Rand Library International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union**

*by Carol Schwartz  
Former Librarian*

The Anne Rand Library of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) is a research library and archives. As an in-house archives, it has its own unique organization and arrange-





*Labor history includes such topics as how individuals learn their work. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey watches seventeen-year-old trainee Ricky Esgurra practice welding at the Alameda Air Station in 1967.*

ments that reflect the growth of the ILWU.

The union arrived on the scene in the late 1930s with the organizing of the CIO, and the collection reflects not only the tremendous organizing of the ILWU during those years but the dedication of the workers to the union movement.

The ILWU brought together top people to become staff workers in the union. It hired Morris Watson from New York as the first editor of *The Dispatcher*, the union's official newspaper. It also brought Lincoln Fairley, a Harvard economist, who, in turn, hired Anne Rand as the first librarian in 1945.

The library collection grew rapidly with a broad scope. It encompasses not only the materials necessary to

run a union, but resource material on major social issues on which the union takes positions. Anne Rand drew students, writers, anyone interested in labor history into the library. It became a public resource open to all people and groups interested in labor history and the social issues of the day. It was always said that Anne Rand not only provided the material that you were seeking, but she sought to expand your mind.

The collection achieved historical significance as an archives somewhere in the 1950s or 1960s. Before that it was known only as a research library with a cataloged collection of about 3,000 volumes. It collected materials on the CIO unions. We have convention proceedings of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Pack-

inghouse Workers, and the United Electrical Workers (UE). There is very good, cataloged documentation of the fifties, the persecution of these unions during the McCarthy years, and their expulsion from the CIO. We have the transcript of the ILWU expulsion. There are proceedings and records from the California CIO as well as the National CIO.

The Archives holdings deal primarily with the ILWU. Records are available to researchers with approval; anything in the public domain is available without restriction. They include the legal documents, the trial transcripts, and material developed around support committees. We have organizing files of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which are unique because or-





ganizers never used telephones in the 1930s and 1940s but were accountable by handwritten correspondence for what they had done every day; in many cases their days were divided by the hour. The Archives contains convention transcripts and longshore division caucus transcripts as well as all other documents from conventions and conferences. We have correspondence files; a section of about 120 file drawers (about 250 cubic feet) holds the history files which organize material on the union activity by subject. In that section is almost every article that has been printed on Harry Bridges. The union subscribed to a clipping service from newspapers all over the country, and any article that mentioned Harry Bridges or the ILWU was sent to us. Now the service is restricted to the states where the ILWU has locals.

Since 1942 the Library has maintained an index to *The Dispatcher*, the union newspaper, which is a tremendous finding aid for activities undertaken by the ILWU, providing a time and place for almost every union action, and serving as the first reference in any research project.

Also held by the ILWU are the records of federations in which the ILWU was a member. The Committee for Maritime Unity existed right after World War II, headed by Harry Bridges and Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union. The Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board was a tripartite World War II organization dedicated to getting maximum production on the home front.

**The Urban Archives Center  
California State University,  
Northridge**

*by Robert G. Marshall  
Archivist*

The Urban Archives Center at California State University, Northridge was started in 1978 with a National

Endowment for the Humanities grant and one from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. We are still a rather small shop and have not yet sought out large labor collections. The Urban Archives is waiting until the new wing of the Oviatt Library is built. This will provide automated shelving access, which will increase the Urban Archives space to around 5,000 cubic feet. As soon as we move, we can start collecting much more.

We presently have around fifty to sixty collections at UAC, about half of which deal with labor history. We also have an oral history collection. Our acquisition focus is the geographical limits of Los Angeles County. Our acquisition program also concentrates on acquiring records from voluntary associations, which include labor organizations, and individuals directly involved with voluntary associations.

The Urban Archives relationship with the Cal State student body is extremely close. Since Cal State is considered a "teaching university," we are concerned about acquiring collections that correspond with the course work being taught in the various departments on campus, cross-covering several disciplines. One of the major policies is collecting for the undergraduate as well as the graduate student, providing undergraduates with their first experience in doing "research." I go to about ten classes a semester, bringing archival tools and examples of primary documents with me. I also give a class tour of the archives, taking students through the stack area and talking to them, trying to get them excited by history. The talks and tours are interdisciplinary, thus I go to classes in history, journalism, education, social science, political science, geography, and urban studies.

In acquiring collections that virtually "excavate" the layers of Los

Angeles historical development, we are documenting a unique urban experience. We have, for example, the papers of the Van Nuys Chamber of Commerce which reveal the business community's drive to develop the San Fernando Valley. We also have many materials documenting the experience of workers and labor movements during the valley's growth. The opportunity to study such contrasting forces offers students a holistic way to touch history.

The Urban Archives Center has several major subject areas. We have holdings on "Chambers of Commerce and Related Associations." These reveal the impact of business on the growth and development of the Los Angeles area and include the papers of the Northridge Civic Association, the West Van Nuys Chamber of Commerce, and others. We have the papers of the Greater Los Angeles Visitors and Convention Bureau, an extensive promotional collection documenting early attempts to per-

LABOR ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH CENTER, SF STATE UNIVERSITY





*San Francisco State University professors discovered that many of their work-related concerns were similar to those of more traditional unionists when they went on strike in 1968.*

suaude people to visit and live in Los Angeles.

The UAC is also interested in the educational development of the Los Angeles community. We have the papers of Dr. Robert L. Docter, who was president of the Board of Education in the seventies when the students' rights movement was especially active. This was also the period of integrating the Los Angeles public school system and the beginnings of school busing. In contrast to the pro-integration papers, we hold the papers of the "Bus Stop" group, which attempted to stop busing. We will be acquiring lawyer case files dealing with this issue. We have the papers of Dr. Julian Nava, who was president of the Board of Education before Dr. Docter. Nava's basic concerns were bilingual education and ethnic studies. Minority and ethnic activities are further documented through our collection on the Supreme Council of the Mexican-American Movement. We also hold


the papers of the California Association for the Education of Young Children, which coincides with the nursery school program being taught at Cal State.

In our "Political Organizations" collection, we have the papers of the California Young Democrats, Senator Thomas C. Carroll, Representative James Corman, and other politicians. We have the papers of the League of Women Voters of Los Angeles, which cover a wide variety of subjects, including labor, as well as other issues that are politically important throughout Los Angeles history.

The UAC collects the papers of several social service organizations. Our most extensive collection in the area is the "United Way of Los Angeles Collection." If one wants to see what voluntary work was going on, for example, in Los Angeles during World War II, the "War Chest" records of the United Way are an excellent source.

As Los Angeles is diverse, so is its labor force. So, at the UAC we are collecting in several areas. Again, in education, we have the papers of the California Federation of Teachers. To cover the motion picture industry, we have the Directors' Guild of America and the Motion Picture Screen Cartoonist Guild papers, which document the Disney strike. The latter provide a view of Walt Disney different from the "official" benevolent version.

We have the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor papers, those of the Newspaper Guild, and a fascinating collection of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 13, papers. The Local 13 collection is about forty cubic feet. We recently acquired some legal papers of Norman Leonard, whose case files deal with Local 13's issues.

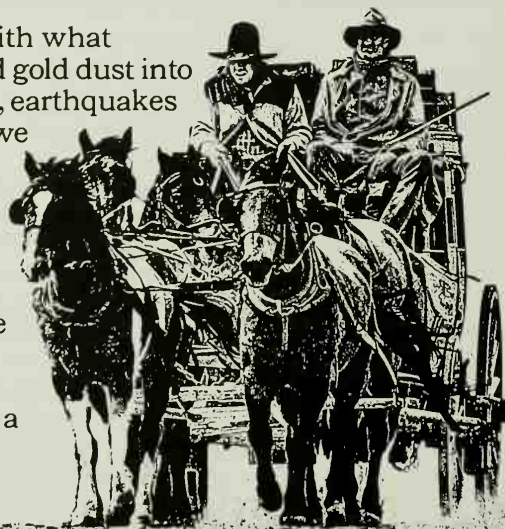
Complete details on our holdings and collections may be found in a brochure we have published. 

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Edited by James J. Rawls

## *Isadora: Portrait Of The Artist As A Woman*

By Frederika Blair. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1987, 470 pp., illus., 1987, \$14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop, Professor of History at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

This volume captures the spirit of William Wordsworth's "Well Wrought Urn." From title page to type face, from chapter headings to offsets surrounding the right gallery of illustrations by Arnold Genthe and Edward Steichen, among others, this is a beautifully crafted volume. It is above all, however, a comprehensive study which in drawing from conventional accounts as well as French, German and Russian sources, places this prototypical interpreter of modern dance within historical perspective. It is simultaneously a graceful narrative and a rigorous exercise in scholarship in which scrupulous research and careful epigraphy have served to correct a number of longstanding misconceptions, some perpetrated by Duncan in her own hurried autobiography.

While the thoroughness of the study underscores the dedication of the author, this is no artful paean. Blair neither canonizes nor condemns, but rather, in a manner which would merit Isadora Duncan's praise, presents a biography of a woman who is ultimately broken but "undiminished by life."

The richly detailed account opens against the background of California in the 1870s where at San Francisco's Masonic Roof Garden young Isadora appeared for three weeks in the role of "The California Fawn." Shortly thereafter she departed via cattleboat for Europe where in due course she was showered with accolades by audiences in Vienna, Paris, and Leningrad and unabashedly admired by such respected mandarins of European culture as Rodin, Stanislavsky, D'Annunzio and Eleanora Duse.

Blair traces the life, loves, and losses of this maverick artistic pioneer during her precarious and sometimes impecunious pilgrimage from Budapest to Buenos Aires to Long Beach, where she briefly operated a Duncan School of Dance. While avoiding intrusive clinical analysis, the author delves into the background of the protagonists of this drama, explaining the dynamics of each of Isadora's romantic relationships. With perceptiveness arising from evident mastery of her subject, Blair probes the motivations behind both the self-destructiveness and the yearning for maternity which in her latter days rendered Duncan a tortured Niobe, drawn by her need to nurture and love, but unsuccessful in her implacable efforts to achieve either.

The counterproductiveness of these contending forces is clearly evident in Duncan's precipitous efforts to establish schools which offered continuity for the style of dance to which she had given birth. At the same time, by continually battling the status quo in order to justify her unique lifestyle, she alienated every source of possible support, including a steamily ruffled Walter Lippman as well as the "bourgeois Philistines of Boston" before whom she danced wearing a scarf of Soviet red as an insignia of her new allegiance. As a result of such impolitic challenges, the daring innovator once described as a "sister to Samothrace," for a time even found herself to be a woman without a country.

Despite the roiling tensions of her personal life, Isadora Duncan successfully popularized the new mode of dance which was individually expressive, liberating and, above all, natural, emanating deep from within the center of the body. To achieve this, she tirelessly devoted herself to the study of how the fundamentals of shape and dynamics could convey both gravity and weightlessness as well as meaning. As Blair points out, the historic significance of these innovations lies in their legacy. It is a matter of record that Duncan's



Isadora Duncan.

classical, folk, and work themes inspired groups as diverse as Denishawn and the Moisevitch Dancers. Her magical use of movement and gesture admittedly inspired Pavlova in the "dying swan" sequence as well as Fokine and Diaghilev.

No less innovative was her use of the single color draped stage set and the introduction of the Greek tunic to achieve a freedom of movement and to display "the ideal form of woman." Her use of classical musical compositions, while challenged by some, gave new importance and dignity to what had often been reviewed as little more than a decorative art. As a result, in the estimation of Agnes de Mille, she elevated the status of the dance.

Although regrettably it appears that no cinematic record remains of this remarkable dance interpreter, her contributions are unquestioned. In the words of Michael Fokine: "She was the greatest American gift to dance." This stunning volume significantly enhances our appreciation of that gift. CHS

## *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849-1900.*

By Jacqueline Baker Barnhart. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986, 136 pp., \$15.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* James J. Rawls, *Instructor of History, Diablo Valley College.*

The history of women in California and the West remains largely unwritten. Women are invisible in most accounts, their contributions often deemed unimportant.

When attention has been paid to the role of women, historians have tended to portray them in stereotyped images. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller recently assembled these images into four major categories: gentle tamers, help-mates, hell-raisers, and bad women. The gentle-tamer category includes all those imagined women who carried westward the trappings of civilization, and who assumed the major responsibility for re-establishing the social and cultural values of their former homes. The help-mates were the long-suffering women who not only performed traditional chores but who also helped by doing "men's work" during times of need. More masculine women were the hell-raisers, the Calamity Janes who acted more like men than women. Bad women, quite simply, were the prostitutes. Jensen and Miller challenge historians to move beyond these stereotypes, to ask new questions, and to apply more sophisticated methods of analysis. What

is most needed, they conclude, are studies of how women fit into the economic structure of the West through their labor.

Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, as if in response to the call of Jensen and Miller, re-examines one of the most common stereotypical roles of western women. She analyzes the prostitutes of San Francisco, not as deviants or victims, but as a group of professional workers. She places them within the tradition of gold-rush entrepreneurship, noting that most prostitutes came to California seeking economic opportunity and that many were willing to leave lucrative jobs working for others to open businesses of their own. In stressing the economic motive of these westering women, Barnhart confirms that for many nineteenth-century Americans California was indeed synonymous with opportunity.

Barnhart pays special attention to the complex economic structure of prostitution. In the early period, 1849 to 1850, prostitution in San Francisco was relatively undifferentiated. Most prostitutes were of the entrepreneurial elite known as parlor-house prostitutes. In a society over ninety percent male, the market was clearly in their favor. The prostitutes' ability to take advantage of this unique opportunity determined their economic success and social freedom. As market conditions changed, other categories of prostitutes appeared and competition increased.

A major contribution of Barnhart's work is her analysis of the relationship of prostitution to the larger society. In the period 1849 to 1870 prostitutes were at first admired, then tolerated, and finally ostracized. The changing status of the prostitutes was reflected in the terms used to describe them. Between 1849 and 1851 prostitutes were known by a variety of euphemisms. The coarse and abusive term *whore*, according to Barnhart, was never used. Twenty years later the term was commonly used, and prostitution was no longer tolerated. With the arrival of families—gentle tamers included—San Francisco fell

"under the influence of the Victorians," and prostitution was seen as a threat to public respectability.

Like most practitioners of the new social history, Barnhart is also interested in the question of social mobility. She describes the causes of upward and downward mobility, but is unable to answer the question of whether the San Francisco prostitutes enjoyed greater or lesser mobility than their counterparts back east.

*The Fair but Frail* is a slim volume, suggestive rather than comprehensive. It is a valuable book, an important contribution to the yet to be written history of California women. CHS

## *"The Tools of My Trade": The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library*

By David Mike Hamilton. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986, 326 + xiv pp., illus., \$25.00 cloth).

*Reviewed by* Earle Labor, *Professor of English at Centenary College of Louisiana and editor of the forthcoming The Letters of Jack London.*

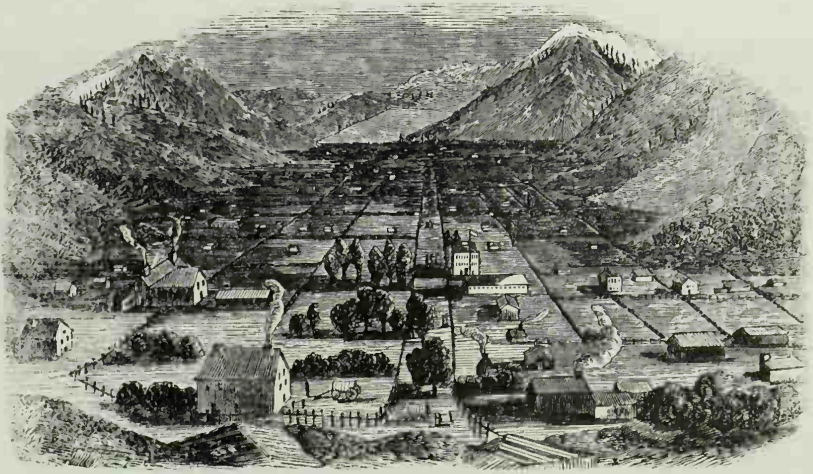
"I regard books in my library in much the same way that a sea captain regards the charts in his chart-room," Jack London wrote to *The North American* in 1913. "It is manifestly impossible for a sea captain to carry in his head the memory of all the reefs, rocks, shoals, harbors, points, lighthouses, beacons and buoys of all the coasts of all the world; and no sea captain ever endeavors to store his head with such a mass of knowledge. What he does is to know his way about the chart-room, and when he picks up a new coast, he takes out the proper chart and has immediate access to all information about that coast. So it should be with books . . . I, for one, never can have too many books; nor can my books cover too many subjects."



Contrary to his popular impression, Jack London was—as David Mike Hamilton's new book makes clear—essentially a scholar in the Emersonian sense: influenced as much by books as by nature and action. He read widely, avidly, and omnivorously. Moreover, he assimilated what he read and used much of it in his own practical affairs: sailing, ranching, and—most important—writing. Great fictions like *The Call of the Wild*, *The Sea-Wolf*, "To Build a Fire," "Love of Life," and *The Star Rover* were in fact drawn more from his reading than from his living. During his lifetime he accumulated a library of over fifteen thousand volumes on an astonishing diversity of subjects: "evolution, biology, psychology, economics, political [theory], travel, navigation, and philosophy, as well as drama, poetry, and fiction"—in short, says Hamilton, "on almost every conceivable subject." The record of London's annotations in these volumes—instructively complemented by Hamilton's own commentaries about London's life and works—provides us with fresh, direct insights into the complex process of authorship.

That process was initiated at a very early age. "I learned to read and write about my fifth year," London attested in a letter to his first publisher, Houghton Mifflin. "Folks say I simply insisted on being taught . . . Remember reading some of Trowbridge's works for boys at six years of age. At seven I was reading Paul du Chaillu's *Travels*, Captain Cook's *Voyages*, and *Life of Garfield*. All through this period I devoured what Seaside Library novels I could borrow from womenfolk and dime novels from the farm hands. At eight I was deep in Ouida and Washington Irving. Also during this period read a great deal of American History." By the age of twenty London had read *Das Kapital*, the *Communist Manifesto*, and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. When he went to the Klondike at the age of twenty-one, he carried his personal copy of Marx, along with Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Spencer's *Phi-*

CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO



Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, 1851. Lithograph by E.C. Roberts for Golden Era.

losophy of Style, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The influence of all four is evident in his writings, as is that of such other favorites as Shakespeare, Browning, Poe, Melville, Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Kipling, Stevenson, and William (but not Henry, whom he claimed he could not read) James. Kipling (for his style) and Spenser (for his philosophy) are perhaps the strongest early influences. London's later works are more powerfully shaped by the fiction of Joseph Conrad and by the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud, whom he had read during the summer of 1912, and C.G. Jung, whose *Psychology of the Unconscious* he discovered six months before his death in 1916. Hamilton has counted more than three hundred notations in this latter volume and suggests that, had London lived longer, it "might have influenced his writing more than any other." In any case, London wrote a half-dozen stories during his last months into which he incorporated Jung's ideas about the unconscious—the first American fiction to be deliberately informed by Jungian theory. Only recently have these unique creations been discovered by our academic critics.

Other significant discoveries will undoubtedly be made as those critics encounter Hamilton's excellent study, which should be graded as an indispensable tool to the London scholar's trade. [CHS]

## Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City 1849 and 1850.

By Brigham D. Madsen. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983. xii, 178 pp. \$17.50 cloth)

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, Los Angeles County Museum, author of various articles on nineteenth century Utah railroad history and on the anti-slavery activities of the Lyman Beecher family.

The interaction between Mormon settlers in the valley of the Great Salt Lake and gold rushes migrating to California during 1849 and 1850 has proven to be a topic worthy of scholarly consideration. This highly readable monograph by Brigham D. Madsen, professor of history at the University of Utah, seeks to analyze the economic and social relationships which were formed between Mormons and non-Mormons during this two-year period.

Madsen's narrative begins with the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 by the vanguard of Latter-day Saint refugees driven from the Midwest by religious persecution. In June of 1849, when the first westbound argonauts arrived at the Mormon Halfway House of Great



Salt Lake City, there were some 4,200 residents dwelling mostly in adobe or wagon-box homes. This was not, however, the first Mormon involvement with the gold rush. Several Latter-day Saints, recently released from the Mormon Battalion, were employees of Johann Sutter and were present when James Marshall made his famous discovery in January 1848. By the spring of the following year the human flood across the continent was underway and Salt Lake City proved to be a conveniently located oasis for many exhausted, hungry, or sick overlanders.

The Mormons tended to view the arrival of the argonauts with mixed opinions. They had, after all, migrated to the Great Basin to escape the Gentile world. But by 1849 the Saints were in need of many of the items which overburdened gold rushers had to trade. In return the Mormons provided the wayfarers with fresh animals, home cooked meals, and, if needed, medical assistance. As the author has surmised, it was a mutually beneficial arrangement.

Some sojourners complained about the treatment they received from the Mormons. They accused the Saints of charging exorbitant prices and dishonest business practices. But the most frequent commentaries centered upon the Mormons' religious practices—particularly plural marriage (polygamy). The debate over the relationship between Saints and Gentiles at Salt Lake City has not necessarily been settled by recent scholars. The late John D. Unruh, Jr., in his path-breaking study *The Plains Across*, wrote in regard to those gold rushers who stayed for an extended period at the Mormon city that many "deeply regretted their decision" to linger. Professor Madsen has taken a different stand. He states that for the 1849-1850 period, the gold seekers and their hosts left a "heritage of friendship and good feelings" (p. 125).

While perhaps still leaving some aspects of this Mormon-Gentile relationship open to further discussion, *Gold*

*Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City* has made a solid contribution to the study of the social and economic history of the era. The book is complimented by informative maps and well chosen illustrations. It should prove to be a welcome addition for libraries, scholars, and collectors of Western Americana. CHS

## *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*

By Michael Kazin (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987, xiv + 319 pp., \$24.95 cloth).

*Reviewed by David F. Selvin, editor emeritus, Northern California Labor, labor historian.*

Over a period of some thirty years—stretching roughly from a depression in the 1890s to another in 1921—the Building Trades Council (BTC) of San Francisco, as Michael Kazin sees it, "accumulated, used, and then lost a great deal of urban power." It won and held an overpowering, often arbitrary, dominance over the city's building industry. It invaded and captured a prominent place and influence in the city's political life. It gave voice to "the aspirations, cultural practices, and racial prejudices" of the white workers who were its constituents. It contributed mightily to the city's national reputation as "a good union town." In the end, it fell victim to a broadly-based, well-financed, and determined anti-union, open-shop campaign.

Kazin argues effectively for a fresh view that sees unionism of the time, not in terms of the "pure and simple" so favored by some historians, but as a significant force that fought for a voice in the political, as well as the economic, decisions of its time. His account traces

the BTC's political involvement, and especially that of P.H. McCarthy, its chief architect and spokesman, from opposition to the Union Labor Party to McCarthy's election as its candidate for mayor. It was a political force, often feared, frequently effective, and devoted in the main to the progressive creed of the day.

Kazin, too, describes the system devised principally by McCarthy as a rigid and arbitrary substitute for collective bargaining. He records the unhappiness of contractors with the BTC's many work rules and dictatorial ways and the appropriate union responses. And his account covers in detail the differences, as well as the moments of accord, between the BTC and the San Francisco Labor Council, which represented the city's other—and larger—trade union movement.

Overall, Kazin offers a close-up and highly useful view of the BTC during that decisive time. It fills in many of the gaps, the crevices and potholes in the few customary accounts of San Francisco's turbulent labor history. It accords the building trades their rightful place in that panorama. And it has been crafted with impeccable research and admirable style.

The same record can be seen from a somewhat different perspective. For example, the BTC's ironfisted job control bore little resemblance to collective bargaining as unionists came to understand it. It simply replaced employer dictation with union—BTC—dictation. Reinforced by its political aggressiveness, BTC's rule raised the union-haters' anger above its usual, endemic level and constituted a major force in inciting the drive that brought the BTC down—not that the union-haters needed an excuse, but here was reason enough, ready-made confirmation of all the evil they had come to believe about unionism.

The question needs to be asked whether the McCarthy formula produced edible and otherwise useful gains for the men on the job. The sketchy wage history in an appendix shows virtually no



Campaign postcard for P.H. McCarthy, leader of the Building Trades Council and mayor of San Francisco, 1910-1912.

gains in wage rates (for six trades for which figures are provided) from 1908 to 1916. In that same period, average wage rates for journeyman building tradesmen across the country rose 24 percent. The comparison should not be pressed too far—explanations other than the obvious are quite possible and other yardsticks could be employed—but what was the impact of the BTC on the everyday lives of building tradesmen—their earnings, living standards, lifestyles?

Kazin does not skimp on the BTC's problems with the rest of the labor movement, in both economic and political battle. All too often concord or discord seems to hang on McCarthy's personality or ambition, rather than any necessary trade union difference. The BTC's separatism, though, was a serious chink in San Francisco labor's armor.

My alternative view may be no more than a matter of emphasis, surely the

author's prerogative; but it might, on the other hand, seriously affect the way in which trade unionism—the BTC kind of unionism—is interpreted to the reader. If that question interests you, Kazin provides an abundance of data for pondering the matter. [CHS]

### *Southern Pacific.*

By Bill Yenne. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1985, \$9.95 paper).

Reviewed by Richard J. Orsi, Professor of History, California State University, Hayward.

This slim, inexpensive volume is not a comprehensive, scholarly history of the Southern Pacific Company, but then it should not be read—or reviewed—as one. To be sure, the author aspires to

cover a subject too vast, complex, and significant for 126 pages; he could have been more critical of the railroad's role in the development of the American West; and he writes, for the most part, without documentation. *Southern Pacific* was, however, intended not as a reference work for experts, but for general readers seeking a succinct survey, along with brilliant visual images. Within its genre, this is a fine book.

Highlighting the volume and consuming most of its space are more than 150 photographs, some of them taken by Yenne himself. The photographs, along with excellent maps drawn by the author, vividly document California's most important historic corporation, from its founding as the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861, to its on-again, off-again, merger into the arch-rival Santa Fe in the 1980s. To Yenne's credit, he chose artistic and historically valuable photographs, many



of which have never, or rarely, been published. These include not only the customary portraits of the powerful and famous leaders who have long been associated in the public eye with the Southern Pacific—the likes of Judah, Stanford, Huntington, and Harriman—but also photographs of ordinary railroad workers. From the assemblage of rumpled, bewhiskered Sacramento shops men, mugging the camera in 1889, radiates the skill, grit, and good humor of thousands of laborers, without whom this great company could never have been built and operated (p. 27). Binding these vivid images together is Yenne's lucid narrative, enlivened with passages from original letters, speeches, documents, and recollections.

Its brevity and a few factual errors aside, the book manages to cover much good history and to suggest—though rarely explained fully—some fresh insights into the Southern Pacific's complex history. Rather than following the lead of many writers who have romanticized Theodore Judah's contributions, Yenne properly emphasizes the role of the Big Four in organizing and financing the Central Pacific and then pulling off the miracle of its construction. Yenne also attempts to integrate the railroad's history with that of its hinterland and to point out what most academic historians have ignored, that the Southern Pacific often played a positive, creative role in the settlement and development of the West. Overall, Yenne maintains a balanced stance towards a controversial subject.

The book is marred by some flaws. There are too many, repetitious mug shots of locomotives, undoubtedly to the delight of rail buffs. Yenne's account of some important episodes—such as the Big Four's consolidation of their holdings into the Southern Pacific Company in the 1880s—is so attenuated as to be misleading. Yenne also avoids some uncomfortable subjects, such as labor discontent and Huntington's embittering ouster of Stanford as company president in 1890.

The book's most serious weakness, however, is Yenne's dismissal of anti-railroad movements as conspiracies by a few "zealous crusaders and issue-hungry politicians" to attack an overwhelmingly popular railroad (p. 74). While the traditional anti-railroad historiography has exaggerated to the extreme both the Southern Pacific's malevolence and the public's opposition, one cannot ignore the real economic and political conflicts that the company, and railroads in general, aroused.

All in all, though, this is a satisfying book. Those interested in a more comprehensive treatment, particularly for the twentieth century, should consult Don Hofsmommer's *The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985*. Readers seeking a brief, but lively and informative introduction to the railroad's history will enjoy Yenne's volume. CHS

## *"The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s."*

By J. Craig Jenkins. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 320 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Mario T. Garcia, Professor of History and Chicano Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.*

The plight of the California farmworker is not an unknown story. The early studies of Carey McWilliams, Paul Taylor, and Ernesto Galarza come readily to mind, not to mention John Steinbeck's fictive accounts of the Oakies and Arkies of the San Joaquin Valley. The history of Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers has also received its share of popular and scholarly attention. Jenkins' history of farmworkers in California does not necessarily break new ground; however, it is one of the first scholarly studies of its kind that puts the farmworkers' movement of the 1960s and 1970s into the proper historical perspective.

As Jenkins correctly notes, the history of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is a subject of the history of the insurgent social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Jenkins sees his study as primarily one of the 1960s using the farmworkers' movement as a case study of what he terms the politics of insurgency. According to Jenkins, the farmworker exemplified the basic goals, strategies, and characteristics of the sixties social movement. He defines social movements as insurgencies aimed to further the interests of previously unorganized and excluded groups. Social movements of the 1960s utilized protest actions to mobilize external support. While earlier writings on social movements have discounted their impact on social change, believing them to be too transitory and marginal, Jenkins, like many scholars trained in the 1960s, revises this view and persuasively argues that indigenous social movements in fact produce significant change.

Jenkins compares the contemporary movement with that of the earlier efforts by the National Farm Labor Union (1947–1952) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (1958–1966). While all these efforts to organize farmworkers had similar goals, only the UFW succeeded due, according to Jenkins, to its strategy of mobilization built on both organizing workers and external supporters and due to the favorable political environment of the 1960s, far more conducive to reform than the Cold War years of the late 1940s and 1950s.

Jenkins makes a good case that the success of the contemporary movement has much to do with its emergence in the tumultuous 1960s. Understanding the spirit of the times, the UFW combined a basic labor struggle with a broader social movement that captured national attention and positioned the movement with what Jenkins considers the left-of-center governing coalition of the 1960s.

Jenkins' study is useful, although it promises more than it delivers. In presenting his study as a means of better



conceptualizing social movements, Jenkins gets bogged down in detail. The title, moreover, is deceiving since he should have integrated theory and history to a much greater extent. The prose is cumbersome; Jenkins's editor was apparently unable to find a bilingual proof-reader to check the names and titles. Moreover, since most of Jenkins's data goes no further than 1980, his conclusions concerning UFW successes do not take into account the rollback in the 1980s of many earlier gains. Finally, Jenkins gives too much credit, perhaps, to external forces in explaining the success of the UFW. Although he recognizes the farmworkers' movement as an indigenous mass-based insurgency, the farm worker is not placed at center stage. Greater accessibility of the UFW archives at Wayne State University will, in time, increase public awareness and understanding of the history of the United Farm Workers.

Jenkins's study is important and can be usefully integrated with the broader history of the 1960s, of western agriculture, labor history, and Chicanos. CHS

### *Wallace Neff: Architect of California's Golden Age.*

Compiled and edited by Wallace Neff, Jr. Text by Alson Clark.

Foreword by David Gebhard. (Santa Barbara, CA.: Capra Press, 1986. 232 pp., \$50.00 cloth).

*Reviewed by Robert W. Winter, Arthur G. Coons Professor of the History of Ideas, Occidental College.*

Anyone interested in fine architecture in the United States in the twenties and thirties must look to Southern California. Few architectural historians have. Even the pioneers of the modern movement, R.M. Schindler and Richard Neutra, have not received the attention they deserve, except from Southern Califor-

nians. The "second generation" of the followers of the machine esthetic in the Southland would be unknown except for Esther McCoy's book on them. Somewhat broader in scope is David Gebhard's and Harriette von Breton's *L.A. in the Thirties* (1975) which covers various aspects of the modern and also the period revivals of the time.

That we know anything about the individual period revivalists is largely thanks to Gebhard and to Alson Clark, the author of the text of this book on Wallace Neff, next to George Washington Smith of Montecito, the greatest of them. Born to wealth, Neff grew up in Altadena in the wonderful Queen Anne style house that his grandfather, Andrew McNally, had built. Its fabulous Islamic smoking room was said to be a fragment of the Turkish Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Worlds Columbian Exposition of which McNally had been a commissioner. Wallace's romantic nature was thus given the ambience and the capital on which it could flourish. It was further burnished by his Swiss grammar school education, which seems to have consisted largely of languages, painting and drawing. It was not good enough to gain him entrance to Pasadena's Throop Polytechnic Institute, now Cal Tech, but Ralph Adams Cram, the architectural doyen of M.I.T., thought it was just the thing to prepare Neff for his great bastion of American Beaux-Art training and entered him as a special student in 1915. Although his talent for drawing was immediately apparent, Neff did not graduate from M.I.T. America's entry into World War I brought him back to Southern California and a job in the ship-building industry. The war was short, and in 1919 Neff was able to launch into a career in architecture by designing a weekend cottage for his mother.

After a short stint as a designer for a speculative builder, he managed to get an architect's license in 1921 and opened his own office the next year. Charming, intelligent and talented, he quickly built up a practice in Pasadena, a town cele-

brated as the wealthiest per capita in the United States. By 1927 he was turning down commissions for houses costing under \$50,000. Those that qualified can be spotted throughout the most affluent areas of Pasadena and San Marino. The movie colony heard of him and soon the Hollywood Hills were dotted with houses designed by Neff. Most are very large.

His finest works are in the style loosely termed Mediterranean, an amalgam of details derived from Italian and Spanish Renaissance architecture and massing from the rural architecture of those styles and even of North African Islamic work. Neff gave his clients a romantic atmosphere that enhanced the lives of lawyers, doctors, and business people as well as the movie-makers whose fantasy life extended beyond their work. He could draw on his European sketches for English Tudor and Norman features. When a Los Angeles doctor asked him to build a country house whose facade would be a two-thirds scale replica of the Villa Col-lazzi attributed to Michelangelo, he carried through but fifty years later was still angry about having to imitate anything. Like other derivative architects of the period, he had no intention of producing facsimiles. His aim was to get ideas from the past and then manipulate them in his own way.

His success was sustained well into the 1960s when the modern movement dominated the architectural journals. Commissions diminished but only toward the end of his life in 1982 did his designing hand lose its touch. All this is well told by Alson Clark in a long essay and then in more specific notices, accompanying pictures and floor-plans. The pictures are mostly excellent and well-produced, many of them contemporary with the early years of the houses. We are just as grateful for the floor-plans from which we derive as much information as from pictures and text.

Neff was an image-maker important in creating the myth of Southern California. This book does justice to the man and the myth. CHS

# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Glenn E. Humphreys, Curator of the Kemble Collections  
on Western Publishing and Printing

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Adams, Charles F. *Heroes of the Golden Gate*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books Publishers, 1987. \$24.95. Order from: Pacific Books Publishers; P.O. Box 558; Palo Alto, CA 94302-0558.

Andrews, Edna May, et al. *History of Concord, Its Progress and Promise*. Concord, CA: Concord Historical Society, 1986. \$31.90 (cloth; plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Concord Historical Society; P.O. Box 404; Concord, CA 94522.

Bare, Colleen Stanley. *The McHenry Mansion: Modesto's Heritage*. Modesto, CA: McHenry Mansion Foundation Press, 1985. \$53.00 (cloth); \$15.90 (paper). Order from: McHenry Mansion Foundation; 1402 I St.; Modesto, CA 95334.

Baker, Florence Margaret. *Isaac Julian Harvey: California Pioneer*. Edited by Jo Ann Sloan Rogers. Salinas: Monterey County Historical Society, 1987. \$16.00 (paper). Order from: Monterey County Historical Society; P.O. Box 3576; Salinas, CA 93912.

Bernal, Billie. *Ocotillo, A Place in the Sun*. Ocotillo, CA: B. Bernal, 1986. \$10.00 (paper; includes postage). Order from: B. Bernal; P.O. Box 15; Ocotillo, CA 92259.

Blaisdell, Marilyn. *San Francisciana: Photographs of Sutro Baths*. San Francisco: Marilyn Blaisdell, 1987. \$10.00 (paper; includes postage). Order from: Marilyn Blaisdell; P.O. Box 590955; San Francisco, CA 94159.

Boessenecker, John. *Badge and Buckshot: Lawlessness in Old California*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. \$19.95. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; 1005 Asp Avenue; Norman, OK 73019.

Bottles, Scott L. *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. \$25.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2110 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Browne, Juanita Kennedy. *A Tale of Two Cities and a Train: History of the Nevada County Narrow Gauge Railroad, 1874-1942*. Nevada City, CA: Nevada County Historical Society, 1987. \$24.95. Order from: Nevada County Historical Society; P.O. Box 1300; Nevada City, CA 95959.

Bullis, Douglas. *California Fashion Designers: Art & Style*. Layton, UT: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1987. \$24.95. Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Peregrine Smith Books; P.O. Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

California Indigeneous Arts Organization. *Late Harvest: Napa Valley Pioneers*. Napa: California Indigenous Arts Organization, 1984. \$3.00 (paper; plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: California Indigenous Arts Organization; Box 6707; Napa, CA 94581.

Clough, Charles W. et al. *Fresno County in the 20th Century, From 1900 to the 1980s: An All New History*. Fresno: Panorama West Publishing, 1986. \$39.95. Order from: Panorama West Publishing; P.O. Box 4638; Fresno, CA 93744.

Comstock, David A. *Brides of the Gold Rush, 1851-1859*. Grass Valley, CA: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1987. \$21.50 (plus \$1.35 postage). Order from: Comstock Bonanza Press; 18919 William Quirk Dr.; Grass Valley, CA 95945.

Cornett, James W. *Death Valley National Monument: A Pictorial History*. Death Valley: Death Valley Natural History Association, 1986. \$6.95 (paper). Order from: Death Valley Natural History Association; P.O. Box 188; Death Valley, CA 92328.

Crawford, Richard W. *A Guide to the Public Records Collections of the San Diego Historical Society*. San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1987. \$9.95 (paper; plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Amy Ross; San Diego Historical Society; P.O. Box 81825; San Diego, CA 92138.

Daily, Marla. *California's Channel Islands: 1001 Questions Answered*. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1987. \$15.00. Order from: Ysleña; P.O. Box 50722; Santa Barbara, CA 93150.

DuPertuis, Jeff. *Homes of Old Merced*. Drawings by Henry DuPertuis. Merced, CA: Merced County Historical Society, 1987. \$17.00 (plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Merced County Historical Society; Old Courthouse; 21st & N streets; Merced, CA 95340.

Edeline, Denis P. *Ferridale: the Village, 1875-1893*. Arcata, CA: Denis P. Edeline, 1987. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: Denis P. Edeline; 1085 Buttermilk Lane; Arcata, CA 95521.

Evans, Ruth C. *A Brief History of the Orange Unified School District Communities*. Orange, CA: International Color Press, 1986. \$10.00. Order from: Ruth C. Evans; 13051 Malena Dr.; Santa Ana, CA 92705.

Glover, Choice M. *History of Amador County, California, Index*. Sutter Creek, CA: Choice M. Glover, 1987. \$10.00 (paper). Order from: Choice M. Glover; 322 Via Verde; Sutter Creek, CA 95685.

Gribben, Arthur and Marsha Maguire. *The Irish Cultural Directory for Southern California*. Los Angeles: UCLA Folklore and Mythology Publications, 1985. \$9.95 (paper). Order from: UCLA Folklore and Mythology Publications; 1037 GSM; UCLA; Los Angeles, CA 90024-1459.

Hereford, Rockwell. *A Whole Man and a Half Century: Henry Mauris Robinson, 1890-1940*. Pacific Grove, CA: The Boxwood Press, 1985. \$19.50. Order from: The Boxwood Press; 183 Ocean View Blvd.; Pacific Grove, CA 93950.

Hinkle, George and Bliss Hinkle. *Sierra Nevada Lakes*. New Foreword by Gary F. Kurutz. 1949; reprinted Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nevada Press; University of Nevada, Reno; Reno, Nevada 89557-0076.

Hornor, Edith R., ed. *California; Cities, Towns & Countries: Basic Data Profiles for All 440 Municipalities and 58 Counties, 1987*. Palo Alto: Hornwood Press, 1987. \$55.95 (paper; plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Hornwood Press; 3790 El Camino, Suite 162; Palo Alto, CA 94306.

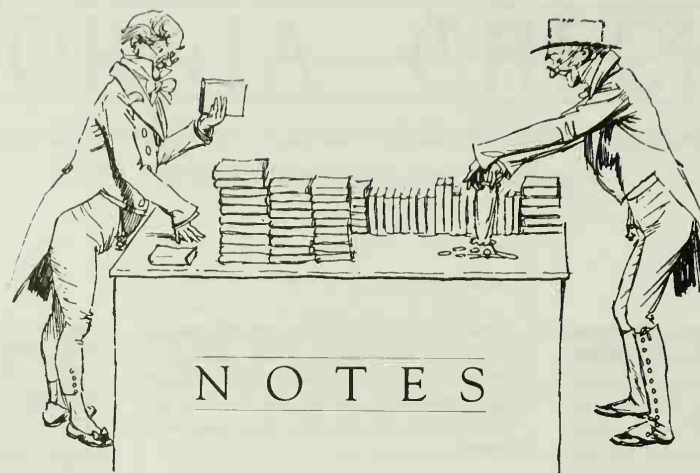
Houghton, Samuel G. *A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story*. Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986. \$11.95



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- (paper). Order from: Howe Brothers; P.O. Box 6394; Salt Lake City, UT 84106.
- Keegan, Frank L. *San Rafael: Marin's Mission City*. Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1987. \$27.95. Order from: Windsor Publications; 8910 Quartz Ave.; Northridge, CA 91328.
- Kennard, Charles. *San Francisco Bay Landmarks: Reflections of Four Centuries*. Palo Alto: Tioga Publishing Co., 1987. \$35.00. Order from: Tioga Publishing Co.; Box 98; Palo Alto, CA 94302.
- Kenzer, Martin S., ed. *Carl O. Sauer: A Tribute*. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1987. \$25.00 (cloth); \$13.95 (paper). Order from: Oregon State University Press; 101 Waldo Hall; Corvallis, OR 97331.
- Kimball, Sandy. *Moraga's Pride: Rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados*. Moraga, CA: Moraga Historical Society, 1987. \$48.00 (deluxe edition); \$32.00 (cloth). Order from: Moraga Historical Society; P.O. Box 103; Moraga, CA 94556.
- Lapp, Rudolph M. *Afro-Americans in California*. Golden State Series. Second edition. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1987. \$7.50 (paper; plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co.; 3627 Sacramento St.; San Francisco, CA 94118.
- Lay, Eldonna P. *Valley of Opportunity: A History of El Cajon*. El Cajon, CA: E. P. Lay & Associates, 1987. \$45.00 (leather); \$19.99 (paper). Order from: El Cajon City Hall; 200 E. Main St.; El Cajon, CA 92020.
- Limbaugh, Ronald H. and Kirsten E. Lewis, eds. *The Guide and Index to the Microfilm Edition of the John Muir Papers, 1858-1957*. Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healy, Inc., 1986. \$25.00. Order from: Chadwyck-Healy, Inc.; 1021 Prince St.; Alexandria, VA 22314.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987. \$17.95. Order from: W.W. Norton & Co.; 500 Fifth Ave.; New York, NY 10110.
- Manchester, Albert D. *Trails Begin Where Rails End: Early-day Motoring Adventures in the West and Southwest*. Glendale, CA: Trans-Anglo Books, 1987. \$35.95. Order from: Trans-Anglo Books; Interurban Press; P.O. Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.
- Mathes, W. Michael. *The Americas' First Academic Library: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*. 1982; reprinted Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1985. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: California State Library Foundation; P.O. Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.
- Moeller, Bill and Jan Moeller. *Crazy Horse, His Life His Lands: A Photographic Biography*. Spirit of America Series. Wilsonville, OR: Beautiful America Publishing Co., 1987. \$34.95. Order from: Beautiful America Publishing Co.; 9725 SW Commerce Circle; Wilsonville, OR 97070.
- Mulholland, Catherine. *The Owensmouth Baby: The Making of a San Fernando Valley Town*. Chatsworth, CA: Santa Susana Press, 1987. \$40.00. Printed by Patrick Reagh. Order from: Santa Susana Press; P.O. Box 4851; Chatsworth, CA 91313-4850.
- Naversen, Kenneth. *West Coast Victorians*. Wilsonville, OR: Beautiful America Publishing Co., 1987. \$34.95 (cloth); \$26.95 (paper). Order from: Beautiful America Publishing Co.; 9725 SW Commerce Circle; Wilsonville, OR 97070.
- Palmquist, Peter E., with Lincoln Kilian. *The Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region, 1870-1875*. Volume 3. Arcata: Peter E. Palmquist, 1987. \$20.00 (\$25.00 for institutions; paper; plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Peter E. Palmquist; 1183 Union Street; Arcata, CA 95521.
- Palmquist, Peter E., with Lincoln Kilian. *The Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region, 1875-1880*. Volume 4. Arcata: Peter E. Palmquist, 1987. \$20.00 (\$25.00 for institutions; paper; plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Peter E. Palmquist; 1183 Union Street; Arcata, CA 95521.
- Palmquist, Peter E., with Lincoln Kilian. *The Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region; Edgar Cherry & Company*. Volume 5. Arcata: Peter E. Palmquist, 1987. \$20.00 (\$25.00 for institutions; paper; plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Peter E. Palmquist; 1183 Union Street; Arcata, CA 95521.
- Riegel, Martin P. *California's Maritime Heritage*. San Clemente: Riegel Publishing Co., 1987. \$12.00 (cloth); \$9.00 (paper). Order from: Riegel Publishing Co.; 1000 Calle Venezia; San Clemente, CA 92672.
- Regnery, Dorothy F. *An American Treasure: The Stanford House in Sacramento*. Stanford: Stanford Historical Society, 1987. \$3.95 (paper). Order from: Stanford Historical Society; P.O. Box 2328; Stanford, CA 94305.
- Shelton, Delight Corbett. *From Acorns to Oaks: A Potter Valley History, 1855-1985*. Potter Valley, CA: D.C. Shelton, 1986. \$30.00 (plus \$2.50 postage). Order from: D.C. Shelton; Box 88; Potter Valley, CA 95469.
- Stephenson, Shirley E., ed. *Oral History Collection, California State University, Fullerton*. Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University, 1985. \$12.00. Order from: Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton; Fullerton, CA 92634.
- Walker, Clifford J. *Backdoor to California: Story of the Mojave River Trail*. Barstow, CA: Mojave River Valley Museum, 1986. \$19.95 (cloth); \$13.95 (paper). Order from: Mojave River Valley Museum; P.O. Box 1282; Barstow, CA 92311.
- Walthall, Maurine and Patricia Jernigan Keeling. *Century Notes: Highlighted Events of Barstow Area History, 1885-1986*. Barstow, CA: Mojave River Valley Museum Association, 1986. \$10.95 (paper). Order from: Mojave River Valley Museum; P.O. Box 1282; Barstow, CA 92311.
- Williams, George III. *Mark Twain: His Adventures at Aurora and Mono Lake*. Riverside: Tree by the River Publishing, 1987. \$11.95 (cloth); \$6.95 (paper). Order from: Tree by the River Publishing; Box 413-22; Riverside, CA 92502.





## NOTES

Scobie, Helen G. Douglas, pp. 242-261.

I wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for a very generous Research Division grant which permitted travel funds, research monies, and salary. I also appreciate the financial assistance of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and the American Philosophical Society, the institutional support of the University of California, San Diego, and the assistance of Elizabeth Snapp, Director of Libraries, Texas Woman's University. The Regional Oral History Office at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, made all their research records pertaining to their substantial interview project on Douglas as well as on California political women available to me. The staff of the Carl Albert Congressional Research Center and the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma have patiently helped me during this long-term project. Helen Douglas permitted me access to her private files. In addition, I had the unusual opportunity to live with her for two weeks while going through her private papers. Melvyn Douglas, family members, and close friends of the Douglasses have shared important family materials and have granted permission for interviews. I also appreciate Martha Kendall Winnacker, editor of *California History*, for her interest in Douglas, her willingness to wait for the article until I had essentially completed my book, her historical, editorial, and artistic skills, and her good sense of humor.

Since this article scans Douglas's life through the 1950 campaign, drawing from an almost completed book manuscript, it became a challenge to decide how to limit the footnotes. My primary research has included the use of over one hundred manuscript collections in a wide variety of archives, various oral history collections, my own interviews, and materials from private individuals.

The footnotes only suggest the different sorts of information sources I have found helpful in developing the manuscript. My citations from the voluminous literature on Broadway, Hollywood, Democratic politics, and the Roosevelt and Truman years are limited to works which specifically treat Douglas or deal with key topics for this article. I have, however, drawn on this literature in formulating my ideas. A full documentation which will include references to the materials about Douglas's personal life will appear in my forthcoming biography of Helen Gahagan Douglas, to be published by Atheneum Publishers. Transcripts of my interviews have been deposited in the Indiana University Oral History Project archives and will become available to researchers after publication of the book.

1. Los Angeles *Times*, July 1 and 12, 1980; Claremont *Courier*, July 16, 1980; H.L. Mitchell, "In Memory of an Early Friend of the Farm Worker," [mimeographed, n.d.]; and U.S., Senate, 96th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record*, June 30, 1980, v. 126, pt. 14, pp. 17939-40, and August 5, 1980, pt. 16, p. 21382.
2. Ernest Lilienthal to Melvyn Douglas (MD), July 20, 1980; Claude Pepper to MD, July 22, 1980; and Harry R. Major to MD, June 29, 1980, all in Melvyn Douglas Private Papers (MDPP).
3. Helen Gahagan Douglas, "Congresswoman, Actress, and Opera Singer," an oral history conducted in 1973, 1974, and 1976 by Amelia Fry, in Helen Gahagan Douglas Oral History Project, Vol. IV, Regional Oral History Project, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1982, p. 4 [hereafter referred to as ROHO Interview with Douglas.] Further citations to the Douglas project will be referenced as the HGD ROHO Project. Other sources

providing information on Gahagan's early life include Helen Gahagan Douglas, *A Full Life* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982); author's interview with Martha Allen, March 28, 1981; author's interview with Walter Gahagan, Jr., October 26, 1980; and various family papers. As Douglas's ROHO interview and her autobiography make repeated reference to the themes mentioned in this article, I do not specifically cite them unless I have used a direct quotation or need to refer to an important point in these documents. The same holds true for Melvyn Douglas and Tom Arthur, *See You at the Movies: The Autobiography of Melvyn Douglas* (Lanham, Maryland: The University Press of America, 1986), which draws principally from Arthur's interviews with Melvyn Douglas. But the book is helpful in building a picture of Helen and Melvyn and their lives together.

Various books, manuscript materials, and pamphlets provide information on Brooklyn and the Park Slope district, including Henry W.B. Howard, ed. *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1893); *Trow Business Directory of Brooklyn and Queens* for the early twentieth century; Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn Is America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); David Ment, *The Shaping of a City: A Brief History of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979); and Brooklyn Rediscovery and Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, *Building Blocks of Brooklyn: A Study of Urban Growth* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979).

4. Various printed materials from the Berkeley Institute including *The Berkeleyan*, 1905-1917, plus newspaper

articles and other materials relating to the Capon School and Dartmouth College.

5. On the history of Barnard College see, for example, Alice Duer Miller and Susan Myers, *Barnard College: The First Fifty Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939) and Marian Churchill White, *A History of Barnard College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). For life at Barnard College see *Barnard Bulletin*, 1920–22, college archival material, author's interviews with Alis De Sola, May 26 and 27, 1980, and De Sola, "Helen Gahagan Douglas—College and the Theater," an oral history conducted in 1976 by Amelia Fry in HGD ROHO Project, Vol. III. The De Sola interviews are also helpful on Gahagan's decision to leave Barnard.
6. Reviews of Gahagan's plays and interviews with her throughout her Broadway period appeared in numerous New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington papers plus local newspapers which reviewed her touring shows. As the 1920s witnessed an improvement not only in the quality of plays but also in dramatic criticism, Gahagan had the opportunity to be reviewed by a number of noted critics, some of them theatre scholars, including Brooks Atkinson, Heywood Brown, George Jean Nathan, Kenneth MacGowan, and Alexander Woollcott. Many books provide overviews of legitimate theatre in the 1920s; Burns Mantle's *Best Plays*, published annually, offers useful compilations and commentaries.

In addition to *Young Woodley*, productions with Tyler included the starring roles in two all-star touring groups performing revivals of Sir Arthur Wing Pinero's *Trelawney of the Wells* and Victorien Sardou's *Diplomacy*.

On Gahagan's move to voice, see in particular Douglas's autobiographical materials listed in footnote #3 and newspaper interviews with Gahagan, including the New York *American*, June 10, 1928.

7. Author's interviews with De Sola

and Elizabeth Evans's interview with George Cehanovska, January 24, 1975, in Helen Gahagan Douglas Personal Papers (HGDPP). Her concerts included stops in Ostrava, Czechoslovakia; The Hague; and the Salzberg Festival. Reviews appeared in numerous papers including *Moravskoslezský deník* in Ostrava, *Leendert Swaneveld* from Scheveningen, near The Hague, and the *Salzburger Chronik*. Translations from the originals suggest that Gahagan's perception of her success resulted from the "selective" translations that her agent used in American publicity about her European tours. Among the letters which discuss her feelings about her European tours is Gahagan to her mother, Lillian Gahagan, July 25, 1929 (HGDPP).

8. Melvyn Douglas, born Melvyn Hesselberg, was the son of the Russian Jewish pianist Edouard Hesselberg and Lena Shakelford, a Kentucky girl. Melvyn had had various stage experiences with stock companies as well as a year with the noted Detroit producer-director Jesse Bonstelle's repertory group. He made his Broadway debut in 1927 at which time he changed his last name to Douglas, a family name from his mother's side. Much material exists on Douglas's personal and professional life; see, for example, Hollywood trade papers from the 1930s through the 1970s, "Melvyn Douglas Biography," MDPP, Douglas and Arthur, *See You at the Movies*, and Melvyn Douglas obituaries.

Dozens of articles about *Tonight or Never* appeared in New York papers—reviews on and interviews with Gahagan, articles on Belasco (who died during the run), and accounts of the wedding. Several critics considered Gahagan one of the top four or five actresses on Broadway in the 1930 season. See for example, New York City *Variety*, January 28, 1931.

9. On Hollywood in the 1930s, see, for example, Leo C. Rosten, *Hollywood: The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1941) and Arthur Knight, *The Liveliest Art: A Panoramic History*

*of the Movies* (New York: Macmillan, 1957). Gahagan's numerous performances from 1931 to 1937 included a disastrous vaudeville performance in 1932, the two Broadway plays were written by California playwright and family friend, Dan Tothoroh—*Moor Born* and *Mother Lode* in 1934, and the lead in Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow* with the Los Angeles Civic Light Opera, in 1936. De Sola's interviews offer good material for this period.

10. Gahagan sang in most of the same cities as on her earlier trip but she added Paris, Prague, and Budapest. She was reviewed after each concert by the local papers. Gahagan described the Nazi contact on many occasions in later life; see ROHO Interview with Douglas, pp. 49–50; *A Full Life*, pp. 130–33; in an interview with Lee Israel reported in "Helen Gahagan Douglas," Ms., II, No. 4 (Oct. 1973), pp. 112–13; and in author's interviews with De Sola.
11. Walter Pick, "A Closer Look at the Family and Professional Life of Helen Gahagan Douglas and Melvyn Douglas," an oral history conducted 1978 by Ingrid Winther Scobie in the HGD ROHO Project, vol. III, p. 123 (hereafter cited as ROHO interview with Pick).
12. Kevin Lewis, "The Two Careers of Melvyn Douglas," *Films in Review*, XXXII, No. 8 (October 1981), pp. 458–59.
13. Various books discuss the shift of political awareness in Hollywood. See, for example, Larry Ceplair and Stephen Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930–1960* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980) and John Russell Taylor, *Strangers in Paradise: The Hollywood Emigrés, 1933–1950* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983).

Although John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, published in 1938, stirred the widest public concern for the migrant plight, other books including Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1939) helped call attention to this problem.



14. See, for example, "Summary Report of 'Christmas for One-Third of The Nation'" Project, n.d. [December 1938], Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, Carl Albert Center, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Box 222, Folder 6 (hereafter cited as HGD Papers); "Program of the John Steinbeck Committee of Northern California," n.d. [1939], HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17; Map, "Streams of Interstate Farm Labor Migration" [with notations by Gahagan], [n.d.] [1939], HGD Papers, Box 167, Folder 1; Buell Maben, Acting Director, State Relief Administration, to HGD, March 25, 1939, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17; "Helen Gahagan Plays a Leading Role in Progressive Hollywood," *Daily Worker*, June 6, 1939, clipping in Players Collection, Performing Arts Research Center, the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. During this period, the Douglasses also expanded their friendships outside of Hollywood. They became particularly close, for example, to Remsen Bird, president of Occidental College, and his wife Helen.
15. In the HGD Papers are dozens of letters from groups such as the organizers of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and various chapters of the League of Women Voters, asking her to speak on migrants. For quote see Arthur Goldschmidt, Douglas Memorial Service, December 2, 1980, New York City, Ingrid Winther Scobie collection of unpublished materials on Douglas.
16. Letter, Aubrey Williams to FDR, July 18, 1939, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Papers, Official File, 444d, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library hereafter cited as FDR Library. Correspondence between Helen Douglas and Eleanor Roosevelt (ER) are in the Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, FDR Library, and the HGD Papers.

For further elaboration on the early months of the relationship between ER and HGD as well as Douglas's quick climb in Democratic politics see Ingrid Winther Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Roosevelt Connection," in Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman eds, *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 153-75.
17. Douglas resigned because the committee took action on certain issues with which she did not agree. (HGD to Executive Board, Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers, March 29, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17).
18. HGD to Jerry Voorhis, March 12, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 212, Folder 9.
19. Helen Gahagan, "FSA Aids Migratory Worker," *The Democratic Digest*, XVII, No. 2 (February 1940), p. 37. Documentation of Gahagan's involvement with the Women's Division at the state and national level and the California Democratic Party is located in various manuscript collections including the Mary M. Dewson Papers, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Papers (hereafter cited as ER Papers), Lorena Hickok Papers, National Committee of the Democratic Party Papers (hereafter cited as DNC Papers) and the Women's Division, National Committee of the Democratic Party (hereafter cited as Women's Division Papers), all at the FDR Library; the Harold Ickes Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, as well as the HGD Papers.
20. HGD to ER, March 31, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 216, Folder 1; ER to HGD, April 12, 1940, and HGD to ER, April 19, 1940, ER Papers, Personal Correspondence, Box 1547; HGD to Paul Taylor, April 8, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 8. ER wrote about the trip in several of her "My Day" columns at the beginning of April, 1940.
21. Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Roosevelt Connection," pp. 169-72. The fight between Jones and Gahagan continued all through Gahagan's political career. Materials on this relationship are located primarily in the HGD Papers and the Women's Division Papers. The New York Times and Women's Division press releases offer the most thorough coverage of women in the convention, including Gahagan.
- Many letters critical of Gahagan were sent between Democratic women in the months following the convention. Some were even directed to ER and FDR. See for example, Mrs. Willouby Rodman to ER, August 30, 1940, Women's Division Papers, Box 181, FDR Library.
22. Helen worked through the Women's Division, and both Helen and Melvyn helped organize the very active Hollywood for Roosevelt Committee. On the work of the committee see, for example, Ralph Block to Marguerite Lehand, FDR Papers as President, President's Personal File, Box 7024, FDR Library. On both Douglasses' contributions see Harold L. Ickes to Helen and Melvyn Douglas, November 7, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 212, Folder 23.
23. Author's interview with Malone, April 3, 1978.
24. For quote see Gladys Tillett to HGD, September 24, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 12. Extensive materials exist on this conference, particularly in the Women's Division Papers and the HGD Papers.
25. Documentation appears in numerous places in the Women's Division Papers. See also *A Full Life*, pp. 160-61.
26. The OCD affair over Melvyn's appointment is discussed in several places in the *Congressional Record*, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Melvyn Douglas Papers, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, The Washington Post, and the New York Times.
27. DNC Secretary to HGD, November 19, 1942, DNC Papers, Box 1144.
28. Author's interviews with Dorothy McAllister, March 3, 1981, and Lisa Bronson, March 21, 1980, offer useful insights into Douglas's Women's Division work and complement the Women's Division Papers, FDR Library.
29. See for example Thomas F. Ford to HGD, October 20, 1943, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 1.
30. "The House that Jack Can't Build," Speech before the Regional Conference of the National Association of Housing Officials, September 25, 1947, Harold Ickes Collection, Box 55, Library Manuscript Division



- (hereafter cited as Ickes Papers).
31. The most useful materials on the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of her district appear throughout the Ed Lybeck Papers, Special Collections, Collection 901, University of California, Los Angeles (hereafter cited as Lybeck Papers), in United States census data (both 1940 and a special 1945 mid-decade census), and author's interview with Susie Clifton, April 12, 1984.
  32. Fliers in HGDPP.
  33. Thomas F. Ford to Samson Lindauer, March 9, 1944, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 3, and HGD to Eleanor Roosevelt, March 16, 1944, ER Papers, Box 1756.
  34. HGD to Molly Dewson, March 31, 1944, Mary M. Dewson Papers, Box 20, FDR Library. Lillian Ford to HGD, May 30, 1944, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 1.
  35. The HGD Papers, the Lybeck Papers, the *California Eagle*, May, June, and September through November, 1944, and author's interview with Clifton provide the bulk of information about the campaign. Both ER and FDR followed the campaign closely. FDR wrote an endorsement letter for her campaign materials. The Roosevelts were delighted when Douglas won. See for example, FDR to HGD, November 27, 1944, Papers as President, President's Secretary Files, Box 151, FDR Library.
  36. Douglas continually expressed her concerns about the 79th Congress in speeches on the floor of Congress and to numerous groups as well as in letters (see the *Congressional Record*, HGD Papers and Lybeck Papers.) Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1973) offers a good overview of postwar liberalism and is one of the few secondary works to examine Douglas's role in politics.
  37. Bills Douglas sponsored in the first session of the 79th Congress include one for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and an anti-poll-tax bill. She also spoke out on numerous other issues and included speeches of other liberals and newspapers editorials in the *Congressional Record Appendix*. See *Congressional Record*, 79th Congress.
  - Although Douglas did not stress her relationships to other women in Congress or women's issues, she did work against ERA, as did most Democrats and labor, and fought for an equal pay bill. Her closest woman friend in Congress was Representative Mary Norton from New Jersey. Two periodicals are very helpful in tracing women in political life during this period—*Independent Woman* which covered women of both parties and the *Democratic Digest* which limited itself to Democratic women. For good treatment of women in the New Deal, see Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981). On women in general in the 1930s see Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982) and on women in the 1940s, Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).
  - The wealth of literature on women running for elective office, congressional style, congressional operations, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee was very useful in developing a sense of Douglas's style and evaluating her effectiveness as a member of Congress. One book specifically on women in Congress is Irwin N. Gertzog, *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Treatment, and Behavior* (New York: Praeger, 1984).
  38. Douglas's reliance on FDR is suggested in many speeches, including one to the Liberal Party dinner in New York in March 1945. See U.S., House, 79th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record Appendix*, March 26, 1945, v. 91, pt. 11, p. A1491.
  - Douglas's backing of Truman's policies is reflected throughout the *Congressional Record*, in letters, and in speeches (see HGD Papers). See for example her nationally broadcast speech over CBS entitled "Let Your Leaders in Washington Know," December 4, 1945, which was reprinted in the *Congressional Record Appendix* the following day (U.S., House, 79th Cong., 1st sess., v. 91, pt. 13, pp. A5316–17).
  39. She gave her speech entitled "My Democratic Credo" on the floor of Congress March 29, 1946. (U.S., House, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record*, March 29, 1946, v. 92, pt. 3, pp. 2856–59). Numerous books detail the development and use of the atomic bomb. For a sequence on the passage of the Atomic Energy Act see for example Richard L.G. Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., *A History of the United States Energy Commission, The New World, 1939–46*, Vol. I (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1962) and James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller, *The Control of Atomic Energy: A Study of Its Social, Economic and Political Implications* (N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1948). For a detailed study of Douglas's role, one has to use materials such as the *Congressional Quarterly*; the *Congressional Record*; HGD Papers; the *New York Times*; the *Washington Post* and Albert Cahn, "Helen Gahagan Douglas—The Lobby for Civilian Control of Atomic Energy," an oral history conducted 1978 by Ingrid Winther Scobie, in HGD ROHO Project. Colleen M. O'Connor, "Imagine the Unimaginable: Helen Gahagan Douglas, Women, and the Bomb," *Southern California Quarterly*, LXVII, No. 1 (Spring 1985), 35–50.
  40. See *Congressional Quarterly*, *Congressional Record* and HGD Papers. The *Chicago Defender* among many other black papers early praised Douglas for her civil rights work (*Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.)
  41. See in particular HGD Papers and Lybeck Papers. On Douglas working with ER see for example HGD to ER, May 13, 1942, HGD Papers, Box 216, Folder 1. On ER and civil rights see Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 120–22.
  - Material on the post office appears throughout documents from the first two terms in both the HGD Papers

- and the Lybeck Papers, UCLA. On Douglas and Bethune see, for example, Mary McLeod Bethune to HGD, March 14, 1945, HGD Papers, Box 23, Folder 4. Books on black soldiers do not acknowledge her contribution; see for example, Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–53* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969).
42. See Lybeck Papers and two of the district's black papers, *California Eagle* and *Los Angeles Sentinel*, *Los Angeles Daily News*, and Florence (Susie) Clifton papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
43. HGD to the Lybecks, November 6, 1946, Lybeck Papers, Box 1, Folder 4.
44. See, for example, one of Douglas's many statements against Taft-Hartley in U.S., House, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record*, April 17, 1947, v. 93, pt. 3, pp. 3650–51.
45. U.S., House, 80th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record*, March 13, 1947, v. 93, pt. 2, pp. 2038–41.
46. On housing reform during the Truman period see Richard O. Davies, *Housing Reform During the Truman Administration* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966). Douglas's speeches on housing, inflation, and veterans appear frequently in the *Congressional Record* for the 80th Congress.

On hiring a black secretary see Lybeck Papers and Juanita Terry Barbee, "Helen Gahagan Douglas's Office Staff—Work and Relaxation," an oral history conducted 1976 by Fern Ingersoll, in HGD ROHO Project, vol. II.
47. Lybeck to HGD, March 15, 1948, Lybeck Papers, Box 1, Folder 9.
48. See for example, Ed Lybeck, Post-Campaign Report, 1948, Box 4, Folder 2 and other materials in the Lybeck Papers. The United Auto Worker Archives, Wayne State University include information in various collections about Douglas's campaign. Clifton Interview. The best papers for this campaign are the *Los Angeles Daily News* and the *California Eagle*, HGD Papers.
49. HGD Papers, particularly Boxes 211–14, and HGDPP.
50. Evie Chavoor was undoubtedly the most enthusiastic Douglas supporter along with Ed and Ruth Lybeck. Chavoor's interview with ROHO is very helpful for insights into the entire period for which she worked for the Douglasses. See Evelyn Chavoor, "Twenty-Four-Hour-A-Day Support Person," an oral history conducted 1980 by Fern Ingersoll in HGD ROHO Project, vol. II. Hereafter referred to as ROHO interview with Chavoor.
51. Alvin Meyers, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Campaigns for Congress," an oral history conducted 1980 by Ingrid Winther Scobie in HGD ROHO Project, vol. I. Although Ruth Lybeck continued as a key campaign person in 1950, Ed took a back seat. Hereafter referred to as ROHO interview with Meyers.
52. Douglas, *A Full Life*, p. 291. See also the Washington columnist Marquis Child's article [n.d.] (Clifton Papers).
53. HGD Papers, esp. Boxes 176–204. The most important pro-Douglas paper was the *California Eagle*. Once Boddy entered the race, his paper, the *Los Angeles Daily News*, turned against her.
54. See, for example, Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), pp. 71–78.
55. See Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and Her 1950 Senate Race with Richard M. Nixon," *Southern California Quarterly*, LVIII, No. 1 (Spring 1976), 113–25, for some additional, though preliminary, ideas on the campaign. A host of books treat the 1950 race. Most agree that Nixon conducted a vicious campaign. See in particular Frank Mankiewicz, *Perfectly Clear: Nixon from Whittier to Watergate* (New York: Quandrangle, 1973), pp. 51–57, and Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Co., 1981), p. 232. The first major book to contain a critical assessment of Douglas's campaign is Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon: The Education of a Politician, 1913–1962* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), pp. 197–223.
56. One measure of the loss of support was the reduced activity in Douglas campaign headquarters at the county level around the state. See in particular boxes 179 to 190 in HGD Papers. See also, for example, author's interview with John Vieg, March 22, 1980.
57. See, for example, ROHO interviews with Chavoor and Meyers.

# Kamerling, Barbieri Portraits, pp. 262–277.

The author would like to thank the following people for their assistance in providing information helpful to this project: Ruth M. Pico and William A. Dougherty III, both descendants of Barbieri sitters; Mary H. Haggland, James Abajian, Jeanne Van Nostrand, Dr. Albert Shumate, Regina Soria, Edan Hughes, and Dee Clarke Welles, historians of California art and history; and the museum staff and archivists Lawrence Dinnean and Marie Byrne of the Bancroft Library; Michael Redmon and Mrs. Henry Griffiths of the Santa Barbara Historical Society; Grace E. Baker of the Society of California Pioneers; Fr. Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives; Judy Sheldon and Johanna Stokes of the California Historical Society; Georgia J. Douglas of the Hayward Area Historical Society; Margie Gamboa, Celine Cebedo and Cheryl L. Kaiser of the de Saisset Museum; Christine D. Doran of the Oakland Museum; Andrew M. Canepa of the American Italian Historical Association; John Gonzales of the California State Library; and Alexa Luberski of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. In Bolivia, thanks are due to Alberto Crespo of the Central Library at the Universidad Mayor de San Andres; and in Peru, Dra. Maria Rostworowski of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, and Dr. Thomas M. Davies of the Department of Latin American Studies at San Diego State University who arranged to hire a student researcher, Carlota Casalino, to locate data on Barbieri's



years in Lima. A very special thank you goes to Amelie Elkinton of the Monterey History and Art Association who provided answers to seemingly endless questions on Barbieri's sitters in the Monterey area. The Barbieri letters and other documents were translated for the author by Paulette Hennum (Italian), Isabel Franssen (French and Spanish), Dr. Iris Engstrand (Spanish), and Corey Braun (Spanish).

1. The main sources of published information on Barbieri are:

Edan M. Hughes, *Artists in California 1786 - 1940* (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Company, 1986); Museo Italo-Americano, *Italian-American Artists in California 1850 to 1925* (San Francisco, n.d.); Charlotte P. Myrick, "Leonardo Barbieri, Painter", *Noticias*, IX: 2 (Summer 1963); Helen Spangenberg, *Yesterday's Artists in the Monterey Peninsula* (Monterey: Monterey Museum of Art, 1976); Jeanne Van Nostrand, *The First Hundred Years of Painting in California 1775 - 1875*, (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980).

2. These letters were purchased by the California Historical Society in 1939 from a dealer in Paris along with a photograph of Barbieri and his portrait of Count Raousset-Boulbon.
3. A handwritten biographical note about Barbieri by the Count de Monclar (hereafter referred to as "Monclar") accompanied the Barbieri letters (hereafter referred to as "Barbieri" followed by the item number). In this note, Monclar states that Barbieri was about sixty years old in 1869. Monclar also refers to the painter as "Luigi" instead of Leonardo," but from the contents of the letters there can be no doubt that he is referring to the same person.
4. Benezit's *Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dissinateurs et Graveurs* lists thirty-one artists named Barbieri. Monclar states that Barbieri's brother had also been a painter.
5. Barbieri's letters were written in all three languages.
6. Monclar speaks of a *chagrin*.
7. Information on Barbieri's stay in

Argentina is from Vincente Gesvaldo, ed. *Enciclopedia del Arte en America* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Omeba, 1968).

8. Correspondence with Alberto Crespo, Director of the Biblioteca Central, Universidad Mayor de San Andres in La Paz, was unable to confirm that Barbieri taught there. Monclar reports that Barbieri was a miner in California for a time.
9. Spangenberg, p. 15.
10. Mary Haggland, "Don José Antonio Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and Ranchero," *Journal of San Diego History*, XXIX: 1 (Winter 1983), 62, states that the Casa de Aguirre was not completed until early in 1851. The portrait of Rosario has previously been recorded as unsigned. Upon careful inspection, however, the author was able to locate the signature and date on the left side under the arm of the chair.
11. The painting could not be located for inspection at the time of the author's visit to the Bancroft Library.
12. Sweeny's letters (two volumes, bound manuscript copy, San Diego Historical Society, Research Archives) from California request a "dear likeness" of his wife and daughter (Vol. II, p. 87). He was lonely for his family and perhaps had the portrait painted to send them for the same reason. Sweeny's parents visited him in San Diego in the Summer of 1850, and could have returned with the painting (letters July 25 and August 26, 1850).
13. Don Joaquín Carrillo, Don Carlos Carrillo and wife, and Ramona Lorenzana.
14. Translation from Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953).
15. Spangenberg p.15; also Beulah Linnell "Guillermo Castro," Hayward Area Historical Society Newsletter (May, 1968), p. 6, states that a painting by Barbieri was supposed to be at Lachryma Montis, the home of General Vallejo in Sonoma, but the author was unable to document this.
16. Letter from Henry Halleck to Pablo de la Guerra, January 29, 1852, de la Guerra papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
17. Halleck to de la Guerra, March 17, 1852.
18. These photographs are in the files of the Monterey History and Art Association.
19. Related to the author by Amelie Elkinton, correspondence of March 17, 1984.
20. Although popular in Dutch art, such surprise effects are unusual in Italian painting, a notable exception being Sebastiano del Piombo's portrait of Cardinal Bandinello Sauli in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which has a fly painted on the cardinal's knee.
21. The author was not able to locate these paintings. Susanna Bryant Dakin dates them to 1853 in her *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949).
22. Spangenberg, Elkinton.
23. Helen Broughall Metcalf "The California French Filibusters in Sonora" *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII: 1. (Mar. 1939), 16, states that Raousset-Boulbon returned to Mexico City in July of 1853. In the Barbieri letters, item #3 to Monclar states that the artist arrived with Raousset-Boulbon on the same steamer.
24. Barbieri item #3 states that they sketched together.
25. Barbieri item #3.
26. Barbieri item #3.
27. Metcalf.
28. de la Guerra papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archives, letter dated January 25, 1854.
29. This drawing is among the Barbieri papers at the California Historical Society.
30. *El Comercio*, 13 January 1860, p. 2, cols. 4-5; 10 February 1860, p. 2, col. 5.
31. *El Comercio*, 10 March 1860, p. 1, col. 3.
32. Gesvaldo; also *El Comercio* 10 July 1860, p. 2, col. 5; 18 July 1860, p. 2, col. 2; 15 August 1860, p. 2, cols. 1-10. Among the other paintings Barbieri exhibited were portraits of Señor Esteños and Señorita Melgar.
33. Carlota Casalina, a student in Lima, prepared a report on Barbieri's activities in that city for the author. This report, dated April, 1986, consists



primarily of transcriptions of newspaper articles mentioning the artist. Gesvaldo records that Evaristo San Cristóbal, Jaramillo and Troncoso were also students of Barbieri.

34. Gesvaldo, entry for "Leonardo Barbieri."
35. Monclar was a cousin of Raousset-Boulbon, which is probably the reason that Barbieri gave him the portrait.
36. Casalina, introductory remarks relating information from the Municipal Archives in Lima, Peru.
37. Barbieri item #8.
38. Barbieri item #6.
39. Another talented Italian, Giovanni Martinelli, worked in the San Francisco Bay Area about the same time as Barbieri. His family portrait of Peter and Josepha Castro Davidson and their son (dated 1851), and his portrait of Martina Arellanes Martinez are in the collection of the M.H. de Young Museum in San Francisco. William S. Jewett (1812 - 1873), early California's best-known portrait painter arrived about the same time as Barbieri, as did Charles Christian Nahl (1818 - 1878) and Stephen W. Shaw (1817 - 1900). For other artists active in California at this time see Van Nostrand.

## Peterson, The Philanthropist and the Artist, pp. 278-285.

1. George Hearst was a neighborhood friend from Phoebe's childhood in Missouri. She was only nineteen and her husband was forty-one when they married and left for California. See Richard H. Peterson, "Philanthropic Phoebe: The Educational Charity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," *California History*, LXIV (Fall 1985), 284, and references to Hearst's mining career in Peterson, *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), passim.
2. See W.A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Charles Scribner's

Sons, 1961), paper ed., pp. 6-7. The Orrin M. Peck collection of letters, documents, manuscripts, and photographs at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, contains approximately 3,000 pieces. About 100 deal directly with Mrs. Phoebe Hearst's letters, etc. and form the basis of this article (hereafter cited as OMP).

3. For a brief biographical sketch of Peck, see Daniel H. Woodward, ed., *Guide to American Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library and Kingsport Press, 1979), pp. 284-285. Also, see Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, pp. 23, 63.
4. Swanberg, pp. 75, 80-81, 351, 396, 399. "Hearst's most grandiose creation was of course the castle at San Simeon, an architectural orgy showcasing his \$50 million art collection. The San Simeon 'ranch' which also possessed the largest private animal collection in the U.S., was the scene of baronial house parties during the interwar period." See Carol Dunlap, *California People* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Peregrine Smith Books, 1982), p. 90. Of the various illustrated histories of the Hearst Castle at San Simeon, with a useful text, the best is probably Thomas R. Aidala (text) and Curtis Bruce (photographs), *Hearst Castle, San Simeon* (New York: Harrison House, 1984).
5. See numerous letters and postcards from Phoebe to Orrin in which the former identifies herself as his "Other Mother" or on occasion as "Yours affectionately, P.A. Hearst who is your other mother."
6. *New York Times*, April 18, 1919. Also, see especially Peterson, "Philanthropic Phoebe: The Educational Charity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," pp. 284-289, 313-315.
7. Gloria Ricci Lothrop, "Rediscovering California's Forgotten Women," *California Historical Courier*, XXVIII (April/May, 1986): 4. (A newsletter publication of the California Historical Society.)
8. Phoebe has been overlooked by biographers with the exception of longtime Hearst associate Winifred

Black Bonfils, who wrote for the *San Francisco Examiner*. Her work is hurried, replete with errors, and written in gushy prose, and in no way serves as a scholarly biography of one whom authoritative historian W.A. Swanberg calls "one of the nation's most remarkable women." See Swanberg, 321, and Winifred B. Bonfils, *The Life and Personality of Phoebe Apperson Hearst* (San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1928). In addition to this flawed published account, portions of an unpublished biography of Mrs. Hearst with related notes written by Adele S. Brooks are available in Phoebe Apperson Hearst, Correspondence and Papers, Carton 5, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as PAH).

9. Swanberg, pp. 16-19. According to Cora Older, the wife of Fremont Older, who edited one of William Hearst's San Francisco newspapers for over a decade, "she poured the best of herself and the best of all that there was in Europe into her son's ten-year-old mind." See Mrs. Fremont (Cora) Older, *William Randolph Hearst, American* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 29.
10. Letter, Phoebe Hearst to Jeannie (Orrin's Mother), April 15, 1885, OMP.
11. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, November 5, 1903, *ibid*.
12. See especially Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), especially pp. 46-64. On a related subject, Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), provides a thorough, up-to-date account of Japanese American life from the evacuation order of World War II to the current policy debate over redress and reparation.
13. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, undated, OMP.
14. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, February 7, 1905, *ibid*.

15. Letter, Phoebe ("Your Other Mother") to Orrin, February, 9, 1905, *ibid.*
16. The *Washington Post*, April 14, 1919, mentioned Phoebe's prominent role at social affairs in the nation's capital. California's governor, George Stoneman, chose Hearst to fill the unexpired term of U.S. Senator John Miller when the latter died in March, 1886. He served from March 23 until August 4, 1886. A special session of the then Republican-controlled California legislature replaced the Democratic Hearst with a party member, Abram P. Williams, who completed the remaining seven months of Miller's term. In January, 1887, Hearst was elected to a full term in the Senate by the California legislature. See Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento: California State Library, 1893), p. 436; George Hearst, *The Way It Was: Recollections of U.S. Senator George Hearst, 1820-1891* (San Francisco: The Hearst Corporation, 1972), p. 26; Fremont and Cora Older, *George Hearst: California Pioneer*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966) pp. 195-196; and R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 102, note 52. On January 19, 1887, the *New York Times* changed that "Hearst's Senatorial seat . . . cost him a million" and that Chris Buckley, the blind Democratic boss of San Francisco, had delivered the votes necessary to his election.
17. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated, OMP.
18. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, November 5, 1903, OMP.
19. Her hacienda estate was known officially as the Hacienda del Pozo de Verona after a well she had brought from Verona, Italy, and placed in the patio. See photographs of the hacienda taken by William Randolph Hearst, August 26, 1904, OMP.
20. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, undated, OMP.
21. Swanberg, p. 215.
22. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, May 30, 1899, OMP.
23. Letter, Mrs. George B. Thacher to the author, undated, but in the Spring of 1986.
24. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated with the exception of a reference to Saturday evening, OMP.
25. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, May 30, 1899, OMP.
26. A complete report on the value of her individual benefactions to the University can be found in "A Gracious Lady Helped the Young," *Oakland Tribune*, April 27, 1969. Also see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, pp. 488-489; the *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919; *Los Angeles Herald*, September 26, 1976; and Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 86, 119-120, 137, 160, 177, 191. Regarding the architectural plan for the University of California, see letters, Bernard Maybeck to Phoebe Hearst, 1896-1899, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. Mrs. Hearst was an early pioneer in the free kindergarten movement in San Francisco and elsewhere. She worked closely with Sarah Cooper in this regard, who in 1887, named a kindergarten in honor of Mrs. Hearst's generosity. See Carol Roland, "The California Kindergarten Movement: A Study in Class and Social Feminism" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1980), pp. 6-7, 13-14, 21-22, 98.
27. For various reactions from the northern California press, although mostly favorable, see the *San Francisco Call*, June 11, 1904; *Oakland Tribune*, June 4, 8, 9, 1904; and the *Chico Enterprise*, June 7, 1904. Female students who needed jobs to help defray the cost of their education found employment as seamstresses in the Hearst Domestic Industries, established at the University in 1900. For information on this, see the *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919; and the *Oakland Tribune*, April 27, 1969. Also see letters written by Hearst Domestic Industries students, 1 folder, Carton 1; and letters, Amanda Hicks (director) to Phoebe Hearst, 1900-1905, Hearst Domestic Industries file, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. According to the *New York Times*, May 28, 1904, Mrs. Hearst withdrew her financial support for unspecified reasons from this organization and several University of California student clubs in 1904.
28. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, August 7, 1905, OMP.
29. Wyntoon in McCloud, Siskiyou County, California, was a five-story, medieval manor house designed by the talented Berkeley architect, Bernard Maybeck. Built in 1902, the castle-like home suited the surrounding rugged northern California fishing country. For a brief biographical sketch of Maybeck's career, see James D. Hart, *A Companion to California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 265. Also, a recent concise review of his career is available in Georgia Sommers Wright, "Architect's Mind in Flux: Maybeck's Beaux-Arts Triumphs, Trials, and Evolution at Mills College," *The Californians*, II (July/August, 1984), 31-38.
30. Letter, Phoebe to Jeannie, June 15, 1899, OMP.
31. For evidence that Mrs. Hearst helped various students to pursue their education, see letters to her from John Bakewell, Edward H. Bennett, Putnam Griswold, Elmer B. Harris, Newell L. Perry, and Jeanette Shafer, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. These letters were written between 1898 and 1915 by students of architecture, music, and drama who were often studying, like Orrin Peck, in Europe.
32. Swanberg, p. 63.
33. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated, OMP.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, February 13, 1907, OMP.
36. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin ("my dear other Son"), undated, OMP.
37. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, December 7, 1905, OMP.
38. *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919. "Rich Americans spent more money on art during the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 than had ever been spent by a similar group in the world's history." See Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise:*

*A Social History of Industrial America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 257.

39. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, February 5, 1906, OMP.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Letter, "P.A. Hearst, who is your other Mother," to Orrin, January 1, 1901, OMP.
42. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, December 22, 1886, OMP.
43. Letter, Phoebe to Mrs. Peck, undated, OMP.
44. Swanberg, pp. 37-38.
45. For references to Phoebe's occasional ill health, see letter, Phoebe to Orrin, December 22, 1886, OMP.
46. For reference to Baroness Franchetti,

see telegram, Phoebe to Miss Janet Peck, date unclear, OMP. Members of the Spreckels family are mentioned in a letter, Phoebe to Janet, August 4, 1904, OMP. This prominent California family, founded by Claus Spreckels (1828-1908), made its fortune in the California sugar beet industry and in sugar refineries in addition to other investments. See Hart, *A Companion to California*, pp. 420-421, for a brief summary of the family history.

47. For her role in the development of the Department of Anthropology and university archaeological expeditions, see Timothy H.H. Thoresen, "Playing the Piper and Calling

the Tune: The Beginnings of Academic Anthropology in California," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, XI (July, 1975), 257-275; and Edward T. James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950; A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), II, p. 172. The Hearst biographical essay was written by the distinguished western historian, Rodman W. Paul.

48. The number of entries referring to women, though not extensive, in elementary, secondary, and college-level texts is documented in Lothrop, "Rediscovering California's Forgotten Women," pp. 4-5.

## CORRECTIONS

Due to an oversight in the editorial and production process for the September, 1987, issue of *California History*, Thomas R. Clark's article entitled "Labor and Progressivism 'South of the Slot': The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco Working Class, 1912-1916" was published with typographical errors which should be corrected as follows:

**p. 197, col. 2:** the last sentence of the first paragraph should read, "More recently the role of labor has recieved more attention in histories which treat progressivism not as a unified phenomenon but as a heterogeneous collection of groups often seeking quite different sets of objectives."

**p.197, col 2:** the third sentence of the third paragraph should read, "San Francisco's neighborhoods were relatively homogeneous, with predominantly working class districts in the South of Market,

middle class districts in the Sunset and the Richmond, and the upper class districts of Pacific Heights and Nob Hill."

**p. 198, col. 3:** the first sentence of the last paragraph should read, "Shover's and Rogin's conclusions were based almost entirely on the vote for Johnson, yet Hiram Johnson's ability to secure the votes of working-class voters does not mean that all Progressives, much less 'progressivism,' elicited the same response."

**p. 203, cols. 1-2:** the sentence joining the columns should read, "Party affiliation did not affect the way candidates for state offices in California were treated in the labor press." The following sentence, which refers to "the following table" should have been deleted.

**p. 204, col. 3-p. 205, col 1:** the sentence joining the columns should read, "An unsigned editorial

referred to Hughes as the 'candidate of the plutocracy' and reckoned that Hughes appeared to 'have less sympathy (for) . . . American workers than the Czar of Russia has shown for Polish Jews.'"

**p. 206, col. 2:** the first sentence should read, "Working-class voters supported Hiram Johnson and accounted for the greater part of Johnson's political success after 1914; however, support for Johnson cannot be interpreted as support for all Progressives, much less progressivism."

**p. 207, col. 2:** the first full sentence should read, "Quite possibly a close examination of Los Angeles and San Francisco voting results—which were included in Shover's and Rogin's data—would yield a different perspective from that presented here and reveal significant differences in the development of Los Angeles and San Francisco."



# California History

VOLUME LXVI NO. 1-4 1987

## CONTENTS

### California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO • LOS ANGELES • SAN MARINO

NUMBER 1—MARCH 1987

- 2  
California's Aboriginal Waterscape  
Harmony and Manipulation  
*by Norris Hundley*
- 12  
Symbol for an Era  
Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford  
*by Lawrence Paul Crouchett*
- 24  
Isla de Los Angeles  
Unique State Park in San Francisco Bay  
*by Elliot A. P. Evans and David W. Heron*
- 40  
The Apprenticeship of Kathleen Norris  
*by Deanna Paoli Gumina*
- 49  
The Origins of San Quentin  
*by Clare V. McKenna, Jr.*
- 55  
Printing, Publishing, and Ancillary Trades: A Checklist  
of Manuscript and Archival Holdings in the Edward  
C. Kemble Collections on Western Printing & Publish-  
ing, CHS Library, San Francisco
- 69  
Notes

NUMBER 2—JUNE 1987

- 83  
A Centennial for Josiah Royce  
*by Robert V. Hine*
- 94  
Progressivism Moves into the Schools  
Los Angeles, 1905–1918  
*by Judith Raftery*
- 104  
The War that Wasn't  
Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey  
*by Gene A. Smith*
- 115  
The California Years of Virgil Macey Williams  
*by Ruth N. Post*
- 130  
To Save the Republic  
The California Workingmen's Party in Humboldt County  
*by Daniel Cornford*
- 143  
Reviews
- 151  
California Checklist
- 153  
Notes

NUMBER 3—SEPTEMBER 1987

162

A Young Woman of Advanced Ideas

Mabel Craft Deering

*by Rudolph M. Lapp*

170

This Was Our Place

Memories of Locke

*by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow*

188

"El Portugues"

Don Antonio Jose Rocha, California's First  
Portuguese Settler

*by Eduardo M. Dias and David E. Bertao*

196

Labor and Progressivism "South of the Slot"

The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco

Working Class, 1912–1916

*by Thomas R. Clark*

208

Temples and Playgrounds

The Sierra Club in the Wilderness, 1901–1922

*by Anne Farrar Hyde*

221

Reviews

229

California Checklist

233

Notes

NUMBER 4—DECEMBER 1987

243

Helen Gahagan Douglas

Broadway Star as California Politician

*by Ingrid Winther Scobie*

262

California's Leonardo

The Portraits of Signor Barbieri

*by Bruce Kamerling*

278

The Philanthropist and the Artist

The Letters of Phoebe A. Hearst to Orrin Peck

*by Richard H. Peterson*

286

To the Source

Archival Collections for California Labor History

*compiled by Lynn A. Bonfield*

300

Reviews

308

California Checklist

310

Notes





# California History

VOLUME LXVI 1987

## INDEX

Compiled by Marcella Genz

### California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO • LOS ANGELES • SAN MARINO

- Abbot, Joshua P., 56  
 Abrego, José, 275  
 Acty, Ruth, 13  
 Adams, Henry, 85  
 Adams, John Quincy, 105  
 Aguirre, José Antonio, 265  
 Aguirre, Rosario Estudillo, 265, 267, 276  
 Ahwahnee Hotel (Yosemite National Park), 218  
 Albrier, Frances, 15  
 Alcatraz Island, 32  
 Alert (ves.), 29, 110  
 Allen, Claude, 14  
 Allen, George, 65  
 Allen, Jane Buston, 273, 277  
 Alliance Française (Los Angeles), 102  
 Almonte, Juan N., 112  
 Alta California (news.), 55, 56  
 Althof & Bahls, 57  
 Alvarado, Juan Bautista, 29, 109–110  
 Alvarado, Juan Nepomuceno, 194  
 Alvarado, Xavier, 193  
 Alvord, William, 120  
 American Type Founders Company, 56  
 American West Publishing Company, 55, 56  
 Amesti, Carmen, 271  
 Amesti, Epitacia (Santa), 271  
 Amesti, José Galo, 270, 276, 277  
 Amesti, Prudenciana Vallejo, 271, 276, 277  
 Amesti, Tomasa Madariga, 271  
 Anderson, (Joseph M.) Company, 61  
 Anderson, Glenn M., 15, 21  
 Anderson, Greg, 59  
 Anderson, Nathaniel, 64  
 Andrews, George P., 33, 34  
 Andrews, Mattie, 33  
 Angel Island, 24–39, 50  
 Angel Island (ves.), 37  
 Angelou, Maya, 13  
 Annenberg, Maurice, 59  
 Anthony, Susan B., 167 (photo), 168  
 Antlers Hotel (Colorado Springs), 218  
 Appomattox Club, Berkeley, 14  
 Apponyi, Flora Haines, 62  
 "The Apprenticeship of Kathleen Norris" by Deanna Paoli Gumina, 40–48  
 Arano, Celedonia Amesti, 271, 276  
 Arano, Francisco, 271  
 Argonaut Publishing Company, 56  
 Argüello, Concepción, 28  
 Argüello, José, 28  
 Argüello, José Darío, 190  
 Armstrong, James, 107  
 Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Los Angeles Branch), 98  
 Athearn, Robert G., *The Mythic West in Twentieth-century America*, rev. 227  
 Austin, Mary 143 (photo)  
 Avery, Benjamin Parke, 120  
 Ayala, Juan Manuel de, 25, 26, 27, 38  
 Bacon, Russel, 216, 217  
 Bacon & Company, 66  
 Bade, William, 212  
 Baggett, William, T., 62  
 Baker, C.M. 216, 217  
 Bancroft, Albert Little, 56  
 Bancroft, George, 88  
 Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 30, 49, 56, 83, 84, 86, 88  
 Bancroft (A.L.) & Company, 56, 57, 65  
 Bancroft (H.H.) Company, 56  
 Bancroft-Whitney Company, 56  
 Bandelier, Adolph, 85  
 Barbieri, Leonardo, 262–277  
 Barker, Charles, 89  
 Barkley, Alben W., 261  
 Barnhart, Jacqueline Baker, *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849–1900*, rev. 302  
 Barnum, W.S., 133  
 Barons of Labor: *The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*, by Michael Kazin, rev., 305–306  
 Barry, James H., 57  
 Bartlett, C. Julian, 56, 57  
 Bartlett, Columbus, 55  
 Bartlett, Dana, 99  
 Bartlett, Washington, 56, 64  
 Barton, J.N., 138, 139, 142  
 Batman, Richard, *James Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality*, rev., 146  
 Baur, John E., rev. of Batman, *James Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality*, 146  
 Bay City Printing Office, 58  
 Beccaria, Cesare, 51  
 Beechey, William, 28  
 Beith, James, 131  
 Belasco, David, 246  
 Bellah, Robert, 91  
 Bennett, James Gordon, 113  
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 84  
 Beriah, Brown, 57  
 Berkeley, Thomas L., 14  
 Bernard du Hautcilly, Auguste, 29  
 Bertao, David E. and Eduardo M. Dias, "El Portugueses": Don Antonio Jose Rocha, California's First Portuguese Settler, 188–195  
 Bethune, Mary McLeod, 255, 257  
 Bidwell, Anna K., 167 (photo)  
 Bierce, Ambrose, 60  
 Bierstadt, Albert, 115, 118  
 Bing Fai Chow, 176, 178  
 Birds of the Pacific Slope: *A Biography of the Artist and Naturalist 1818–1869 with Species Accounts and Field Notes by Andrew Jackson Grayson . . .* by Lois Chambers Stone, rev., 148–150  
 Bishop, M. Guy, rev. of Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City 1849 and 1850*, 303–304  
 Black, Jeremiah, 30–31  
 Blair, Frederika, *Isadora: Portrait of the Artist as a Woman*, rev. 301–302  
 Blair, R. Kirkham, 64  
 Blake, Francis, 57  
 Blake, Moffitt & Towne, 55, 57  
 Blake, Robbins & Company, 66  
 Blossom (ves.), 28  
 Blum, Nellie Holbrook, 167 (photo)  
 Bocanegra, Jose Maria, 112  
 Boddy, Manchester, 259–260  
 Bogues, John, 200–201  
 Bohemian Club, 122, 126  
 Bok, Edward W., 48  
 Bonifacio, Juan B., 273  
 Bonifacio, María Ignacia, 273, 277  
 Bonfield, Lynn A., compiler, "To the Source: Archival Collections for California Labor History," 286–299  
 Booth, Newton, 134  
 Bosqui, Edward, 120  
 Braden, William, 257  
 Brady, William, 245  
 Brannan, Charles P., 261  
 Brannan, Samuel, 57  
 Bridges, Betty, 37  
 Bridges, Harry Renton, 37  
 Britton, Joseph, 57  
 Britton & Rey, Lithographers, 55, 57  
 Brookes, Samuel Marsden, 120  
 Broussard, Allen E., 23  
 Brown, Alex, 172  
 Brown, Edmund G., 19, 20, 21  
 Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 115  
 Browning Robert, 115  
 Bryant, Carrie, 96  
 Bucareli, Antonio Maria, 26–27  
 Buchanan, James, 88  
 Building Trades Council (BTC) of San Francisco, 305–306  
 Bullen, Henry Lewis, 61  
 Buranelli, Vincent, 90  
 Burgess, William Hubert, 57  
 Burns, Hugh, 21  
 Buswell (A.) & Company, 57  
 Butler, Benjamin Franklin, 57  
 Butler, Harriet Hitchcock, 58  
 Cabot, Juan, 191  
 Cadillac Desert: *The American West and Its Disappearing Water* by Marc Reisner, rev. 226–227



- Calhoun, Eleanor, 284  
 "California's Aboriginal Waterscape: Harmony and Manipulation" by Norris Hundley, 2-11  
 California Authors, 143-144  
 "California Checklist," by Glenn E. Humphreys, 308-309  
 "California Checklist," by Bruce L. Johnson, 151-152, 229-231  
 California Fisheries, 223-224  
 California Indians, 2-11  
 California Ink Company, 67  
 California Literature Society, 63  
 California Real Estate Association (CREA), 20, 22  
 California Typesetting Company, 63  
 California Workingmen's Party, 130-142  
 "The California Years of Virgil Macey Williams," by Ruth N. Post, 115-129  
 "California's Leonardo: The Portraits of Signor Barbieri," by Bruce Kamerling, 262-277  
 Campo, Federico del, 276  
 Cañazares, José de, 27  
 Carey, Edward J., 14  
 Carleton, Philip, 212  
 Carr, John, 140  
 Carr, Matthew D., 64  
 Carrillo, Carlos Antonio, 267, 269, 276  
 Carrillo, Joaquin, 267, 277  
 Carrillo, José Antonio, 194, 195  
 Carrillo, María Antonio, 266  
 Carrington, Jack, 44  
 Carroll, John, 260  
 Castillo, Pedro and Antonio Rios-Bustamante, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781-1985*, rev., 145-146  
 Castro y Romero, Maria Josepha Raymundo, 267, 268  
 Castro, Guillermo, 268, 277  
 Caughey, John, 92  
 Cehanovska, Sophia, 246  
 "A Centennial for Josiah Royce," by Robert V. Hine, 83-93  
 Cermeno, Sebastian, 26  
 Chabot, Anthony, 64  
 Chamberlin, J.D.H., 140  
 Chan, Lincoln, 184  
 Chan, Sucheng, 170  
 Chandler, Robert J., rev. of Shumate, *The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express*, 221-222  
 Chapman, Oscar, 261  
 Chase, Amanda M., 99  
 Chinese in California, 170-187  
 Chotiner, Murray, 260  
 Chow, Joe, 174  
 Chun See, 179 (photo)  
 Civil Rights Movement, 16-23  
 Clark, Thomas R., "Labor and Progressivism 'South of the Slot': The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco Working Class, 1912-1916," 196-207  
 Cleland, Robert Glass, 89, 90  
 Clements, Kendrick A., rev. of Reisner, *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water*, 226-227  
 Clifton, Susie, 251  
 Coblenz, Edmond, 43  
 Cohen, Alfred A., 58  
 Cohen, Herman, 59  
 Coleman, William, 88  
 Colonel Allen (ves.), 190  
 Columbia (ves.), 188, 190, 191  
 Columbus (ves.), 35  
 Columbus, Bartlett, 56-57  
 Commercial Steam Printing House, 59  
 Commercial Paper Corporation, 63  
 Commission of Immigration and Housing, 99  
 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 20  
 Connor, E., 64  
 Coolbrith, Ina, 55, 61, 65  
 Cooper, Elias, 58  
 Cornford, Daniel, "To Save the Republic: The California Workingmen's Party in Humboldt County," 130-142  
 Craft, Mable Clare see Deering, Mable Craft  
 Crane, William W., 83  
 Cranston, Alan, 243  
 Creel, George, 261  
 Crespi, Juan, 26  
 Crispin, Elizabeth, 214  
 Crocker, Henry J., 61  
 Crocker, Henry S., 60-61  
 Crocker, (H.S.) & Company, 57, 59, 60-61, 67  
 Crocker, Mary Ives, 61  
 Crouchett, Lawrence Paul, "Symbol for an Era: Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford," 12-23  
 Crown Paper Company, 65  
 Cummings, Lew Addison, 58  
 Cummings, Melbourne Wesley, 58  
 Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch, 57  
 Cushing, Alice, 96  
 Cutler, Thomas, 140  
 Cyane (ves.), 104-112 *passim*.  
 Dale (ves.), 106, 108  
 Dallas, Alexander, 113  
 Dana, Richard Henry, 25, 29  
 Daniels, John, 103  
 Dante Alighieri Society (Los Angeles), 101-102  
 Danube (ves.), 193  
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 102  
 Davis, Owen, 245  
 Davis, Peter, 33  
 Davis, William Heath, 265  
 Dawson, Glen, 59  
 Dawson, Muir, 59  
 Dawson, Rosemary Benet, 48  
 Dawson, William, 255  
 d'Estrella, Theophilus, 122  
 de Voto, Bernard, 90  
 de Young, Michael, 163, 166 (photo)  
 Debs, Eugene V., 200  
 Deering, Francesca, 168  
 Deering, Frank P., 164, 168, 169  
 Deering, Mable Craft, 162-169  
 DeHaven, J., 132-133  
 Denny, Gideon Jacques, 120  
 Derosin, Achille, 33  
 de Sola, Alis, 245  
 DeWitt, Edward, 66  
 Dewson, Mollie, 252  
 Dias, Eduardo M. and David E. Bertao, " 'El Portugues': Don Antonio Jose Rocha, California's First Portuguese Settler," 188-196  
 Dibblee, Albert, 64  
 Dolores, Maria Josefa, 193, 195  
 Dolwig, Richard J., 17  
 Domínguez, Nemesio, 194  
 Donnelly, Ignatius, 85  
 Dornin, Thomas A., 107  
 Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 242 (photo), 243-261  
 Douglas, Mary Helen, 246  
 Douglas, Melvyn, 243, 245-261  
 Douglas, Peter, 246  
 Dowall, David E., *The Suburban Squeeze: Land Conversion and Regulation in the San Francisco Bay Area*, rev., 144  
 Downey, Sheridan, 258, 259  
 Doyle, Herman, 201  
 Drury, William, *Norton I: Emperor of the United States*, rev. 222-223  
 Dublin (ves.), 106  
 Duhaut-Cilly, Auguste Bernard, see Bernard de Hautcilly, Auguste  
 Duncan, Isadora, 301-302  
 Dunning, William A., 87  
 Duschnes, Philip, 59  
 Dwight, Louis, 51  
 Eagle (ves.), 32  
 Edson, Katharine, 169  
 Edwards, Frank G., 58  
 Edwards Publishing Company, 58  
 Effio, Jose, 276  
 Elder, Paul, 64, 67  
 Elder (Paul) & Company, 64

- Eldridge, Zoeth, 64  
 Ellery, Epes, 55, 58  
 Elliott, James Welsh, 66  
 Elsasser, Albert B., 2  
 Engstrand, Iris H. W., rev. of Stone, *Birds of the Pacific Slope* . . . , 148–150  
 Escott, Alf, 86  
 Estell, James M., 50, 52, 53  
 Estudillo, José María, 190–191  
 Estudillo, María de Jesus, 265, 267, 276  
 Evans, Elliot A.P. and David W. Heron, "Isla de Los Angeles: Unique State Park in San Francisco Bay," 24–39  
 Evans, Perry, 214, 216  
 Ewer, Ferdinand C., 58, 67
- The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849–1900*, by Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, rev., 302  
 Fairbanks, Douglas, 250  
 Fairfield, Frederick Pease, 59  
*The Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California*, by David Wyatt, rev., 143–144  
*Fame* (ves.), 109  
 Fine, Louis H., 33  
*The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980*, by Arthur F. McEvoy, rev. 223–224  
 Fitch, George H., 63, 88  
 Flagg, Etta, 97  
 Foley, Thomas McFarland, 53  
 Ford, Leland, 250  
 Ford, Lillian, 251, 252, 253  
 Ford, Thomas, 251, 252, 253  
 Foreman, Andrew, 59  
 Foreman, Andrew Jr., 59  
 Foreman (A.) & Son, Typefoundry, 55, 59  
 Forum Club of San Francisco, 164  
 Foucault, Michel, 51  
 Francis, John H., 96, 97, 98, 102  
 Fowler, John W., 14  
 Francis-Valentine Company, 59  
 Frankland, Tom, 61  
 Frémont, Jessie Benton, 88, 89, 92  
 Frémont, John Charles, 84, 86, 88, 89, 92  
 Friday Morning Club (Los Angeles), 102  
 Frohman, Margaret Illington, 44  
 Funston, Frederick, 37
- Gaffney, Edward M., 18  
 Gahagan, Lillian, 243–244  
 Gahagan, Walter, 243–244  
 Garcia, Mario T., rev. of Jenkins, *The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*, 307  
 Gardner, W.H., 35  
 Garrison, Cornelius K., 30  
 Garvin, John, 51
- Gebhard, David, rev. of Neutra, *Richard Neutra, Promise and Fulfillment, 1919–1932*, 147–148  
 General Frank M. Cox (ves.), 37  
 George, Grace, 245  
 Ghirardelli, Angela, 122  
 Gibson, Luther E., 20, 21  
 Gibson, Mary S., 99, 100  
 Gifford, Sanford Robinson, 115  
 Gihon, John H., 57  
 Gilbert, Edward, 56  
 Gillenkirk, Jeff and James Motlow, "This Was Our Place: Memories of Locke," 170–187  
 Gillespie, Archibald, 88  
 Gilroy, John, 191  
 Gleason, Jackie, 250  
*Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City 1849 and 1850*, by Brigham D. Madsen, rev., 303–304  
 Golden Gate Photo-Engraving Company, 63  
 Goldschmidt, Arthur, 247–248  
 Goldwyn, Samuel, 246  
 Gompers, Samuel, 202, 203  
 Gonzales, Manuel G., rev. of Rios-Bustamente and Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781–1985*, 145–146  
 Gordon, David Everett, 59  
 Goudy, Frederic W., 66  
 Gould, James, 64  
 Granges in California, 134–137  
 Grant, C. B., 31 32  
 Gray, John, 52  
 Grayson, Andrew Jackson, 148–150  
 Grimbail, Elizabeth, 244–255  
 Gronninger, Homer, 38  
 Guerra, Pablo de la, 269, 275  
 Gumina, Deanna Paoli, "The Apprenticeship of Kathleen Norris," 40–48  
 Guthrie, George, 57
- Haber, Samuel, 198  
 Haight, Gertrude, 167  
 Hale, Reuben Brooks, 59  
 Hall, Carol, 187 (photo)  
 Hall, Elede, 58, 65, 66  
 Halleck, Henry, 32  
 Hamilton, David Mike, "The Tools of My Trade": *The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library*, rev., 302–303  
 Hannon, Michael, 33  
 Harding, George Laban, 55, 59–60, 66  
 Hardison, Wallace, 67  
 Hargrave, Carolese, 13  
 Harland, Hester, 167 (photo)  
 Haro, Francisco de, 277  
 Harris, Carroll, 63
- Harrison, Edward H., 264, 276  
 Hart, Jerome A., 55, 56, 60  
 Hartnell, Teresa de la Guerra, 273, 277  
 Hartnell, William E.P., 273, 277  
 Hawkins, Augustus F., 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 251  
 Hawks, Nelson C., 55, 60  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 115  
 Hays, Samuel, 198  
 Hearst, George, 278, 280  
 Hearst, Millicent, 281  
 Hearst, Phoebe Apperson, 168, 278–285  
 Hearst, William Randolph, 60, 278, 281, 284  
 Heizer, Robert F., 2  
 "Helen Gahagan Douglas: Broadway Star as California Politician," by Ingrid Winther Scobie, 243–261  
 Henderson, Alexander B., 60  
 Henderson, John C., 14  
 Heney, Francis, 199, 200  
 Hernandez, Daniel, 276  
 Heron, David W. and Elliott A. P. Evans, "Isla de Los Angeles: Unique State Park in San Francisco Bay," 24–39  
 Herrera, José María, 193  
 Hewston, John, 118  
 Hicks-Judd Company, 59  
 Hill, Thomas, 118, 120, 124  
 Hine, Robert V., "A Centennial for Josiah Royce," 893–93; rev. of Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth-century America*, 227  
 Hittell, Theodore, 84, 86  
 Hofsommer, Don L., *The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985*, rev., 224–225  
 Hofstadter, Richard, 198  
 Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, 246  
 Hoover, Herbert, 169  
 Hotel del Coronado (San Diego), 218  
 Hotel Del Monte (Monterey), 218  
 Howe, Thomas Carr, 169  
 Howell, John, 61  
 Howell, Warren, 61  
 Howser, Fred N., 16–17  
 Hubbard, George C., 56  
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 203  
 Hughes (Edward C.) Company, 59  
 Humboldt County Politics, 130–142  
 California Workingmen's Party, 131, 139–142  
 Chinese population, 138–139  
 Farmers' Protective Unions, 134  
 Franklin Society Debating Club (Eureka), 137  
 Greenback Labor Party, 131, 141–142  
 International Workingmen's Association, 131, 142  
 Knights of Labor, 131

- Lumber industry, 136–137  
 Populists, 131–142 *passim*.  
 Humphreys, Glenn E., "California Checklist," 308–309  
 Humphreys, Glenn E., compiler, "Printing, Publishing, and Ancillary Trades: A Checklist of Manuscript and Archival Holdings in the Edward C. Kemble Collections on Western Printing & Publishing, CHS Library, San Francisco, 55–67  
 Hundley, Norris, "California's Aboriginal Waterscape: Harmony and Manipulation," 2–11  
 Hunt, Haywood, 61  
 Hunt Towers, 61  
 Huntington, Daniel, 114  
 Hurley, Edgar S., 15  
 Hyde, Anne Farrar, "Temples and Playgrounds: The Sierra Club in the Wilderness, 1901–1922," 208–219  
 Ickes, Harold, 248  
 An *Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781–1985*, by Antonio Rios-Bustamente and Pedro Castillo, rev., 145–146  
 Ina Coolbrith Circle, 55, 61  
 Inland Press, 61  
 Issac Todd (ves.), 188, 190, 191  
 Isadora: *Portrait of the Artist as a Woman*, by Frederika Blair, rev., 301–302  
 "Isla de Los Angeles: Unique State Park in San Francisco Bay," by Elliot A.P. Evans and David W. Heron, 24–39  
 Issel, William, rev. of McDonald, *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socio-economic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1906*, 225–226  
 Jackson, Alonzo C., 108  
 Jackson, Helen Hunt, 65, 85  
 Jackson, Joseph Henry, 89  
 James *Pattie's West: The Dream and the Reality*, by Richard Batman, rev., 146  
 James, William, 83  
 Jenkins, J. Craig *The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*, rev., 307  
 Jewish Radical Club (Los Angeles), 102  
 John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers, 247, 248  
 John Howell–Books, 61, 65  
 Johnson, Bruce, "California Checklist," 151–152, 229–231  
 Johnson, Hiram, 99, 197–203 *passim*.  
 Johnson, Louise Alice Galbreath, 14  
 Johnson, Marguerite see Angelou, Maya  
 Jonas, Ebenezer, 67  
 Jonas, Susan, 67  
 Jonas, Winchester, 67  
 Jane Ho, 181 (photo)  
 Jones, Meriwether Paterson, 112  
 Jones, Nettie, 249  
 Jones, Thomas ap Catesby, 89, 105–113  
 Jones, Thomas H., 32  
 Jorgensen, Christian A., 122  
 Joven Guipuzcoana (ves.), 108–109  
 Judson, Egbert, 64  
 Jump, Edward, 57  
 Jung, Effie see Lai, Effie  
 Jung, George, 179 (photo)  
 Jung, Raymond, 179 (photo)  
 Kahn, Florence Prag, 166  
 Kahn, Julius, 166, 200  
 Kamerling, Bruce, "California's Leonardo: The Portraits of Signor Barbieri," 262–277  
 Karson, Marc, 203  
 Kazin, Michael, *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*, rev., 305–306  
 Kearney, Denis, 141  
 Keith, William, 118, 120, 124  
 Kemble Collections, 55–67  
 Kemble Club, 61  
 Kemble, Edward C., 61, 55, 56  
 Kennedy–ten Bosch Company, 61  
 Kerensky, Alexander, 101  
 Kester, Frank, 62  
 King, Connie, 186  
 King, Tommy, 184, 186  
 Kirkham, Ralph W., 55, 62  
 Knight, H.L., 133  
 Knopf, Alfred, 89  
 Knowland, Joseph R., 62  
 Kurutz, KD, rev. of Osborne, *Museum Builders in the West: The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art 1870–1906*, 146–147  
 Kurz, Otto, 33  
 "Labor and Progressivism 'South of the Slot': The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco Working Class, 1912–1916," by Thomas R. Clark, 196–207  
 Labor, Earl, rev. of Hamilton, "The Tools of My Trade": *The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library*, 302–303  
 Labor History, Archives, 286–299  
 Labor movements in San Francisco, 196–207  
 Lai Foong, 179 (photo)  
 Lai, Effie, 178, 179 (photo), 180, 182  
 Lake, Delos, 34  
 Landis, James, 37  
 Lane, Franklin, 219  
 Langsdorf, Georg von, 28  
 Lapp, Rudolph, "A Young Woman of Advanced Ideas: Mabel Craft Deering," 162–169  
 LaReintrie, H. 110  
 Larkin, Thomas Oliver, 83, 84, 88, 110–112, 113  
 LeConte, Joseph, 211, 212  
 Ledger (news.), Antioch, 56  
 Lee "Charlie" Bing 172, 174, 180  
 Lees, Isaiah W., 55, 62  
 Lehmann, Adolph, 62  
 Lehmann Lithograph Company, 55, 62  
 Leong, Everett, 170–171 (photo), 182, 184  
 Levenson, Roger, 59, 60  
 Lewers, John, 62  
 Lilienthal, David, 243  
 Lilienthal, Ernest, 243  
 Lima, Maria Josefa, 188  
 Livermore, Caroline S., 39  
 Locke, California, 170–187  
 London, Jack, 201–202, 302–303  
 López de Santa Ana, Antonio, 274  
 Lorenzana, Roma de los Angeles, 267, 276  
 Los Angeles settlement houses, 98–99  
 Bethlehem Settlement, 98, 99  
 College Settlement, 98, 99  
 Los Angeles City Schools, 94–103  
 Amelia Street School, 97  
 Ann Street School, 96  
 Bernardo School, 98  
 Board of Education, 94, 98  
 Boyd Street School, 102  
 Cafeteria system, 96–97  
 Castelar Street Elementary School, 94, 96–97  
 Cornwell Street School, 102  
 Custer Street School, 102  
 Elementary Evening Schools, 102  
 First Street School, 102  
 Grant Avenue School, 102  
 Home Teacher program, 98–101  
 Immigrant policy, 94–103  
 Macy Street Elementary School, 96, 97  
 Rosemont School, 102  
 Utah Street School, 95, 96, 97, 101, 102, 103  
 Lothrop, Gloria R., 278  
 Lothrop, Gloria R., rev. of Blair, *Isadora: Portrait of the Artist as a Woman*, 301–302  
 Louis, Joe, 256  
 Loy, William E., 62  
 Lucas, Scott, 260  
 Ludlow, Fitz Hugh, 118  
 Lybeck, Ed, 251, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258



- Lybeck, Ruth, 251, 253
- McAllister, Dorothy, 249, 250
- MacArthur, Walter, 204
- McCarthy, Joseph, 260
- McCollister, Robert, 66
- McCollister, Richard H., 16
- McDevitt, William, 63, 64
- McDonald, Marshall Welch, 39
- McDonald, Terrence J., *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1906*, rev., 225–226
- McDowell, Irvin, 32, 34
- McEvoy, Arthur F., *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980*, rev., 223–224
- McGlashan, John, 63
- McGowan, Henry, 133
- McGrath, J. Howard, 261
- McKanna, Clare V. Jr., "The Origins of San Quentin, 1851–1880," 49–54
- Mackay Printing Service, 63
- McKee, Roberto, 270, 277
- McKee, William, 270, 277
- Mackenzie, George, 63
- Mackenzie & Harris Company, 63
- McNeil, John, 33
- McWilliams, Carey, 243
- Madsen, Brigham D., *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City 1849 and 1850*, rev., 303–304
- Maidenberg, Harry, 97
- Malarín, Joseph Mariano Pablo, 272, 277
- Malarín, Juan, 272
- Malarín María Josepha Joaquina Estrada, 272, 277
- Malone, William, 249, 258
- Maloney, Thomas A., 17
- Many Glacier Hotel (Glacier National Park), 218
- Martinez, Dolores, 53
- Martinez, Nicholas, 97
- Mather, Stephen, 218
- Maurice, Jay, 14
- May, Charles E., 61
- Maybeck, Bernard, 61, 64
- Mechanic's Institute Library, 42
- Meister, Dick, 65
- Mercantile Library Association, 55, 63
- Metcalf, Victor H., 36
- Metzenbaum, Howard, 243
- Meyer, Louis, 178
- Meyer, Pete, 178
- Meyerfeldt, Albert, 63
- Micheltorena, Jose Manuel, 112
- Mighels, Ella Sterling, 63
- Miller, John J., 23
- Miller, Loren, 251
- Miller, Perry, 92
- Mitchell, H.L., 243
- Moffitt, James, 57
- Molokans, 95–103
- Monterey (Calif.), seizure of, 105–113
- Montgomery, John B., 88
- Montgomery, William, 14
- Moraga, José Joaquín, 27
- Mormon settlers, 303–304
- Mortimer, Julie, 217
- Moss, William S., 57
- Most, Stanley, 243
- Motlow, James and Jeff Gillenkirk, "This Was Our Place: Memories of Locke," 170–187
- Mt. Whitney, 214
- Mowry, George, 198
- Muir, John, 208, 211, 217
- Munras, Concepcion, 270, 277
- Munras, Catalina Manzanelli de, 269–270, 277
- Munras, Esteban Carlos, 269–270
- Murdock, Charles A., 64
- Murdock (C.A.) & Company, 59
- Murdock, Margaret, 64
- Museum Builders in the West: The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art 1870–1906* by Carol M. Osborne, rev., 146–147
- Museums, art, 146–147
- The Mystic West in Twentieth-century America*, by Robert G. Athearn, rev., 227
- Narjot, Erneste, 120
- Nash, John Henry, 61, 66
- Nash, Ray, 59
- National Federation of Women's Clubs, 163
- National Association of Colored Women, 163
- Neff, Wallace, 306–307
- Neutra, Dione, *Richard Neutra, Promise and Fulfillment, 1919–1932*, rev., 147–148
- Neutra, Richard, 147–148
- Newbegin, John J., 64
- Nicholas, John S., 107
- Nixon, Richard, 243, 260
- Nolan, John I., 197, 200
- Noriega, José Antonio Julián de la Guerra y, 191, 266, 267, 273, 276
- Norris, Charles Gilman, 44–48
- Norris, Frank, 42, 44, 86
- Norris, Gertrude, 45
- Norris, Kathleen, 40–48
- Norton I: Emperor of the United States*, by William Drury, rev., 222–223
- Norton, Joshua Abraham, 222–223
- The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express*, by Albert Shumate, rev., 221–222
- Noyes, Mary, 39
- Noyes, Robert, 39
- O'Meara, John, 64
- O'Meara & Painter, 55, 64
- O'Sullivan, T.H., 7
- Oak, Henry Lebbeus, 83, 87, 88, 89
- Ohio (ves.), 113
- Olin, Spencer, 198
- Olmsted, Frederick Law, 118
- Olson, Culbert, 250
- Omaha (ves.), 34
- "The Origins of San Quentin, 1851–1880," by Clare V. McKanna, Jr., 49–54
- Orsi, Richard J., rev. of Yenne, *Southern Pacific*, 304
- Ortega, José Francisco, 26
- Osborne, Carol M., *Museum Builders in the West: The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art 1870–1906*, rev. 146–147
- Osbourne, Fanny, 124
- Osbourne, Isabel, 124
- Osio, Antonio María, 25, 29–31, 33
- Ottolenghi, Sauveur, 263
- Owen, Robert, 135
- Pacheco, Feliciano Gonzáles y Torres, 272, 277
- Pacheco, Francisco Pérez, 271–272, 276
- Pacheco, Juan Pérez, 272, 276, 277
- Pacheco, Maria Encarnación Teodora, 272
- Pacheco, María Isidora (Lola), 272, 277
- Pacific Coast Amateur Photographic Association, 126
- Pacific Coast Society of Printing House Craftsmen Clubs, 61, 66
- Pacific States Type Foundry, 59
- Pacific Type Foundry, 60
- Paderewski, Ignace, 164
- Page, Mary see Williams, Mary Page
- Page, William, 114
- Printer, Jerome B., 64
- Painter & Company, 57, 59
- Palmer & Rey, 57, 58
- The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1906*, by Terrence J. McDonald, rev., 225–226
- Parrington, Vernon Louis, 90
- Parrot, John, 107
- Parsons, E.T., 212, 215
- Parsons, Marion Randal, 214, 215
- Pattie, James Ohio, 146
- Paul, Almarin Books, 64
- Paul, Rodman Wilson, 89, 220

- Paul & Company, 64  
 Payeras, Mariano, 191  
 Payot, Upham & Company, 57  
 Peck, (Mrs.) David, 278, 283, 284  
 Peck, Janet, 280, 282, 284  
 Peck, Orrin M., 278–285  
 Peixotto, Ernest, 65  
 Pepper, Claude, 243, 260  
 Peregrine Press, 89  
 Perkins, Frances, 36, 248  
 Perle, Fred (photo), 27  
 Perle, Isabella (photo), 27  
 Perle, James, 27  
 Perluss, Irving H., 22  
 Perry, Enoch Wood, 115, 118  
 Persifer, Smith, 31  
 Personal Book Shop (San Francisco), 67  
 Peterson, Richard H., "The Philanthropist and the Artist: The Letters of Phoebe A. Hearst to Orrin M. Peck," 278–285  
 Phelps, William D., 110  
 "The Philanthropist and the Artist: The Letters of Phoebe A. Hearst to Orrin M. Peck," by Richard H. Peterson, 278–285  
 Pick, Walter, 246–247  
 Pickett, J.C., 107  
 Pico, Andres, 195  
 Ping Lee, 172–174, 173 (photo)  
 Pioneer Pulp Company, 55  
 Pitt, Leonard, 90  
 Pixley, Frank M., 56  
*Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*, by J. Craig Jenkins, rev., 307  
 Pomeroy, Earl, 89  
 "El Portugues": Don Antonio Jose Rocha, California's First Portuguese Settler," by Eduardo M. Dias and David E. Berta, 188–195  
 Portolá, Gaspar de, 26  
 Post Ruth N., "The California Years of Virgil Macey Williams, 115–129  
 Pottinger, David, 59  
 Powell, Adam Clayton, 225  
 Powell, Lawrence Clark, 59  
 "Printing, Publishing and Ancillary Trades: A Checklist of Manuscript and Archival Holdings in the Edward C. Kemble Collections on Western Printing & Publishing, CHS Library, San Francisco," compiled by Glenn E. Humphreys, 55–67  
 Prisons and penitentiaries, 49–54  
 Progressivism, 94–103, 165–169, 197–207  
 "Progressivism Moves into the Schools: Los Angeles, 1905–1918," by Judith Raftery, 94–114  
 Prostitution in San Francisco, 302  
*Raccoon*(ves.), 28  
 Raftery, Judith, "Progressivism Moves into the Schools: Los Angeles, 1905–1918, 94–103  
 Rancho La Brea, 188, 193, 194, 195  
 Ransome, F. Leslie, 25  
 Raousset-Boulbon, Gaston de, 262, 273–274, 275, 276, 277  
 Rattigan, Joseph A., 21  
 Rawls, James J., editor, "Reviews," 143–150, 221–227, 301–307; rev. of Hofsommer, *The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985*, 224–225; rev. of Barnhart, *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849–1900*, 302  
 Reardon, Timothy H., 124  
 Regan, Bruce V., 21  
 Reineger, Novella, 65  
 Reisner, Marc, *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water*, rev., 226–227  
*Relief* (ves.), 106  
 "Reviews," edited by James J. Rawls, 143–150, 221–227, 301–307  
 Rey, Jacques J., 57  
 Rey, Valentine J.A., 57  
 Reynolds, Florence, 251  
 Reynolds, John F., 33  
 Rezanov, Nikolai, 28  
 Rhodes, W.H. "Caxton," 64  
*Richard Neutra, Promise and Fulfillment, 1919–1932* by Dione Neutra, rev., 147–148  
 Richards, Irmagarde, 67  
 Richardson, William, 30  
 Rios-Bustamente, Antonio and Pedro Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781–1985*, rev., 145–146  
 Robbins, Charles F., 57  
 Roberts, Frederick M., 15  
 Roberts, Frederick W., 256  
 Robertson, David, rev. of Wyatt, *The Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California*, 143–144  
 Robinson, G.W., 110  
 Rocha, António José, 188–195  
 Rocha, Feliz Carlos, 188  
 Rogin, Michael, 198, 199, 205–207  
 Roman, Anton, 65  
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 248, 249, 254, 255, 259  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 169  
 Roosevelt, James, 260  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 203, 204, 210, 217, 219  
 Rose, Roderick, 65  
 Ross, Ishbel, 163  
 Rother, James, 216  
 Rothman, David J., 54  
 Rowell, J.C., 64  
 Royce, Josiah, 82–93  
 Royce, Sarah Bayliss, 91  
 Rubio, José Maria de Jesus Gonzales, 267–268, 276, 277  
 Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre, 165  
 Rumford, William Byron, 13–23  
 Rush, Richard, 105  
 Russian American Company, 28  
 Ryan, James, 200  
 Ryan, Pierce, 140  
*Sacramento* (ves.), 120  
 San Quentin Prison, 49–54  
*San Carlos* (ves.), 25, 26, 27, 38  
 San Francisco Art Association, 120, 122  
 San Francisco Art Institute, 120, 122, 126  
 San Francisco Newspaper Printing Company, 65  
 San Francisco School of Design, 124  
 San Francisco Shipping News Company, 59  
 Santa Maria, Vicente, 26, 27  
 Santa Clara Shakespeare Club, 65  
 Sargent, John Singer, 284  
 Sarvis, George, 137  
 Saxton, Alexander, 141, 198  
 Scammon Printing Company, 66  
 Schmitz, John G., 22  
 Schwabacher, Frank, 65  
 Schwabacker, Sigmund, 65  
 Scobie, Ingrid Winther, "Helen Gahagan Douglas: Broadway Star as California Politician," 243–261  
 Scofield, F.A., 62  
 Scott, Stanley, rev. of McEvoy, *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980*, 223–224  
 Seaman, Henry J., 59  
 Selvin, David F., rev. of Kazin, *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*, 305–306  
 Sepulveda, Juan Maria, 195  
 Severance, Caroline, 167  
 Seymour, Gladys E., 67  
 Shafter, William R., 32, 35  
*Shark* (ves.), 106  
 Shaw, George, 141  
 Sherman, Lewis F., 23  
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 88  
 Shiels, Albert, 94, 95  
 Shinn, Charles, 90  
 Shinn, Milcent Washburn, 65, 87  
*Shooting Star* (ves.), 33

- Shover, John, 198, 199, 205–207  
 Shumate, Albert, *The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express*, rev., 221–222  
 Sierra Club, 208–219  
 Silva, Mariano, 110  
 Smalley, Carl J., 65  
 Smith, C. H., 56  
 Smith, Gene A., "The War that Wasn't: Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey," 104–114  
 Smith, Gibbs M., 89  
 Snook, Joseph F., 109  
 Society of California Pioneers, 65  
 Somers, Frederick M., 56  
 Somerville, Bill, 66  
 Somervilles, 65–66  
*Southern Pacific*, by Bill Yenne, rev., 304–305  
*The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985*, by Don L. Hofsommer, rev., 224–225  
 Southern Pacific Company, 304–305  
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 224–225  
 Sowers, Roy Vernon, 66  
 Sperry, (Mrs.) Austin, 168  
*St. Louis* (ves.), 106  
 Stafford, C.G., 138  
 Stanford, Jane, 147  
 Stanford, Leland, 147  
 Stanton, Edwin McMasters, 30–31  
 Starr, Kevin, 90, 92  
 Stearns, Abel, 195  
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 120, 124  
 Steward, Julian, 7  
 Stewart, George R., 89  
 Stinchfield, H.C., 216, 217  
 Stoddard, Bessie D., 98  
 Stoddard, Charles Warren, 65  
 Stone, Lois Chambers, *Birds of the Pacific Slope* . . ., 148–150  
 Stribling, Cornelius K., 107, 110  
*The Suburban Squeeze: Land Conversion and Regulation in the San Francisco Bay Area*, by David E. Dowall, rev., 144  
 Sucheng Chan, 170  
 Suen Hoon Sum, 174, 175  
*Susan Drew* (ves.), 67  
 Sweasey, W.J., 134, 135, 138, 139, 142  
 Sweeney, Thomas, 266, 276  
 "Symbol for an Era: Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford," by Lawrence Paul Crouchett, 12–23  
 Taft, Philip, 203  
 Taliaferro, Alfred W., 50, 51, 53  
 Taylor, Henry Huntly, 66  
 Taylor, Paul, 247  
 Taylor & Taylor, 55, 66  
 "Temples and Playgrounds: The Sierra Club in the Wilderness, 1901–1922," by Anne Farrar Hyde, 208–219  
 Terry, Jessie, 257  
 Terry, Juanita, 257  
 "This Was Our Place: Memories of Locke," by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow, 170–187  
 Thomas, Edgar P., 66  
 Thomas, Elbert, 260  
 Thomas, Richard, 106  
 Thompson, J.N., 52  
 Thompson, James, 40  
 Thompson, Joe, 40, 45, 269  
 Thompson, Josephine, 40, 41  
 Thompson, Kathleen Mary, 40, 45  
 Thompson, Margaret, 43, 45  
 Thompson, Teresa, 40, 43, 45  
 Thompson, Waddy, 112  
 Tiernon, John, 33  
 Tillett, Gladys, 250  
 "To Save the Republic: The California Workingmen's Party in Humboldt County," by Daniel Cornford, 130–142  
 "To the Source: Archival Collections for California Labor History," compiled by Lynn A. Bonfield, 286–299  
 "The Tools of My Trade": *The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library*, by David Mike Hamilton, rev., 302–303  
 Totten, Gilbert Joseph, 32  
 Tower, Louis, 133  
 Towle Brothers Company, 65  
 Towle, Edwin, 65  
 Towne, Arthur W., 67  
 Towne, James Weld, 55, 57, 66  
 Towne & Bacon, 58, 66  
 Treat, Archibald J., 126  
 Treat, Jessie, 214  
 Truettner, William, 114  
 Tygiel, Jules  
 Tyler, George, 245  
 Union Labor Party (San Francisco) 197–207  
 Union Lithograph Company, 67  
 Unisource Corporation, 57  
 Unitarian Club of California, 168  
 United Farm Workers (UFW), 307  
 United Negro Labor Committee, 14  
*United States* (ves.), 106, 107, 108, 109, 110  
 University of California Press, 66  
 Unruh, Jesse, 20, 21  
 Upshur, Abel P., 112  
 Vallejo, Ignacio, 271  
 Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe, 29, 50, 83  
 Vancouver, George, 28  
 Vicente de Sola, Pablo  
 Viehe, Fred W., rev. of Drury, Norton I: *Emperor of the United States*, 222–223  
 Vincent, Joshua S., 67  
 Vizetelly, Henry, 89  
 Voorhis, Jerry, 243, 248, 260  
*Waban* (ves.), 50, 53  
 Wagner, Harr, 64, 67  
 Wagner, Madge Morris, 67  
 Wagner, Morris, 67  
 Wagner (Harr) Publishing Company, 67  
 Wah Lee, 178  
 Waldie, Jerome R., 21  
 Walker, James, 57  
 Wallace, Henry, 252  
*Wallace Neff: Architect of California's Golden Age*, compiled and edited by Wallace Neff, Jr., rev., 306–307  
 Wandesforde, Juan Buckingham, 120  
 "The War that Wasn't: Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey," by Gene A. Smith, 104–114  
 Ward, J. Francis, 67  
 Warner, J.J., 188, 195  
 Warren, Earl, 14, 16, 17, 18, 250, 260  
 Washington, Booker T., 168, 169 (photo)  
 Wayland, Francis, 114  
 Weber, Max, 91  
 Webster, Daniel, 112  
 Weil, Isabel, 67  
 Weill, Raphael, 41  
 Weinberger, Caspar W., 23  
 Weller, John B., 51  
 Wells, Chauncy Wetmore, 42  
 Whitaker, Alfred, 55  
 Whitney, Sumner, 65  
 Whittaker, Alfred E., 63  
 Whitton, Towne & Company, 66  
 Whittredge, Worthington, 115  
 Wiebe, Robert, 92, 198  
 Wiles, Robert Scott, 114  
 Wilkes, Charles, 106  
 Williams, Aubrey, 248  
 Williams, Dora (Deborah) Norton, 117 (photo), 120, 123, 124, 125  
 Williams, Ella, 118  
 Williams, James M., 114  
 Williams, Joseph S., 61  
 Williams, Mary Page, 114, 118, 120  
 Williams, Virgil Macey, 114–129, (photo) 117  
 Wilson, Mary Ann, 52–53  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 203, 204  
 Winslow, Charles A., 39  
 Winter, Robert W., rev. of *Wallace Neff: Architect of California's Golden Age*, 306–307  
 Winterburn & Company, 57  
 Wittfogel, Karl, 9  
 Wollenberg, Charles, rev. of Dowall, *The Suburban Squeeze: Land Conversion and*



### Women's Clubs

Forum Club of San Francisco, 164

General Federation of Women's Clubs. 165-166

National Association of Colored

Women, 163  
National Federation of Women's  
Clubs, 163

Woods, Isaiah Churchill, 221-222

Woodward, Robert B., 115, 118

Wooley, Charles, 58

Woollcott, Alexander, 245

Wroth, Lawrence C., 59

Wyatt, David, *The Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California*, rev., 143-144

Yosemite Valley, 208–219

Yost, John D., 60

Young Men's Chr

102

"A Young Woman of Advanced Ideas: Mabel Craft Deering," by Rudolph

M. Lapp, 162–169  
Younge, Fitzroy E., 13

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The human skill and the technological power that are at the core of the aerospace industry are documented in photographs such as this of Paul Lancot operating a multiple head drilling machine. Many aerospace workers are members of the International Association of Machinists. This 1964 photograph is by Ed Sievers. Photo courtesy of Southern Labor Archives, Georgia State University.



